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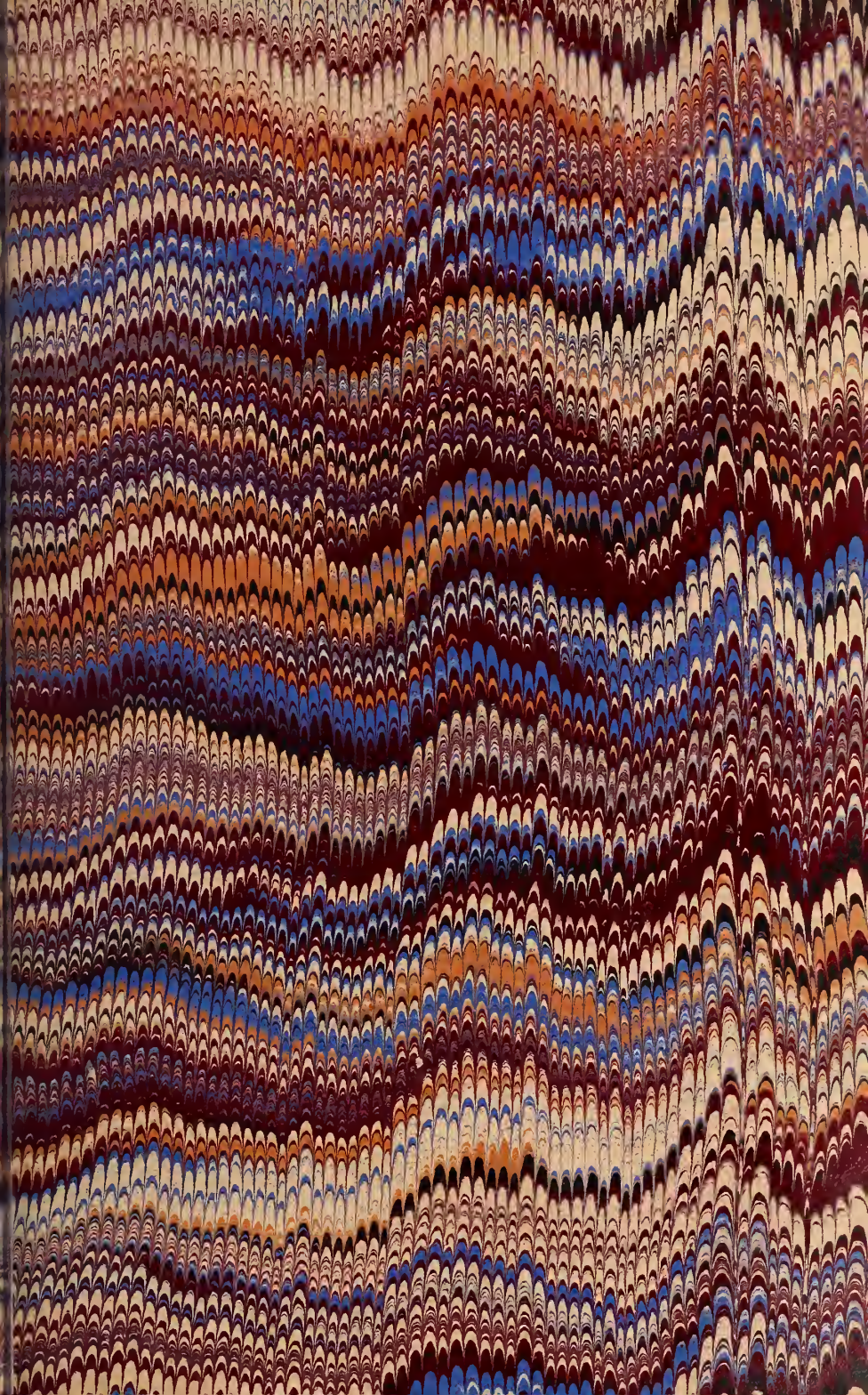
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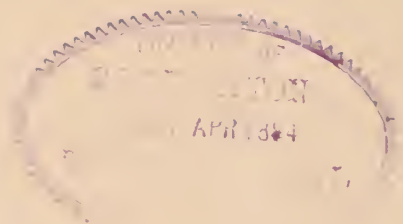
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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Ishmaelites, and the Arabic Tribes who conquered their Country.* By A. SPRENGER.

The commentators of Genesis are unanimous in considering the Ishmaelites as the fathers of the northern Arabians. It is my intention to show that this view is not correct. But before entering into the subject, I may be permitted to ventilate the arguments which may be adduced in support of it. The indigenous genealogists, it may be said, divide the Arabs into two races: the Ma'addites and the Qaḥṭānians; and derive the former from Ishmael. In the Talmud the Arabs are called the children of Kedar, the son of Ishmael, and the Arabic language Kedar's tongue, *לשון קדר*. And, finally, the whole country once in possession of the Ishmaelites is now, and has been for more than a thousand years, occupied by Arabian tribes.

The indigenous traditions of the Arabs respecting the descent of the Ma'addites can distinctly be traced to the Jews, and are without value. If the name of their supposed patriarch had been preserved by the Arabs themselves, they would have continued to pronounce it *يسماعيل* Yesma'īl, in accordance with the etymology of the words, "God hears him," and with the laws of their language, just as they always kept up the pronunciation of other proper names of the same form, like Yezkor, Yaḥçob. Instead of it they drop the initial vowel, spelling the word *اسماعيل*, as they heard it from the Jews, who, it seems, even previous to the commencement of our era, had converted the initial syllable *yi* into *i*.

It was Moḥammed who first made his countrymen familiar with the name of Ishmael, but his notions regarding him were very different during his residence at Mekka from what they became after his flight to Madîna. In Sûra 6, 83-8 (compare 38, 48; 21, 85; 19, 55,) he says: "And this is our argument [to prove the divine unity] wherewith we furnished Abraham, that he might make use of it against his people. . . . And we gave unto him Isaac and Jacob, whom we directed both; and Noah had we before directed, and of his posterity, David and Solomon; and Job, and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron; . . . and Zacharias, and John, and Jesus, and Elias; . . . and Ishmael, and Elisha, and Jonas, and Lot." In this verse, and in many others, Jacob is represented as a son of Abraham and brother of Isaac, whereas Ishmael stands in no such relation to the patriarch. In Madîna the prophet learned from Jews converted to Islâm that Ishmael was a son, and Jacob a grandson, of Abraham, and he now corrected his error, and wherever he speaks of the descendants of Abraham he first mentions Ishmael; thus in 14, 41, Abraham is introduced saying: "Praise be unto God, who has given me, in my old age, Ishmael and Isaac, for my Lord is the hearer of supplication." The last words seem even to indicate that he had now become acquainted with the import of the name. Moḥammed had, in imitation of some more ancient Judæo-Christian sects, been proclaiming Abraham as the founder of pure monotheism, and he therefore now greedily took up the Jewish notions on the descent of the Arabians through Ishmael from Abraham (compare Sûra 22 27), and it thereby became an article of faith for his followers.

The genealogists, who took it as an incontrovertible truth, were at first divided in their opinion; some considering all Arabs as Ishmaelites, and Qaḥṭân as a descendant of Kedar—the Arab *par excellence*--and Ma'add, a son of Nebaiot; others maintained that only the Ma'addites were of Ishmaelitic origin, and at length their opinion prevailed. They considered Kedar as the ancestor of Ma'add; but as a sort of compromise with their opponents, they gave him a

son of the name of Nabt (Nebaiot), through whom Ma'add was descended from him. My friend Syed Ahmed gives in his Essays his own (and thereby Moḥammed's) pedigree up to Adam; but not in a complete form. I am able to trace its origin. In the first century of the Hijra, the Ma'additic tribes were classed in reference to their supposed relation to the Qoraysh, the clan to which the prophet belonged; and, as is usual among the Shemites, the classification assumed the form of a pedigree.

As few of my readers are acquainted with the numerical strength, importance, and geographical position of the Ma'additic tribes to which, in classing them, the genealogists (ethnographers) paid due attention, I may be permitted to illustrate their method by applying it to an imaginary classification of the people of England. I must observe that, with the view of connecting the tribes, the genealogists make use of any name handed down by popular tradition; and when the supply is not sufficient, they insert names like Zayd, 'Abd Allah, answering to our John, William. Let me consider the parishioners of Mary-le-bone as a tribe, which, as is frequently the case with Arabic clans, bears the name of their mother, Mary, a daughter of John, a son of Middlesex. Her husband, William, was a son of Cockney, who also begot Westminster, Pancras, and other sons. Cockney's father, John, was the son of Saxon, who also begot Essex, Sussex, Middlesex, Surrey. Saxon's father, Hengist, also begot Wilt, Kent, and other sons; and his father, English, also begot York, Lancaster. In this manner the genealogy might be continued to Teuto, Arya, Japhet, and Adam; and if Mr. John Smith, of Mary-le-bone, was ambitious enough to make out his lineage up to the father of mankind, he would merely have to enumerate his noble ancestors, calling the most remote he knows the son of Mary. The Arabs obtained, by following this method from Moḥammed to Ma'add, a series of twenty successive fathers. Ma'add they called the son of 'Adnân, and there they stopped, contenting themselves for some time with the assertion that the ancestor of 'Adnân was Nabt, son of Kedar, son of

Ishmael. Towards the end of the first century some genealogists made a timid attempt to connect the pedigree by asserting that 'Adnân was the son of Yasny, the son of 'Trâq, the son of Tharyz, the son of Nabt, the son of Kedar, the son of Ishmael; but 'Orwa and his friends were so much shocked at this invention that they alleged two traditions of the prophet, in which the genealogists are branded as story-tellers. Ibn Kelby, who died 206 A.H., made the following calculations: between Abraham and Moses there were ten generations, each of 100 years; from Moses to the birth of Christ there elapsed 1900, and from Christ to the birth of Moḥammed 569 years; calculating the generation at about forty years, he came to the conclusion that between Moses and Moḥammed 61 generations must have passed; and as the genealogists enumerated only 21 fathers between Moḥammed and 'Adnân, there was a gap of forty fathers to the time of Moses in the genealogy. He made no attempt at filling it up, but a happy circumstance enabled one of his pupils to complete the pedigree of Ma'add, the son of 'Adnân. A Jewish convert of Palmyra discovered the private papers of the prophet Baruch, and they contained the genealogy of the ancestors of Moḥammed from Ishmael to 'Adnân. The missing link was now found, and every Ma'addite was enabled to enumerate his and the prophet's lineage up to the father of mankind.

The genealogy of the Arabian tribes, considered as a series of ethnographical symbols, is very valuable, and the more we enter into it the more we must admire the tact with which the relation of one tribe to another is expressed. The forgery ascribed to Baruch, on the contrary, if not carefully kept asunder from the symbolical portion of the genealogy, can have no other effect than to mar the whole. The ethnographers who framed the symbols made no attempt to bring it in unison with chronology; the forgery which is intended to make up for this defect contains a list of generations, which for nearly two thousand years successively alone represented the Ishmaelitic race. With Ma'add at length, who, if we expect to find in the symbols any attention to chronology, would have lived shortly before the commencement of our

era, the Ishmaelites begin to ramify and to become a nation. This we shall see is the very time when they rapidly advanced towards becoming extinct.

The Rabbinical tradition which connects the Arabs with Kedar, the son of Ishmael, seems to be very ancient, and I shall attempt to expose its origin lower down.

The Anglo-Saxons in England and in America know very well that possession of the soil does not of necessity imply descent from the former occupants. The arguments which can be adduced for the Ishmaelitic descent of the northern Arabians having been shown not to be cogent, I will state my views on the subject, and begin by fixing the localities which the Ishmaelites once occupied.

The term Ishmaelites has in Scripture sometimes a narrower, sometimes a wider sense, resembling in this respect the term England, which is frequently used to mean Great Britain. In the wider sense the term includes the Midianites, who were the children of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), whereas the Ishmaelites were his descendants by Hagar. Thus in Judges viii. verse 24 it is said of the Midianites: "They had golden earrings, because they were Ishmaelites." It seems that these two races, connected as they were by blood, acted at times as confederates, and were then both comprised under the name of Ishmaelites. Genesis xxv. 6 leaves no doubt that the "east country," *i.e.* the Syrian Desert, was considered their original home, and they are therefore collectively called "children of the east" in Judges viii. 10. Nay, this name is even applied to those Ishmaelites who had left their original seats and settled south of Palestine, like the Kedar (Jer. xlix. 28). Yet we meet both the Ishmaelites and the Midianites first in the peninsula of Sinai and the adjacent desert as far as Egypt and Palestine; and here, as in other places, the Amalekites were their neighbours. Not far from Sinai Moses met Jethro, "the priest of the Midianites," and in the same country Hagar settled with her son, "And God was with the lad; and he grew; and dwelt in the wilderness (*i.e.* took to nomadic habits), and became an archer. And he dwelt in the

wilderness of Paran: and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt." (Gen. xxi. 20, 21.) Paran is the desert which surrounds Ayla ('Aqaba). The two races were partners in the possession of the road leading to Egypt, and in the commerce carried on upon it, which in those days must have been very considerable: "And, behold, a company (caravan) of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery (tragacanth) and balm and myrrh (ladanum), going to carry it down to Egypt. Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt." (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28.) At an early age they also seem both to have had a purer religion than other Gentile nations, and to have for this reason been the friends of the Israelites. The mode of life and occupation of both races were similar but not exactly identical, and the Midianites were decidedly the wealthier, more independent, and more powerful of the two, as we shall see lower down.

The limits of the country of the Ishmaelites (including, as I presume, the Midianites), are stated in Gen. xxv. 18 as follows: "And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria." Havilah is, as I intend to show in another essay, identical with Khaulân, the most northern province of Yemen (southern Arabia); and consequently Yemen and Havilah are divided by the same line from northern Arabia: this line begins in the isle of Kodommol (Kotumble, lat. 17° 52' of the Adm. Chart), and runs due east. By Shur the frontier between Egypt and the desert is meant in the Bible, and in so far it answers to Fermâ of Arabic geographers. This passage does certainly not mean that the Ishmaelites were the sole masters of this extensive country, for we read in 1 Sam. xv. 7, "And Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt." From Havilah to Shur seems to have been an expression meaning all over the desert. I ought to mention that Yemen was in those days, and even at a later period (comp. *Peripl. Maris Eryth.* § 20),

as civilized as Egypt or Assyria, and did not belong to the lawless wilderness. In our days the people of Damascus would say in this sense, "as far as Nejd." They use this expression in phrases like "Fayçal's protection is respected as far as Nejd," *i.e.* all over the desert.

In Genesis xxv. 13-15 twelve sons (tribes) of Ishmael are enumerated; "The firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; and Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam, and Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa, Hadar, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah."

Of these names that of Kedar occurs most frequently in Scripture; thus in the Song of Solomon i. 5, "I am black, but comely, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." Kedar means squalid in Hebrew, and Gesenius thinks that the Kedareens were called so owing to their dark complexion. It is much more likely that they owed their name to their black hair tents. Beni Kedar would in this case answer to the Arabic *Ahl alwabar*, people of the hair [tent], and mean sons of the black [tent]. Ezekiel, xxvii. 21, where he speaks of Tyrus, says: "Arabia, and all the princes (shaykhs as we would say) of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants." This passage requires some observations. It is certain that commerce was never so much developed in the east that the Tyrians or any other merchants exported sheep and goats from a distant country, like Arabia, to sell them in another. The prophet can therefore only mean to say that the butchers of Tyrus obtained their supply of sheep and goats from the Arabs (Arabia is an erroneous translation) and from the Kedareens. If we go from the coast of Tyrus into the interior, we reach, after one day's journey, a hilly country, which extends from *Jebel Shaykh* to the north, and which could never have been used for any other purpose than for pasturing sheep and goats, and it is, with its slopes towards the east, so extensive that it could provide Tyrus and all the neighbourhood with this commodity. Both the Arabs and the Kedareens of whom Ezekiel speaks must therefore have inhabited this hilly region.

Isaiah, lx. 6, 7, who resided in the kingdom of Judæa, speaks of the *camels* of Midian and Ephah (a subdivision of the Midianites), of the *rams* of Nebaioth, and of the *flocks* (of sheep and goats) of Kedar. The Kedareens north of Jebel Shaykh were too distant to admit of their bringing their cattle to the markets of Judæa. The Nebaiot and Kedar of Isaiah must have been situated south of Palestine, in the neighbourhood of Wâdiy Ghorondol, and west of it, and branches of these tribes may even have visited the barren tracts in southern Palestine, which yielded pasture for goats, just as in our days Beduins roam about between cultivated districts, preserving all the independence to which they are entitled by their pastoral habits. In these two passages the Kedareens (and their brethren the Nebaiot) are represented as breeders of goats and sheep. This is very characteristic, because the tribes in the depth of the open desert devote themselves chiefly to breeding camels and occasionally horses also, and they find it neither profitable nor convenient to keep more sheep and goats than is necessary for domestic purposes. In Arabia this branch of industry is particularly cultivated by hill tribes, who may or may not be in possession of plains of inconsiderable extent. A passage of Jeremiah, xlix. 28, is not really opposed to this view; but as we learn from it that the Kedareens also possessed camels, it induces us to allot to them a considerable share in the open desert west of Wâdiy Ghorondol and in Dârûm: "Concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of Hazor, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon shall smite, thus said the Lord; Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of the east. Their tents and their flocks (of sheep and goats) shall they take away: they shall take to themselves their curtains (tents), and all their vessels, and their camels." Isaiah, xxi. 17, speaks of the archers of Kedar: "And the residue of the number of archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar, shall be diminished." In Arabian warfare archery is very useful for defending a strong position, but in the open field the use of archers is, even in case of defence, very limited, because the enemy's cavalry is sure to turn their flank and to compel

them by feigned attacks to spend their arrows. In *razias*, and night attacks, the warfare most usual among the genuine Beduins, archers are of no use whatsoever. The great object of the enemy in a *razia* is to traverse with speed great distances, and to attack the victims unawares, and therefore the strength of a Beduin army consists in horsemen and camel-riders. Even for defence the bow can rarely be used in such attacks, because, if the surprise should fail, the assailants retire as fast as they had advanced, avoiding an encounter. If a fight ensues, it is a close attack, where only sword and dagger can be used. In our days there are tribes in the desert who even disdain the use of firearms, finding that good cavalry armed with long spears and javelins answers all their purposes. No doubt in all nomadic tribes there were in former days individuals to be found who practised archery, both for the purposes of hunting and of warfare; but a tribe with whom it was a hereditary skill (it is stated that Ishmael was an excellent archer) must have had its seats in a broken country which offered strong military positions, and where the flocks had to be protected against wild beasts, in a country made for shepherds, and not in the open desert. We learn from Isaiah xlii. 11 that not all the Kedareens lived in tents: in extensive pasture grounds (*midbar*) they had towns and *hazerim*, which may mean sheepfolds surrounded by a stone wall—like those which we find in Antilibanon—or entrenchments.

Winer refers to some passages of the Bible which, as he thinks, prove that the Kedareens could not have lived in the immediate vicinity of Judæa. It appears to me that they prove the very reverse. One of them is Psalm cxx. 5, "Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar!" Mesech (the Moschi near the Caucasus) answers here to our Ultima Thule, and the Psalmist means to say that he is a fugitive, and compelled either to flee to the end of the world or to take refuge among the free sons of Kedar. Jeremiah, ii. 10, says: "Pass over the isles of Chittim, and see; and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing." He means to say neither among mariners

nor among nomads you will find the like. Isaiah, xlii. 10, enlarges on this poetical idea, and adds to the mariners and the Kedar "the inhabitants of the rock" (*trogloodytes*). As the Kedar were among all nomadic tribes best known to the Jews, because they were nearest to them, their name, it appears, was used in the sense of *Scenitæ*, inhabitants of tents; and this seems to have induced the authors of the Talmud to consider 'Arab and Kedar as synonyms, for the word 'Arab is used in the Qorân, as well as in common parlance, for nomads, *Scenitæ*.

Pliny S., v. § 65, found the Cedrei in the same spot in which we have placed the Kedareens of Isaiah. He speaks of the desert east of the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, and says: "Hæc Catabanum et Esbonitarum et Scenitarum Arabum vocatur, sterilis, præterquam ubi Syriæ confinia attingit, nec nisi Casio monte nobilis. His Arabes junguntur, ab oriente Canchlei, a meridie Cedrei qui deinde ambo Nabatæis." According to this passage they are to be placed west of Wâdiy Ghorondol, the limit of the Nabatæans (Idumæans). Eusebius and Hieronymus, *Onomasticum* edit. Parthey, Berlin, 1862, p. 259, are the latest authors who mention Kedar, but as the name of a place: "est regio in eremo Saracenorum, a filio Ismaelis Cedar ita cognominata." The Saracenic desert extends from Madian to the north, and round the gulf of 'Aqaba to the west, comprising the desert of Paran.

Jetur and Naphish are two Ishmaelitic tribes, whose seats have been identified with great certainty. In 1 Chronicles v. 18-19 it is stated that "The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh, made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Naphish, and Nodab;" and it hence appears that these tribes, which it seems subsequently united into one, occupied the country east of the Jordan, called by St. Luke, iii. 1, by Strabo, Eusebius, and other writers, Ituræa. One of these tribes may have held Trachonitis. The latest accounts of the Ituræans is that they sent a contingent to the army of the Emperor Valerian.

It is usually supposed that Nebaiot, whom, as we have seen, Isaiah mentions with Kedar, is the same tribe as the

Nabatæans of later authors. But the spelling of the two names, נבט and נביוה, is quite different, and so is the pronunciation for the Shemitic ear. And Strabo says, in reference to the nomenclature of his predecessors, that the Nabatæans are the same people whom the Jews call Idumæans. If we interpret the two verses of Genesis xxviii. 9 and xxxvi. 3 by the rules followed by Arabic genealogists, we must admit that there existed a closer affinity between some of the children of Edom (Esau) and the Nebaiot, than between them and the other Ishmaelites; and there is also reason to suppose that the Nebaiot had their seats in the neighbourhood of the Idumæans, yet they were two different races; and if we, with Josephus, extend Nabatene from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, we do not get nearer to our subject. All we know is that the Nebaiot were shepherds, like the Kedar.

Mishma was also the name of a Simeonitic tribe (1 Chron. iv. 25), and we do not know whether two tribes had the same name, or whether the Mishma were a mixed race, and by some regarded as Ishmaelites, and by others as Simeonites. Of Adbeel, Mibsam, Massa, Haddad, and Kedemah, Scripture offers no further information. There remain Dumah and Temah. I propose to make my remarks on them after having spoken of the Midianites.

The Ishmaelitic tribes whose acquaintance we have hitherto made were shepherds, and lived in the immediate vicinity of Palestine, south and east of it. They were not regular Beduins, and we may consider them as Ishmaelites in the more limited sense of the word. The wealth of the Midianites and of Ephra, on the contrary, consisted in camels; their seats must have been the vastnesses of the desert, and they were regular Beduins. Madian, which like *madina*, may mean town, the root of both being *din*, and not Midian, which means strife, is the name of a city in lat. 28° 30', not far from the east coast of the gulf of 'Aqaba. As Moses met the priest of the Midianites at no great distance from the west coast of the same gulf, it may, nevertheless, have its name from the Midianites, and it is very probable that the Midianites were in possession of this part of Arabia. The

theatre of their warlike operations is, however, east of Palestine. Nearly 1200 years before Christ they emerged from the Syrian desert, appeared jointly with the Amalekites and other sons of the east, in the plains of Moab, pitched their tents in the valley of Jezreel, and conquered Palestine as far as the Mediterranean. After a subjection of seven years, the Lord awoke Gideon, and he slew their host. Two of their princes retired with fifteen thousand men, "all that were left of all the host of the children of the east," to Karkor; Gideon pursued them, made them prisoners, and slew them. Certain it is that on this occasion most of the tribes of the Syrian desert united against the Israelites, and it is of interest to observe that in this passage (Judges viii. 10) they are collectively called children of the east, just as in Ezekiel xxiv. 4-10, whereas in Judges vi. 3, 33, vii. 12, they are co-ordinate with the Midianites and Amalekites: "Then all the Midianites and the Amalekites *and* the children of the east were gathered together." It may be supposed that in the more limited sense, children of the east, B'ne Qedem, is the name of a tribe, descended from Kedemah the son of Ishmael, which occupied the most eastern regions of the desert and extended even over the Euphrates to Harrân, whose neighbourhood is called the land of the children of the east in Genesis xxix. 1. All these are controvertible questions, and we therefore limit our researches to the position of Karkor, which is spelled in the original קרקר. Hieronymy, sub voce Carcar (Onom. ed. Parthey p. 253), says: "Et est usque hodie castellum cognomento Carcaria unius diei itinere ab urbe Petra." Following the operations of the two armies, it is inconceivable how they could have got to the neighbourhood of Petra. Moreover, the spelling of this name in Arabic is كركك Kerek, to which in Hebrew כרך would answer, and Eusebius writes it Καρκά, and we therefore cannot help suspecting Hieronymy of having altered the name with a view of making it better agree with Karkor. In Arabic *qarqar* means a smooth plain of no great extent, and Qorâqir is the name of a water-place two or three days' march (say 50 miles) east of 'Ammân, and this no doubt answers to Karkor.

In order to give an idea of the importance of this place, I must be permitted to make a few observations on the geography of the country round it. Between Dûmah (Jôf) and Jebel Shammar, a distance of 170 miles, extends the main body of the Dehnâ, a plain covered with fine sand, which in spring produces the most luxuriant herbage, sufficient for all the camels of Arabia to feed upon; but as the Dehnâ is without water, it can be utilized to a limited extent only. One of its branches strikes to north-west and then it turns towards north, and has now the name of Wâdiy Sirhân; formerly it was called Samâwa and also Qorâqir, because the water-place of this name is the principal one to which the camels grazing in these pasture-grounds resort to drink. Samâwa is the garden of the Syrian desert, and the only place whose owners are able to keep a large stock of camels: it therefore was always in the hands of the mightiest tribe of these regions, and indeed the tribe which holds Samâwa is supreme in the Syrian desert and in the adjacent parts of Arabia. In antiquity it appears this position was held by the Midianites, against whom Gideon fought, subsequently by the Kelbites, and in our days by the 'Anezeh.

These remarks bring us to Dumah and Tema. It is generally admitted that Dumah is identical with the Dûmah (the orthography is the same), also called Dûmat-al-jandal, of Arabic geographers, now known by the name of Jôf. It is an oasis about half way between Petra and the Euphrates. Bunsen takes Tema for the Thaimi of Ptolemæus, on the Persian Gulf. But the place of the Thaimi is occupied by the Banu Taym, and their name has been transcribed by Ptolemy without alteration. The spelling of Tema is precisely that of Taymâ (pronounced Têmâ), the name of a town four easy days' journey south-west of Dûmah. These two oases are an appendage to the Samâwa; and a tribe which holds these pasturing grounds will, sooner or later, obtain possession of them. Hence we conclude that the two tribes, Dumah and Tema, were in close relation to the Midianites of Karkor, and were Ishmaelites only in the wider sense of the term.

Besides the Dehnâ (now caelld Nufood), south of Dûmah, just mentioned, there is another Nufood in Northern Arabia, east of the town of Madian. Its length from north to south may be estimated at sixty miles, and its breadth at thirty. It offers pasturing grounds for thousands of camels, which find water at the brackish but copious wells and ponds of Hîsmâ, situated on the north-western extremity. The tribes of the desert of Jifâr, as far as Egypt, and even of part of the peninsula of Sinai, must either drive their camels for some months of the year into this Nufood, or they must reduce their stock to a very low standard; and therefore they must either live in poverty or be dependent upon the tribe which may be in possession of it. As this position is so important, and commands, as it were, the country all around, we naturally ask who may have held it in antiquity? To answer this question I must first observe, that the commerce of Arabia was then very considerable, and that its caravans imported the spices of tropical climates into Egypt and Syria. The profits which the leaders of caravans derived from it were great, and the conveyance of goods was a monopoly of the most powerful tribes along the road. (Pliny, 12, 14, § 63-4.) We may therefore take it as a fact that the race to which the caravan that bought Joseph belonged, was then in possession of the Nufood of Hîsmâ, and this race was no other than the Ishmaelito-Midianitic.

There are three mercantile roads leading from Yemen through Mekka, to Syria. The most eastern and shortest passes through Taymâ, and thence through the desert to Damascus, but this desert is occupied by savage tribes, and even in the times of the 'Abbâsides, the strongest caravans would not venture to pass it; but during the reign of the Omayyides, there were, as Moqaddasy informs us, relays of dromedaries posted along it to keep up the communication between Mekka and Damascus. The most western road on which the town Madian was a station touches the western margin of the Nufood of Hîsmâ, and the middle road which passes through Tebûk is not far from the eastern margin. These two roads were commanded by

Ishmaelito-Midianitic tribes. As long as they were supreme in the pasturing grounds of the Nufood, and as they also held Taymâ and even Dûmah, not an ounce of frankincense or spice could reach Egypt or Syria, by land, without their having a share in the profits.

There is no doubt that in the highest antiquity genuine Arabic tribes (perhaps from Nejd) were visiting the Syrian desert, and probably also the neighbourhood of Hismâ, and owing to the continuous feuds among nomadic races, the changes of fortune may have been great; but it is certain that there has been a period in which the Ishmaelito-Midianites were paramount in northern Arabia and the desert north and west of it. I will now show that at the time of Moḥammed, and even earlier, they had completely disappeared in these regions, and were succeeded by Arabic tribes of the Qaḥṭân race, which had gradually left Yemen and pushed on towards Syria.

In enumerating these tribes and fixing their new seats, I follow more particularly Hamdâny. The Nufood, near Madian and Hismâ, was occupied by the Jodzâm. The southern limit of their territory was "Nebk on the sea shore." It seems that Nebk is the ancient name of Mowayliḥ (Moila, lat. 27° 40' of the map). This tribe extended along the coast as far as Ayla ('Aqaba); but at 'Aynûnâ, lat. 28° 8', it also spread to the east as far as Tebûk, and it occupied Adzroḥ and Mo'ân, then the capital of Idumæa. Here resided at the time of Moḥammed the Jodzâmite king Farwa, who ruled over the country under Byzantine protection. Some Jodzâm tribes had settled in the hills east of the Dead Sea, among the 'Odzra, which were here predominant, and others, as we shall see, near Egypt. Detached tribes of the Jodzâm lived in the valley of the Jordan, near Tiberias, as far as Lajjûn and 'Akkâ.

The Lakhm were close relations and confederates of the Jodzâm. Their principal seats were in the desert Jifâr, which extends from the meridian of Ayla to Egypt. On the western extremity of Jifâr, at Warrâda, Baqqâra and 'Arysh, Jodzâmite, and Lakhmite families were settled;

whereas Fermâ, "the frontier between the Arabs and the Copts," was occupied by families of the Josham, a subdivision of Jodzâm. Dârûm, east of Jifâr, was exclusively Lakhmitic territory. Detached Lakhmite tribes were in Jaulân, Nawâ (Burekh., lat. 33° 10', writes Nowa), Bathnyya, and Haurân. In these places (the ancient seats of the Jetur) Johayna, Dzobyân, and some sub-divisions of the Qayn, lived among them, and the east coast of the Dead Sea they shared with the 'Odzra and Jodzâm, but in the track between Tebûk and Zoghar, on the Dead Sea, which also belonged to them, they seem to have been without partners, excepting, perhaps, the 'Odzra, to whom Tebûk belonged.

The Kelb were in exclusive possession of the Samâwa, which, Hamdâny tells us, extends in a westerly direction nearly as far as Haurân (or Wâdiy Sirhân in Burekhardt's map), and towards Palmyra in the north. Their king, Farwa Dyly, who resided in Samâwa, and reigned at the commencement of Islâm, was not a Kelbite, but a member of the dynastic family of Ghassân, and had been appointed by the Byzantine Emperor. From Samâwa the Kelbite tribes radiated as far as the Syrian desert extends, to the cultivated land on the banks of the Euphrates in the east, and to Manbij, Tell-Mannas, and Kafar-Ṭâb in the north. Palmyra and the Oasis Salamyya are therefore called Kelbite towns by Hamdâny; they even spread over the gulfs and inlets of the Syrian desert, they approached close to Homç and to Hamâh, and occupied the hills called Sanyr, that is to say the portion of Antilibanon north of Ba'lbek stretching towards Homç, and the hilly country east of Hamâh. The latter hills offer an important position for robbers, and there are at present few roads in Syria less safe than the one leading along their foot. The wealth of the occupants of Sanyr must have consisted of sheep and goats, like that of the Kedareens of old; and it may be taken as a rule that tribes of this character are emerging from the nomadic state and advancing towards settled life; cases to the contrary, that they consist of a rural population in a state of decomposition, do occur, but are very rare. Of the Kelbites of Sanyr, it is certain that they

were in a state of transition to sedentary habits; of the Kedareens it may be inferred by analogy. We are therefore justified in supposing that their original homes were in the depth of the Syrian Desert—they were really sons of the East. In the north of the Syrian desert there were, between the Kelbites, camps of Kilâbites, and so there may have been other Arabic tribes mixed with them in other places out of Samâwa. The Kelbites, however, were supreme, and the other tribes roamed over these regions only by sufferance as it were. The population of Dûmat-al-Jandal, which we consider as an appendage to the Syrian desert, and where not Arabian but Syrian architecture and Syrian habits are prevailing, consisted of Kelbites, but, probably by their own choice, they were protected by a prince of the Kindite dynasty, which in Byzantine historians is represented as ruling over Nejd. The influence of the emperors of Constantinople did not therefore extend as far as this Oasis.

The 'Âmila took possession at an early period of the hills which stretch from Tiberias towards the Mediterranean, and which were named after them during the Moslim conquests; and there settled in their vicinity, particularly near 'Akka, families of the Hamdân, Balhârith, 'Akk, and Madzhij tribes.

From the mountains of the 'Âmila to Damascus, says Hamdâny, the Jafna and other Ghassanitic tribes have their seats. The Ghassânites appear never to have been very numerous, but they were powerful, and their kings ruled over all the Arabic tribes in and near Syria who had submitted to the Byzantines, with the exception of the Jodzâmites and Lakhmites.

The Dzobyân [Ibn Homaym?] possessed the Biyâdh, also called Biyâdh of Qarqara, which is a desert extending from Taymâ to Haurân. Among them there were some camps of the Tayy-tribe. The eastern limits of their territory in the north were the Janâbyyât, so called after the Kelb tribe Janâb, and frequently considered as part of Samâwa. They were permitted to visit the water of Qorâqir (the Karkor of the Bible), and that of 'Orâ'ir; and the former was also

visited by the Qayn, whose territory extended from here as far as the hills east of the Dead Sea.

There are two other tribes in Syria who had submitted to the Byzantines: the Bahrâ, who occupied the plains south and west of Homç, and the Tanûkh, who embraced Christianity, and fixed their abode near Lâdiqyya. According to Ibn Ishâq the Baly also sent a contingent to the Byzantine army, which operated against Moḥammed. I have not been able to discover a settlement of this tribe in or near Syria. The seats of the Baly are, up to this day, south of Nebk, on the mountains along the coast of the Red Sea. The Kelbites, as it would appear, were too numerous, and too widely spread over the desert, to allow of their feeling much the supremacy of the Byzantines. The other tribes whom we have enumerated were tamed nomads, their strength and numbers were in the desert, but their leaders resided, at least part of the year, in towns, where also many of their clansmen settled and devoted themselves to commerce and industry; yet the main population of towns and cultivated patches of land consisted of autochthons: Syrians, Jews, Edomites. In times of war the Arabs turned out, or sent at least considerable contingents to the Imperial army, and in times of peace their "kings" were the military governors of the provinces in which they were in great strength. Even at Damascus, it seems there was a garrison of Arabs commanded by a member of one of their dynasties. The increased navigation of the Red Sea reduced the importance of the caravan commerce considerably. Yet at the commencement of our era caravans were still passing from the frankincense region to Egypt and Syria. The proprietors of the goods were townsmen;—among them many Arabs—the conveyance thereof continued to be the monopoly of powerful nomadic tribes along the road. The most northern of them were, no doubt, the Jodzâm-Lakhmites.

To show that the Yemenic origin of the successors of the Ishmaelites is not a fancy of the genealogists, but founded upon facts, I will shortly state here an instance, leaving further details on the migration of the Arabs for another

occasion. The genealogists report that the name of the Ghassânites is derived from the name of a watering place of theirs. We are able to fix the position of this place with great exactness. It is situated in valley Rima⁶ (in Nieb.'s map Râma), near the spot where it opens into the Tihâma (plains along the coast), in lat. $14^{\circ} 41'$. On the same coast there were at the time of Agatharchides (apud Diod.) the Gasandi, at the time of Pliny the Gasani, and at the time of Ptolemy the Kassanitæ. Examining then the series of Ghassanite kings who ruled in their new habitations south of Damascus, we find that it goes back to the year 400 after Christ, and we may therefore suppose that they settled in the third or fourth century in Syria.

The children of Ishmael, "who dwelt in the wilderness," had, like their successors, their root and source of life in the desert, more particularly in Samâwa and in the Nufood of Hismâ. In the fifth century of our era we cannot find a corner of the desert which they could call their own; every where they had disappeared. What has become of them? We know the Shemitic laws of war: most of them had been smitten with the sword, the rest fled to the hills and into towns and villages where they were gradually absorbed by the inhabitants they found there. They ceased, long previous to the Moslim conquests, to form a race of their own.

In reference to their ethnological relation to other Shemites, we have no other information than that contained in the Bible, and this, as well as the form of their proper names, leads us to think that their affinity to the Israelites and the Edomites was much greater than to the Arabs.

ART. II.—*A Brief Account of Four Arabic Works on the History and Geography of Arabia.* By Captain S. B. MILES.

Read April 29th, 1872.

I venture to lay before the Society a brief notice of four Arabic MS. works on the History and Geography of Arabia, which appear to me sufficiently interesting from their rarity and the nature of their contents to merit attention.

The political history of the Arabs divides itself naturally into two epochs; the Preislamic and the Mohammedan or historical period. The former, at least so far as we are acquainted with it, comprised three empires, of which the earliest, and unquestionably the most important, was the Himyar dynasty of Yemen. The chronicles of this state would, had they been fortunately preserved to us, probably have furnished one of the most instructive and entertaining chapters in the history of mankind; but they are so enveloped in fable, and the sources of trustworthy information are so exceedingly scant and fragmentary, that no researches have yet availed to dissipate entirely the gloom that hangs over that period, and it remains buried in as profound an obscurity as that of any other country of the East. A great advance, however, has been made of late years in increasing the materials of Arabian research, and the ultimate recovery of at least a considerable portion of this lost history is by no means to be despaired of. There is good reason to believe that various historical MSS. of more or less value, but as yet unknown to Europeans, still exist in Arabia, and that from the oral traditions and legends of the people, especially of the Himyar tribes, which have been only very partially investigated, much may yet be gleaned; but the field in which we may expect to find the most ample materials for the reconstruction of the ancient edifice obviously lies in the ruined cities of S.W. Arabia, now known to abound in inscriptions in stone and bronze and other historical monu-

ments of the Himyaritic empire, which, when brought to light and interpreted, cannot fail to yield very important accessions to our knowledge. Several specimens, too, of Himyaritic coins—the key to the country's history, and regarding the very existence of which so much doubt has hitherto been felt—have been recently obtained; and, as our store of them increases, will, by their unerring and concurrent testimony, be of no slight service in elucidating it. It is much to be hoped that before long an exploration of the country may be undertaken, and its hidden treasures drawn forth and made available; but in the mean time every additional ray of light, however small, that can be thrown on its history cannot but be welcome.

For the modern history of Yemen, on the other hand, our materials are much more abundant and authentic; and it is somewhat surprising, that there is yet no work in any of the languages of Europe that gives a full and connected account of the affairs of that region from the time of the prophet Mohammed. The only attempt of the kind that I know of is Playfair's "History of Yemen," which, though useful, is but a bare outline of events.

The few MSS. I am attempting to describe are well worthy the attention of students of Arabian history and literature, and fully deserve, I think, to be edited and translated. The names of them are:—The *Iklil fi Ansab*, of *Hassan bin Ahmed el Hamdani*; the *Kitab el Jezireh* of the same author; the *Tarikh el Mostabsir* of *Ibn el Mojawir*, and the *Kurrat el Oyûn of El Dubbi*.

It is not my intention to analyze these works; but in order to give a fair conception of their contents, I translate most of the rubrics or heads of chapters of each.

The first of them, the *Iklil*, is described by Hajji Khalfa as a great work, and a wealth of learning, and though it certainly contains a good deal of astrological trash, appears to deserve his encomiums. It is a repertory of all the information that could be collected on the subject of the Himyarites at the time the author wrote, about three centuries subsequent to the fall of that dynasty. It is, I am persuaded, the same

work that was met with by Baron Wrede during his journey in Hadramaut, and from which he transcribed the list of kings and tobbas given in the edition of his Travels lately published by the Baron von Maltzan.

The second is a very admirable description of Arabia and its people, more particularly of the S.W. portion, and is, I should say, of the best class of Arab geographies. It is a book rarely met with even in Arabia, and only one copy has, I believe, as yet reached Europe. The present volume is an 8vo. of 496 pages of 17 lines in a page, and contains also a copy of Nishwan's Kasideh and its commentary.

These two works of Hamdani are a mine of information on the early history and geography of Arabia, and unquestionably present many new and important materials. His intimate acquaintance with the various tribes and the physical features of the country is especially noteworthy. Hamdani was presumably one of the most learned men of his age, and must have been an indefatigable collector of knowledge, for if he did not himself visit the places he describes in Yemen, he managed at least to gather together a very unusual store of information regarding them, and he must take a high rank among the native historians of that land. Very little seems to be known of his life, the celebrated Es Soyuti being apparently the only one who has collected any information respecting him. The cause of this may have been partly on account of his heterodox opinions, as he is known to have been rather a free-thinker in matters of religion, an offence that would have sufficed to insure his exclusion from Moslem biographies. Hammer-Purgstall, in his *Literatur-Geschichte der Araber*, quoting from Es Soyuti's *Lives of the Grammarians*, tells us that Hamdani was born and brought up at Sanaa, wandered thence to Mecca, where he sojourned some time, then returned to Yemen, and settled himself at Sada, where he died A.H. 334; that he embraced all knowledge, and was a living encyclopædia of grammar, poetry, genealogy, history, astronomy, astrology, and geometry, and was also a physician. He was the author of at least ten works, many of which are given by Hajji Khalifa. Their names are as follows: (1.) The

Iklil fi Ansab, or Crown of Genealogies. (2.) The Book of Animals. (3.) The Book of Archery. (4.) The Book of Battle days. (5.) The Book of Roads and Kingdoms. (6.) The Description of Arabia. (7.) The Wonders of Yemen. (8.) The *Diwan Hassan*, a collection of poetry, in six volumes. (9.) The *Kasideh ed Damighat*. (10.) The *Zij el Hamdani*, astronomical tables. (11.) The *Sirr el Hikmet*. Of these, the fifth and sixth are, I suspect, but one and the same work under different titles, as the latter is not named by any author. Two only of all his compositions appear to have come down to us, the others have probably not been preserved. Hamdani's full name was *Abu Mohammed Hassan bin Ahmed bin Yacoub bin Eusof bin Daood el Hamdani el Yemeni*, and he was commonly known by the name of *Ibn Haik*.

From the title-page of the eighth volume of the *Iklil* I give the following list of contents of the ten books composing that work:—

- 1st Volume.—Abridged account of the beginning and origin of the Genealogies.
- 2nd Vol.—Progeny of Hamaisa bin Himyar.
- 3rd Vol.—The branches of Kahtan.
- 4th Vol.—On ancient history to the time of Tobba Abi Karib.
- 5th Vol.—On mediæval history from the first days of Asaad Tobba to the days of Dhu Nowas.
- 6th Vol.—On later history to the Islam.
- 7th Vol.—On some absurd accounts and impossible anecdotes of the Prophet.
- 8th Vol.—Account of the palaces of the Himyars, their cities and courts, and what has been preserved of their poetry.
- 9th Vol.—On the proverbs of the Himyars, and the prophecies in their language and musnad character.
- 10th Vol.—Account of Hashid and Bakail.

Contents of Volume VIII.—Chapter on what has come down to us concerning the palaces (تصور) of Yemen.—Account of Sanaa and its citadel Ghumdân.—Of Dhofar the

celebrated and its citadel.—The palace of Kaukeban.—The onyx mines in Yemen.—Account of Irem.—Of Nait.—Of the royal palace of Yaruk.—Of Mareb and Saba.—Of the palace of Natheed on Ras Asser.—Of Beit Hanbas and its ruins.—Of Debil.—Shehrâr.—Beinoon in Ans.—Dâmigh between Sanaa and Dhamar.—The Wadi Zohr.—Of Reâm and the place of eruption of fire.—Account of the mosques of Yemen.—Account of Gheiman, in which are the tombs of Himyar kings.—Of Musna, Hadha and Bu Hadha.—Of Sirwah, and what the poets have said of it.—Of Hidkan.—Ridaa.—Shibâm.—Najar.—Moukal.—Hakir.—Adhra.—Sarw.—The palace of Dhilan.—Of Rauthan.—The palaces of Shahi, one of the wonders of Yemen.—Of Khamir, one of the wonders of Hamdan.—Of Tulkum, one of the most ancient palaces of Yemen.—Of Shaoob and its palaces.—Ekla and its vast ruins.—Maeen.—Barakish and Baidha.—Souda and many other places.—The book of Dams or Bunds of the Himyars.—The dam of Mareb.—The dam of Khanik at Sada.—The dam of Riân and Niseân, and many others in Yemen and Hamdan.—Chapter on the treasures of Yemen and where they are hidden.—Chapter on the musnad character or writing of the Himyarites.—Chapter on the sepulchres of the Himyars and the inscriptions found in them.—Sepulchre of Hood in Hadramaut.—Of Abdulla bin Thamiir, and others.—Account of the elegies of the Himyarites.—On Kahtan.—Saba bin Yeshgob.—Himyar, Suksuk bin Wail.—Moghâfir.—Shedad, and others.

Contents of Volume X.—This volume gives the origin and genealogy of the Hâshid and Bakail tribes, and contains also a short account of that province and of Hamdan.—It also contains a treatise on the mines of gems and metals in Yemen, in which the localities of about sixty are given, including ten gold and eleven silver mines.

The Kitâb Jezîret el Arab.

Contents.—Introduction.—On the climates of Hermes Trismegistus.—The climates of Ptolemy.—The latitudes and longitudes of the cities of Arabia.—Description of the

inhabited regions of Arabia.—Account of Yemen and Socotra.—Account of Aden, the most ancient emporium of Arabia.—Account of Sanaa, the mother of Yemen.—The wadies and mountains of Yemen.—Account of Hadramaut and Beled Kindah.—The townships or districts of Yemen.—The Tehama and the land of Oman.—The plants of Yemen.—The languages of Arabia.—Account of El Yemamah, its climate and productions.—Description of the Jôf.—Account of Bahrein.—Celebrated places between Yemen and Nejd.—Chapter on the towns of mixed population between Irak and Sham and Yemen.—Ancient emporia of Arabia.—Highways of El Irak.—Routes from Sanaa.—Routes from Aden.—Routes in Hadramaut.—Wonders of Yemen not to be found elsewhere.—The divisions of the peninsula of Arabia.—Extracts from ancient geographical poems.

The next work, the *Tarikh el Mostabsir*, of *Mohammed bin Yacoob ibn el Mojawir el Shami el Baghdadi*, commonly called *El Kâtib*, is a curious topographical work descriptive of South Arabia, unsystematic perhaps in its arrangement, but interesting and valuable from being the result of personal observation, and from the simplicity and minuteness of detail with which the author records his facts. It is a very useful companion to the geography of Hamdani, as it illustrates certain points on which the latter was not well informed, as for instance, the little known country between Yemen and Oman, on which he throws great light. Besides the geographical part, also, the author describes the manners and customs of the people, and gives other information nowhere else to be met with. The book is indeed eminently readable, and would well bear translation. I know nothing of the author except that he travelled a good deal in Arabia, and died about A.H. 650. Copies are very scarce, and it is I believe almost unknown in Yemen.

Contents.—Account of Mecca, its names, history, etc.—Some manners and customs of Mecca.—Description of Taief.—Account of El Hejaz.—Historical account and description of Jedda.—Historical account and description of Zebeed.—Description of Bab el Mandeb.—Magnificence of the Moud-

zeria.—Routes from Aara.—Account of Aden in ancient times.—Of its gate and aqueduct.—The building of Aden.—The kings of Ajam or Aden.—Description of Aden, its walls and wells.—Of its commerce, revenue and trade in slave-girls.—Destruction of Aden.—Building of Dumlooha.—Description of Taiez.—Description of Jebel Sabbar.—Wonders of Yemen.—Building of Sanaa.—Citadel of Ghumdân.—Description of Sanaa.—Wonders of Dhamar.—Description of marriage ceremony there.—Routes and stages from Sanaa.—Account of the dam of Mareb, called El Mâzameen.—Routes and stages from Mareb.—Destruction of ancient Sada.—Building of Sada.—Routes and stages from Sada.—The Tehama.—Account of Nejd.—Marriage ceremonies in Nejd.—Routes and stages from Zebeed.—Building of Ahwab.—Account and description of Shibam.—Route from Shibam to Dhofar.—Destruction of Dhofar.—Account of ancient road.—Account of the Island of Socotra.—Route from Munsoora to Merbat.—Account of the Mahra tribe.—Of the Ibadhia sect.—From Munsoora to Aden.—Description of Kalhât.—From Kalhât to Muscat.—Of Sohar.—Of Dar el Kheima.—Of the Island of Kais and the pearl fishery.

The last work I have to describe is on the modern history of Yemen, and comprises a period of about nine hundred years from the introduction of Islam to the time the author wrote. It is the *Kitâb Kurrat el Oyûn bil Khabar el Yemen el Maimoon*, by the *Shaikh Abdurrahman bin Ali el Dubbi el Sheibani el Zebeedi*, and is a very useful epitome of events in that region. It appears to have been compiled almost exclusively from the valuable work of *El Khuzraji*, of which it may be considered an abridgment; however, it brings down the history to about a century later. It is one of the best known and commonest histories of Yemen to be met with.

Contents.—Chapter I. On Yemen and the kings of Sanaa and Aden.

Section 1. On Yemen and its dependencies.—Sec. 2. On the introduction of Islam into Yemen.—Sec. 3. On events after the death of the Prophet.—Sec. 4. On events under the Beni Umiyah.—Sec. 5.—On events under the

Abassiya.—Sec. 6. Of the Karmatians in Yemen and Ali bin Fadil.—Sec. 7. Of the independent princes of Sanaa.—Sec. 8. Of the sway of the Sulehiya.—Sec. 9. Of the kings of Sanaa after the Sulehiya.—Sec. 10. On events under the Zuraiya and the conquest of Aden.

Chapter II. Account of Zebeed.

Section 1. The rise of Zebeed and its possession by the Beni Zeeâd.—Sec. 2. The Abyssinians in Yemen.—Sec. 3. The Wezeers of the Nejash.—Sec. 4. Of Ibn Mehdi and decline of the Abyssinians.—Sec. 5. The dynasty of the Beni Ayoob.—Sec. 6. The Russooliya dynasty. Reign of Sultan Nooruddin Abi el Fatah.—Sec. 7. Of the reign of Sultan Melek el Mozuffer Shemsuddin Eusof.—Sec. 8. Of the reign of Sultan Melek el Ashraf.—Sec. 9. Of the reign of Melek el Moid Hizbur-uddin Daood.—Sec. 10. Of the reign of Melek el Mojahid Seif el Islam.—Sec. 11. Of the reign of Melek el Afthal.—Sec. 12. Of the reign of Melek el Ashraf Ismail.—Sec. 13. Of the reign of Melek el Nasir Ahmed.—Sec. 14. Of the reign of Melek el Mansoor Abdulla.—Sec. 15. Of the reign of Melek el Ashraf Nasir.—Sec. 16. Of the reign of Melek el Tahir Yehia.—Sec. 17. Of the reign of Melek el Ashraf Ismail.—Sec. 18. Of those who succeeded the Âl Ghossan. Reign of Mozuffer Eusof Ibn Mansoor.

Chapter III. The dynasty of the Beni Tahir.

Section 1. Of the reign of Melek el Mojahid Shemsuddin and Melek el Dhâfir Salâh uddin Ammir.—Sec. 2. Of the reign of Melek el Mansoor Tajuddin.—Sec. 3. Of the reign of Sultan Melek el Dhâfir Salâh uddin.

ART. III.—*On the Methods of Disposing of the Dead at Llassa, Thibet, etc.* By CHARLES HORNE, late B.C.S.

In the year 1857 one of the travelling Llamas from Llassa came to Lahoul, in the Kûlû country on the Himalêh, and hearing of the mutiny was afraid to proceed. Major Hay, who was at that place in political employ, engaged this man to draw and describe for him many very interesting ceremonies in use in Llassa, amongst which was the method there employed in disposing of dead bodies. This so exactly confirms the accounts given by Strabo and Cicero, and is, moreover, of itself so curious, that I have transcribed it, with as many passages relating to the subject as readily came to hand; and as the Llama was a very fair draughtsman, I have had facsimiles made of his drawings to illustrate this paper. I will first give the extracts, and then the account of the Llama.

M. Huc, the interesting Jesuit traveller, in his *Travels*, tome ii., p. 347, when at Llassa, alluding to hydrophobia, says (free translation):—“It is only surprising that this horrible complaint does not commit greater ravages when one thinks of the numbers of famished dogs who constantly prowl about the streets of Llassa. These animals are so numerous in this town that the Chinese say, ironically, that the three chief products of the capital of Thibet are Llamas, women, and dogs (Llama-Yatêon-Keon). This astonishing multitude of dogs is caused by the great respect that the Thibetans have for these animals, and the use they make of them for the disposal of their dead. There are four manners of sepulture in Thibet: first, incremation; second, throwing into the rivers or lakes; third, exposure on the summits of mountains; and the fourth, which is the most flattering of all, consists in cutting the dead bodies



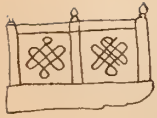
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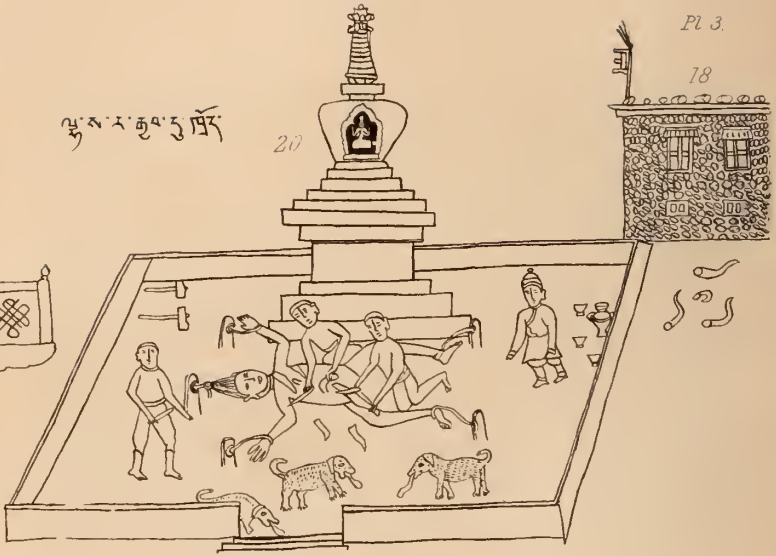
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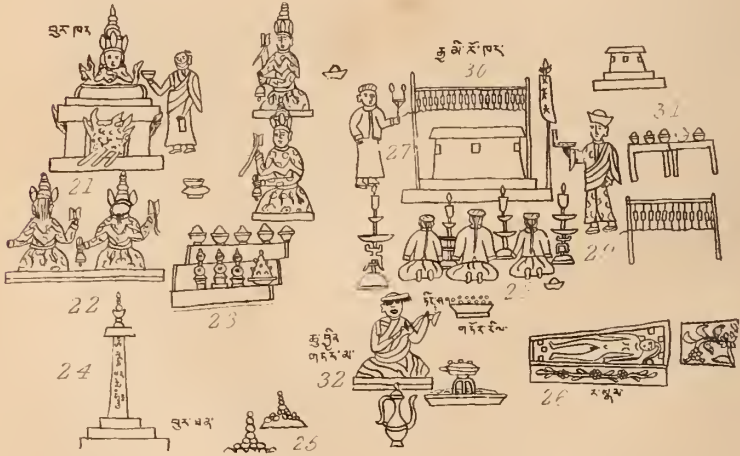
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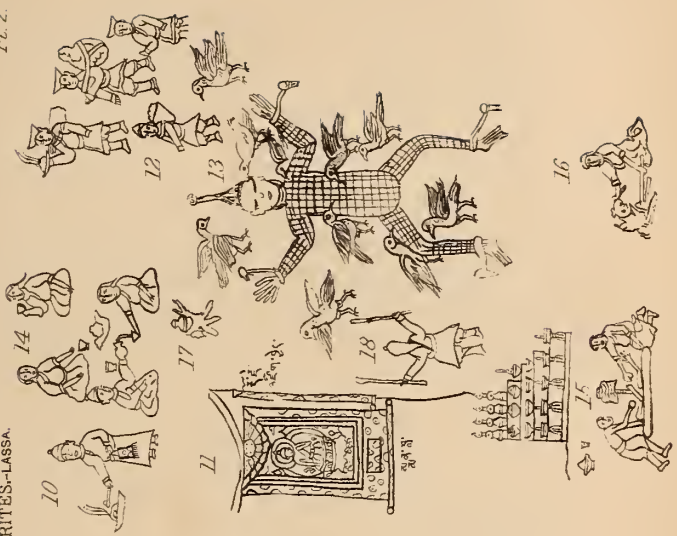
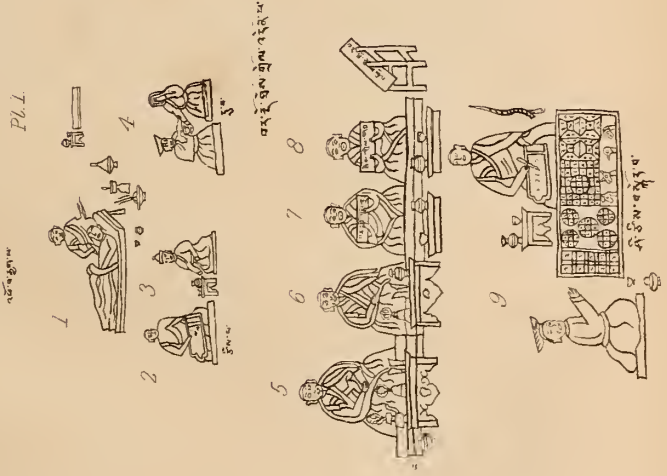
Pl. 4



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Pl. 2.

Pl. 1.



in pieces and giving them to the dogs to eat." The last method is the most general. The poor have for their sepulture the dogs of the environs, but for persons of distinction they employ a little more ceremony. There are establishments where they rear and maintain dogs for this sole purpose, and it is to these places that the rich Thibetans take their dead to be disposed of. Strabo, Cicero, and Justin, allude to these practises.

1. STRABO, speaking of the customs of the nomad Scythians as preserved amongst the Soghdians and Bactrians, says:—"In the capital of the Bactrians, they bring up dogs to which they give a particular name, and this name translated into our language would be 'interrers.' These dogs have to devour all those who become feeble from age or illness. Hence it is that the environs of this capital show no tombs; but within the walls many human bones are to be seen. Alexander is said to have abolished this custom."

2. CICERO attributes the same custom to the Hyrcanians when he says: "In Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes; optimates, domesticos. Nihile autem genus canum illud scimus esse. Sed pro sua quisque facultate parat a quibus lanietur; eamque optimam illi esse censent sepulturam." (*Tuscul. Quest. lib. i., p. 45.*)

3. JUSTIN says also of the Parthians: "Sepultura vulgi aut avium aut canum laniatus est. Nuda demum ossa terrâ obruunt." (*Note de Klaproth.*)

Herodotus also alludes to the practice; but the above quotations may be held to be sufficient.

Now for the Llama's account, more in detail. The accompanying sketches by the same hand explain these:—

No. 1. *Phôwâ Gyâgpâ*,—*Phôwâ* is the name of the *mantra* or prayer, and *Gyâgpâ* the person repeating it. The drawing represents a man who has died, and by his prayers a Llama had restored the spirit into the belly, and is in the act of drawing out the same by the end of his hair, *Trâtenbâ*, which he is supposed to unite with his own spirit (or *mun*); and having so done, he is held, whilst sitting in meditation with his eyes closed, to cause the united spirit to

pass out at his own head: Triloknâth is supposed to be there seated whilst he (the Llama) is praying, and so the said united spirit enters the body of Triloknâth by the anus, and thus they both are imagined to have become united to, and mingled with, the essence of the Deity.

No. 2 is the *Sipá*, who comes to consult the dead man's horoscope and future destiny; and to show how the body is to be placed with reference to the point of the compass.

No. 3 is a relation of the deceased consulting the priest.

No. 4, *Gnûvá* (or weeping), is the brother of the deceased receiving consolation from another, who administers *chang* or spirits, and bids him cheer up.

Nos. 5 and 6. These are two Getongs, called *Gyûnzhûgpá*, who are supposed to be for two days and nights meditating and praying mentally for the soul of the deceased.

Nos. 7 and 8. *Chêdûnpá* reading the *Purtó-tî-sól*. The meaning is this: for four days after death the spirit is supposed to hover near, and to preserve the power of seeing and hearing, and hence it listens to the contents of this book, in which are described the six roads by which to travel to the other world:—

1. A *White* road, or *Karpo*; 2. A *Yellow* road, or *Sirpo*; 3. A *Black* road, or *Nâgpó*; 4. A *Green* road, or *Jûnzú*; 5. A *Red* road, or *Marpo*; 6. A *Blue* road, or *Unpo*.

The readers shout out relative to these roads in substance as follows: These are the six roads. If you go by the *white* road, you will reach the Deotas; but you must not go there. If you try the *yellow* road, you will be reborn on this earth; don't go by that road, because this re-birth on earth will be eternally repeated. If you go by the *black* road, you will reach *Niruk*, or hell; don't go there, because it will involve endless pain and torment. Don't go by the *green* road, which leads through *Lamayin*, i.e. the sky below Indra's paradise, where they are always at war one with another. Don't go by the *red* road, because there you will meet with the *Idák*, or evil spirits, who have large heads, very small necks, and very empty bellies, which are never satisfied. Don't go by the *blue* road, because there are the animals

Timód, who alone have power, and you will be devoured. But look up towards heaven, and you will see, as in a glass flickering, a *red and yellow* road, shining like lightning. On seeing it you will be greatly afraid, but never fear, and travel by that road, and you will be sure to reach *Llama Kánchók*, or God, and you will enter into the Deity. If you cannot by any possibility get by that road, then go by the *white* road!! You are now become like air; you can't remain in this world; so be off!!

No. 9, *Sipa*, or Llama, consulting his book to see how the corpse is to be disposed of. If burnt, how the face is to be turned. The horn is that of the *Súrú* or *Isótio*, which he takes in his hand to drive away evil spirits.

No. 10, *Súrukápá*, burns incense.

No. 11, *Ro*, or a corpse. It is tied by a rope to the top of the room in a corner, and seated on an iron frame or stool, when the impurities are supposed to empty themselves below into a pan placed for the purpose. A cloth is placed over the head to conceal the face, and a *pardah*, or screen of cloth, is placed before the body, on which is affixed a picture of *Sangyé Mulla*, or *Doojéh Zhigrit*, a deity of the *Gelukpas*.¹

Before the corpse on the ground is placed a little *suttoo* (fine flour), and some water. In this plate the knees only of the corpse are shown, the rest must be supposed.

No. 12 represents a man carrying off the corpse packed up in a portable shape, as also others with necessaries. The class of men who perform this work are called *Togdun*.

No. 13. The corpse at this place, *Tútót*, is pegged out to five wooden pins. Then it is scored all over with a knife, and the men retire to a short distance and sit down and drink *chang*, or spirits, as shown in No. 14. The vultures meanwhile tear the flesh from the body, which does not take long, in consequence of the numbers always frequenting these spots. When the men return they find only the skeleton. They then take the bones to No. 15, where they pound them

¹ This Llama would appear to have belonged to the *Gelukpa*, or yellow sect, and his description applies more particularly to the customs of that sect of Buddhists, which is well represented at Llassa. The word means *virtuous*.

up with stones and hammers, after which they are thrown to the vultures. No dogs are allowed here, and the place is called *Chátór*, from *Chá*, "a bird."

No. 16 is a man singeing the hair off the head, a portion of the skull of which is preserved and afterwards pounded up, mixed with earth, and formed into small shapes with figures of Triloknâth or Sakya stamped upon them, or moulded into small *Chortens* or Dagobas.

No. 17 shows us the *Tógduns* drinking tea after their work is ended.

No. 18 represents a man driving off the vultures, *Chagót*, to prevent them devouring the corpse until it shall first have been properly scored all over.

Plate No. 3 represents a place in Llassa called *Râgyúp-dútód*. *Ra* means "a horn"; *Gyup*, "behind"; *Dutod*, "Golgotha."

Here are five stones fixed in the ground, to which the corpse is tied, and three men, *Tógdun*, are cutting up the body and bones, all of which are given to the dogs. This mode of disposal of the dead is called *Ki-chin* (*Ki* is a dog). Very many dogs always remain at this place. The hammers and axes are for breaking up the skeleton. The man on the right supplies the operators with *chang* or spirits.

No. 18 represents the house which is called *Râgyuptógdun*, and is built of horns and inhabited by the *Tógdun*. There are a hundred of such houses in the suburbs of Llassa, besides two hundred inhabited by the butchers (*Shéva*) constructed in a similar manner.

All these people beg and collect much money, chiefly from the relations of the dead, by whom they are well paid.

They are said to be insolent in their demands, and if anyone gives them half a *tunka* (or small piece of money), they spit upon it and throw it away, saying, "If you are not ashamed to give so little, I am ashamed to receive it."

No. 19 is the parapet of the *Rákâtchúmi* or well.

No. 20 is a *Chânochúp chorten*, with a figure of Triloknath, supposed to have appeared there miraculously without mortal assistance.

No. 21, or *Purkung* (*Pár* being applied to the corpse of a superior and *Ro* to that of an inferior; *Khung* signifies a house), shows the method in which the higher people of Llassa are burnt. A building is first erected, with a hollow in the centre, into which the body is placed in an upright position. The face is covered with red silk, and the wood used to burn the body is *Shukpa*, or pencil cedar (*Juniperus excelsa*), and frankincense. The attending Llama is shown feeding the flames with *ghee* or clarified butter.

No. 22 shows two Llamas, who are offering up prayers and the *hón* of sacrifice by fire, and are dressed the same as the deceased. They have in their hands the *dril-bu* or sacred bell.

No. 23. These *choptahs*, or vessels of green sugar, etc., are burnt with the body.

When, however, a man of high rank dies from smallpox, he is not burnt, but buried, and a tomb, as shown in No. 24 (*Púltun*), built of stone, is erected over the spot.

Should the sufferer from the same complaint have been of inferior rank, a small heap of stones only is made over his grave, as shown in No. 25.

No. 26, *Rogum* or *Rokum* (*Gum* means a coffin), represents a Chinaman's body as laid in his coffin, with silver, gold, sugar, rice, etc. This coffin is then placed in a tomb, No. 27, called *Gyamirókung*, the place assigned for the burial being *Tubchitung*, two miles outside Llassa.

No. 28 shows a chief mourner, dressed in white, which is the colour of Chinese mourning. The other relations are not always clad in mourning, but all put on a linen or cotton turban, setting their ordinary caps on one side, which, however, all except the chief mourner resume when leaving the tomb.

No. 29 is the *Washung* or Chinese priest.

No. 30 are *Shókpá*, or fireworks, which are lighted and fired three times, when the mourners prostrate themselves nine times.

After seven days have elapsed, they again visit the tomb, when the same ceremony is performed.

At No. 31 are represented dishes of sweetmeats, of which, after the fireworks and the nine prostrations, the mourners partake, and then return to their homes.

No. 32 shows *Tchúchintôrma*, a ceremony in which in one basin are placed little bits of flour paste rolled up, called *torma*; and in another water (*tchú*), with which these little pieces of paste are put. *Chin*, "offering," completes the work.

The Llama is supposed to be offering these to the *Idák*, or bad spirits aforementioned as inhabiting the place mentioned in Red Road No. 5. These *Idák* have, as aforesaid, large heads, small necks, and large bellies never to be satisfied.

In Sanskrit the word *Idák* is called *Prétá*, which means a departed soul, spirit of the dead, ghost, or evil spirit.

So far the Llama describes the different methods of the disposal of dead bodies in Llassa as observed by the Thibetans and Chinese.

There is, however, one other method of preserving the dead bodies of their highest Llamas.

The first process is to cover up the body in salt, which dissolves and becomes absorbed in the flesh; this process is repeated two or three times. When a sufficient quantity has been absorbed to preserve the body, it is taken out, the limbs relaxed, and the body placed in a sitting attitude and clothed; the hands having been placed in a position called *Chin Chut*. When the muscles of the face relax and the skin shrivels, wax is put in to fill up the cheeks to the natural size, and the body is preserved in a *chorten* as a mummy which can be seen at any time.

Note by Major Hay.—"No man can fail to remark how similar the altar is to that shown on the reverse of many Sassanian coins. It is probable their custom of burning the bodies of their kings was the same, and the attendants seem even to have the same kind of cap. The ancient Persians, according to Herodotus and Strabo, exposed their dead to be devoured by vultures. It should, however, be remarked that the bodies of the *old* monarchs of Persia were interred, not burnt, which would have been contrary to the laws of

Zoroaster, as tending to desecrate the sacred element—fire; nor were they previously exposed to be devoured by animals, as was prescribed by the precept of the Magi, with whom the dog was a sacred animal.”

In continuation of the above, as the subject is one of interest, I subjoin a few extracts from Rollin's *Ancient History*, and other sources relative to the subject.

The ancient Persians, we are told by Herodotus, did not erect funeral piles for the dead or consume their bodies in the flames. “Accordingly we find that Cyrus,¹ when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of: by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent from whence he sprang, to which he ought to return. And when Cambyses had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis,² king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating their dead. It was the custom of the latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them longer from corruption.”

Cicero says, *Tuscul. Quæst.*, lib. i., p. 108 :

“Condiunt Egyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant: Persæ jam cerâ circumlitos condiunt, ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora.”

Major Hay, in his report on the Spiti Valley, written in 1850, tells us that incremation is the ordinary method of disposing of the dead in Spiti. Their ashes are thrown into the nearest running stream, the spot where the body was burnt plastered over with cowdung, and an urn put up.

I have repeatedly seen these urns in Kurnawur, and always supposed them to contain the ashes, and I was informed that such was the case. Those dying of smallpox were not burned, but buried; and I have also seen the heaps of stones which had been placed over the grave, but curiously enough during the months that I was in the country I never witnessed a funeral or incremation.

¹ Cyrop., l. viii., p. 238.

² Herod., l. iii., c. 16.

ART. IV.—*The Brhat-Saṁhitā; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varāha-mihira.* Translated from Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. KERN.

[Continued from Vol. V., p. 288.]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Phenomenon termed an Aerial City (Fata Morgana).

1. An aerial city in the north is detrimental to the court priest; one in the east, is so to the sovereign; one in the south, to the commander of the troops; one in the west, to the prince royal. A white one is pernicious to Brahmans, a crimson one to Kshatriyas, a yellow one to Vaiçyas, and a dusky one to Çûdras.

2. The same phenomenon, if visible to the northward, brings victory to such kings as stay in their residences; if it is seen in any intermediate quarter, it tends to the destruction of individuals of the mixed classes. When an aerial city, along with triumphal arches, appears in a tranquil quarter, it forebodes triumph to the king.

3. On arising, in all quarters and at all times, the phenomenon brings danger to king and people. When it resembles smoke, fire, or a rainbow, it will kill thieves and foresters.

4. An aerial city of faded colour brings wind and thunder; a glowing one causes the death of the monarch; one seen on the left augurs danger from the enemy, but one on the right brings victory.

5. When a vari-coloured aerial city makes its appearance with streamers, standards, and gateways, then the earth is soon to swallow abundantly, on the battle-field, the blood of elephants, horses, and men.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Mock Suns.

1. A mock sun, if sleek and showing the hue appropriate to the sun in the season in which it appears, is held auspicious;

it brings peace and prosperity by being very bright, and beryl-coloured or white.

2. A yellow one causes sickness, and one red, like an Açoka-blossom, announces the raging of the sword. A row of mock suns betokens danger from robbers, and is mortal to the sovereign.¹

3. A mock sun, when standing north of the sun, gives rain; when south, wind; when on both sides, there is peril of inundation; when it is seen above, it is pernicious to the sovereign; when beneath, to the people.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. ²

Haze.

1. They say that the death of the king is augured by a haze appearing like a heap of thick darkness, when all quarters are so shrouded that hills, towns, and trees, are not discernible.

2. In the same quarter where a mass of vapour first arises or vanishes, danger is undoubtedly approaching in a week.

3. By a white mass of hazy clouds, the ministers and country people are to suffer; before long the sword will rage and success be much impeded.

4. If at sunrise a haze arises, covering as it were the whole canopy for one or two days, it presages awful danger.

5. Dimness uninterruptedly thickening during one night, destroys the principal monarch, but is conducive to the safety of sage rulers.

6. In the kingdom where a thick mass of gloom is spreading for a couple of nights, one may foretell an invasion from hostile forces.

7. A dimness descending and staying for three or four

¹ In the compound *dasyubhayātankanṛpantrī* a word like *da*, *kara* is omitted by the poet.

² This chapter is wanting in the MSS. of the commentary, and betrays a style different from our author's.

nights, blights food and fluids; when it lasts for five nights, there is to be a mutiny amongst the royal troops.

8. When dimness arises, apart from the appearance of comets and the like, it produces horrible danger. Its effects are, as the masters of the science declare, unimpaired in any season but autumn.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Typhoons.

1. When a wind clashing with another wind is struck down from the air to the earth, then a typhoon is produced. It is ill-boding if accompanied by the cries of vexed birds.

2. At sunrise it will injure judges, kings, wealthy men, soldiers, wives, merchants, and courtesans; in the morning (from six to nine o'clock) it is mischievous to goats and sheep, Çûdras and burgesses.

3. At the time (from nine o'clock) till noon it will affect royal attendants and Brahmans; in the third part of the day (from noon till three o'clock), it will be bad for Vaiçyas and rain-clouds, and in the fourth part for thieves.

4. Just after sunset it destroys the outcasts; in the first watch of night it ruins the grains; in the second watch it vexes the hosts of imps.

5. It will oppress horses and elephants in the third watch, and princes on the march in the fourth. It destroys the region to which it is tending, with a terrific, hollow noise.

CHAPTER XL.

Prognostics for the Growth of Crops.

1. Here are described which constellations on the Sun's entering Scorpio and Taurus are favourable, or the reverse, to the growth of autumnal and summer corn, according to the statements of Bâdarâyaṇa.

2. The summer corn thrives, if, on the Sun's entering Scorpio, the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth house are occu-

pied by benign planets,¹ or if he is looked at by the benign planets when in their power.²

3. If the Sun stands in Scorpio, Jupiter in Aquarius, and the Moon in Leo, or Jupiter in Leo and the Moon in Aquarius, the summer corn will prosper.

4. If Venus or Mercury, or both, are stationed in the second house from the Sun, or in the twelfth, the corn will thrive, and exceedingly so should the constellation be favoured by the aspect of Jupiter.³

5. If the Sun, being in Scorpio, stands between Mercury and Venus, while Jupiter and the Moon are in the seventh house from the Sun, the harvest will be most excellent. When the Sun stands in the first part of Scorpio, and Jupiter in the second, one must expect a half crop.

6. By Venus, the Moon and Mercury occupying the eleventh, fourth, and second house, the Sun being in Scorpio, the grains will prosper uncommonly, and so too will the cows should Jupiter at the same conjuncture occupy the tenth house.

7. Jupiter in Aquarius, the Moon in Taurus, the Sun in the beginning of Scorpio, Mars and Saturn in Capricorn, form a constellation that promises a rich harvest, but afterwards danger from hostile invasions.

8. The Sun, by standing in Scorpio, between two evil planets, makes the corn perish; a malign planet in the seventh house ruins it while sprouting.⁴

9. An evil planet occupying the second house, if not

¹ *i.e.*, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus.

² The parallel passage in Bâdarâyaṇa has :

वृश्चिकसंस्थे सूर्ये सौम्यैर्बलवद्भिर्निरीक्षिते वृद्धिम् ।
तैरेव केन्द्रैर्वा ग्रीष्मजधान्यस्य निर्दिशेन्नहतीम् ॥

³ Bâdarâyaṇa :

सूर्याद्बुधे द्वितीये शुक्रे वा तत्र युगपदेव तयोः ।
रिप्पगयोरथेवं निष्पत्तिर्गुरुदृशातीव ॥

⁴ Bâdarâyaṇa :

क्रूरान्तःस्थः सूर्यो वृश्चिकसंस्थो विनाशयति सस्यम् ।
जातंजातं पापः सप्तमसंस्थो ऽपि नाशयति ॥

looked at by good planets, spoils the first growth, but is decidedly favourable to the corn sown afterwards.

10. Two malign planets, if stationed in the seventh, tenth, fourth, or first house from the Sun, in Scorpio, make the crops miscarry, but not everywhere, so that the planetary aspects be not adverse.¹

11. When two evil planets are standing in the seventh and sixth houses from the Sun in Scorpio, then one may expect a good harvest and a lowering of prices.

12. In like manner the learned astrologer must determine whether the Sun on entering Taurus is to be pernicious or favourable to the grains that shoot out in autumn.

13. If the Sun, when moving in Aries, Taurus, or Gemini, is in conjunction with benign planets, or in their aspect, the result is that the summer corn gets cheap² and is consumed in peace.

14. The Sun has the same effect upon the autumnal corn, if he stands in Sagittarius, Capricorn, or Aquarius at the period of collecting. The reverse will take place if he is in the aspect of, or in conjunction with, malign planets.

CHAPTER XLI.

Classification of Natural Products.

1. To the domain of the sundry asterisms of the ecliptic, the Seers have assigned several natural products, for the prognostication of good or ill. I shall enumerate them according to traditional and authoritative lore.

2. To Aries are said to belong: cloth, sheep's wool, goat's

¹ Bâdarâyaṇa :

सूर्यात्सप्तमसंख्यः पापो न्यः केन्द्रगश्च हानिकरौ ।
सौम्यग्रहसन्दृष्टौ न तथा सर्वत्र निर्दिष्टौ ।

² Not समर्थ, as the printed text has it, but समर्घ is the true reading ; cf. ch. xli. 12. The same word occurs in a passage from some Smṛti quoted by Nīlakaṇṭha in Mahābhārata, xiii. 23, 21 (Bombay ed.):

समर्घं धान्यमादाय महार्घं यः प्रयच्छति ।
स वै वार्धुषिको नाम ह्यक्वक्ववहिष्कृतः ॥

hair, lentils, wheat, resin, barley, weeds growing on land, and gold.

3. To Taurus are referred, cloth, flowers, wheat, rice, barley, buffaloes, and bullocks ; to Gemini, corn, whatever grows up in autumn, creepers, esculent bulbs of water-lilies, and cotton.

4. To Cancer belong, paspalum, plantains, dũb-grass, fruits, roots, leaves, and cocoa-nuts ; to Leo, grain in husks, essences, skins of lions, etc., and sugar.

5. To Virgo pertain, flax, awnless barley,¹ dolichos, wheat, kidney-beans and grain in pods ;² to Libra, peas, wheat, white mustard seed and barley.

6. Under Scorpio are brought, sugar-cane, whatever grows through being watered, iron, goats and sheep ; under Sagittarius, horses, salt, cloth, missiles, sesamum, grain, and roots.

7. To Capricorn belong, trees, shrubs, whatever grows through being watered, sugar-cane, gold and black iron ; to Aquarius, aquatic products, fruits, flowers, jewels, and brilliant things.

8. Under Pisces are, such jewels as come from testaceous animals,³ aquatic products, diamonds, various oils, and whatever comes from fishes.

9. By standing in the fourth, tenth, second, eleventh, seventh, ninth, or fifth house, from the particular asterism (to which any product belongs), Jupiter promotes the increase of the products ; so does Mercury by standing in the second, eleventh, tenth, fifth, or eighth house.

10. The planet Venus causes loss in the sixth or seventh house, but increase in the rest. The malign planets are favourable, if stationed in the Houses of Increase,⁴ but inflict loss if standing in other places.

¹ The meaning is doubtful ; the Comm. only says that *kalāyu* is a *sasyam* ; at any rate it must be something different from *kulattha*.

² About *nishpāva* the Comm. remarks : अनुप्तानि यानि पुनर्जायन्ते निष्पावाश्च शालयः । इति केचित् । शिखिधान्यमिति केचित् ॥

³ e.g. from the pearl oyster.

⁴ i.e. the third, sixth, tenth and eleventh.

11. If the evil planets in their power stand at evil distances from any asterism, the articles assigned to such an asterism will become dear and scarce.

12. The benign planets in their power, by occupying a good place with respect to any asterism, have the effect of making the products belonging to such an asterism cheap and abundant.¹

13. A sign in the aspect of good planets in their power produces no evil, even if the houses occupied are unfavourable. The reverse applies to the aspect of malign planets.

CHAPTER XLII.

Prognostics for the Rising or Lowering of Prices.

1, 2. A change in the prices may be foretold on observing uncommon rainfall, meteors, an airy staff, halo, eclipse, mock sun or moon, and such like phenomena at new or full moon, and at the Sun's entrance into a new sign, every month. As to uncommon phenomena on any other day of the month, those have a tendency to make monarchs suffer from frays.

3. (If any of the aforesaid phenomena is seen) when the Sun has reached Aries, one should purchase summer corn; and when the sun stands in Taurus, buy wild roots and fruits. Then one shall gain (in selling those articles) in the fourth month following.

4. If one makes a store of all sorts of flavours and grain during the Sun's stay in Gemini, he shall in selling them in the sixth month after have an enormous gain.

5. By laying up honey, perfumes, oil, ghee, and syrup, at the time of the Sun's stay in Cancer, one will get twice the prime cost in the second month; but by selling before or after that period, one will sustain loss.

6. When the Sun is in Leo, one should buy gold, jewels, skins, bark, weapons, pearls, and silver. If one sells them in the fifth month, there will be profit, but otherwise loss.

¹ सामर्थ्यम् instead of सामर्थ्यम्; cf. ch. xl. 13.

7. The buyer of chowries, donkeys, camels, and horses, when the Sun has reached Virgo, shall gain double if he sell in the sixth month afterwards.

8. When the Sun is in Libra, let one purchase woven articles, jewels, woollen cloths, glass, yellow flowers, and corn; these will, in six months, fetch double their price.

9. Fruits, bulbs, roots, and various gems, taken in when the Sun stands in Scorpio, and laid up for two years, yield a profit equal to double the prime cost.

10. Let one buy saffron, conch shells, coral, glass, and pearls, when the Sun is in Sagittarius; six months after those articles will fetch double prices.

11. He who is anxious to gain must purchase iron wares and corn when the Sun occupies Capricorn and Aquarius, and sell a month after; he then gets double their prime cost.

12. By storing roots, fruits, bulbs, vessels, and jewels, when the Sun has reached Pisces, for half a year, one shall obtain a handsome profit.

13. These profits in reference to each sign of the ecliptic are only promised in case the Sun or Moon is in conjunction with a friendly planet, and in the aspect of such a one as is befriended for the time being.

14. The Moon, by being in conjunction with the Sun, or, when full, in conjunction with, or looked at, by benign planets, instantly causes a rising of prices. Both she and the Sun, however, spoil the prices, if both are in conjunction with, or in aspect of, evil planets. In this way one has to tell the good or evil effects, after ascertaining which substances are assigned to each house.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Festivity of Raising Indra's Banner.

1. The immortals said unto the Creator: "O Lord! we are unable to resist in battle the children of darkness. Hence we approach Thee, the resource of those who are in need."

2. The Lord said to the gods: "In the Milk-sea is Keçava;

He will give you the ensign, at the sight of which the demons shall not withstand you in the struggle.”

3, 4. On obtaining this boon, the gods with Indra went to the Milk-sea, and praised Him who is marked by the Çrīvatsa, whose breast is beaming with the rays of the Kaustubha gem, Him the Lord of Çrî, the incomprehensible and incomparable one, the life essence of all living beings, Vishṇu, the highest soul, who is without beginning, and to whom no limit is known.

5. Then, satisfied by their praises, the divine Nârâyaṇa gave them the ensign that shall prove for the faces of the brides of the demons such as the Moon is for the day blowing lotus, but for the countenances of the goddesses, such as the Sun is for the same flowers.

6. Indra gladdened at receiving the ensign produced from Vishṇu's lustre, which was carried on an eight-wheeled fulgent chariot, resplendent with gems, as if it were the Sun beaming forth in autumn.¹

7. By raising that standard, adorned with many tinkling objects, garlands, umbrellas, bells and trinkets, the king of the gods annihilated in battle the host of the enemy.

8. The king of the gods granted the bambu flagstaff to Vasu the sky-traveller, lord of Cedi, and that monarch treated the gift with due respect.²

9, 10. Satisfied by that festive demonstration, the ruler of heaven declared: “Those kings who will act in the same manner shall be rich like Vasu, and see their behests obeyed on earth. Their people will be contented, free from peril and sickness, and have abundance of food. The ensign is

¹ The general import of the myth appears to be, that the Sun, the source of light (Vishṇu) bestows on heaven (Indra) his own *ketu* (i.e. ensign and first gleam of day), before which the spirits of darkness must needs vanish. The festival described in this chapter, like many other feasts at certain seasons, may be called a natural myth rendered plastic, dramatized. The eight-wheeled chariot is the day divided into eight *yâmas*.

² The same myth is told in Mahâbhârata i. 63, 15, *seqq.* (Bombay ed.).

also to bode through foretokens what good or evil consequences await mankind.”

11. Now am I going to propound, according to authoritative traditional lore, how in the days of yore monarchs wishing for victory and increase of power have honoured that standard by Indra’s command.

12. The precept is as follows:—The astrologer and master-carpenter go to the wood at a lucky Karaṇa,¹ day, asterism, and at an auspicious hour, when all augurs well for the journey.

13, 14. Trees not fit as material for Indra’s standard are such as grow in public gardens, temple yards, cemeteries, ant-hills, roads, and hallowed spots; or such as are stunted, sear at the top, spinous trees, those entwined by creepers and parasitic plants, or covered with numerous birds’ nests and holes, or hurt by fire and wind, and such as bear feminine appellations.

15, 16. The fittest trees are *Terminalia Arjuna*, *Vatica robusta*, *Terminalia tomentosa*, *Grislea tomentosa*,² and glomerated fig-tree. In taking one out of these five or some other estimated timber tree growing on white or black soil, the Brahman divine has first in due form to pay his respects to the tree, and after approaching it on a lonely spot at night time, touch it and recite the following spell:

17. “Hail to all beings living in this tree! Reverence to ye! May you change your abode after taking this oblation:

18. “Hail to thee, O pre-eminent tree! The king chooses thee for the standard of the king of the gods: accept thou this homage!”

19. On the next morning the carpenter has to hew the tree, with his face turned towards the north or east. A hollow sound of the felling axe is not auspicious, but a soft and full tone favourable.

¹ cf. ch. 99, 6.

² The r. *dhava* of the printed text is as doubtful as its rendering; the Comm. has *vadha*, certainly the word from which *bādhaka*, explained as *rājavyksha* and *girimāla* (see Böhtl. and Roth, Dict. i. v. *bādhaka*), is derived.

20. If the tree falls to the eastward or northward, unimpaired, not crooked, and without getting entangled in another tree, it bodes victory to the sovereign; should the tree come down under the contrary circumstances, it must be left alone.

21. After chopping off four digits from the top, and eight from the bottom, one must throw the trunk into water; and then, after it has been taken out again, have it transported to the town gate by means of a cart, or carried by men.

22. If one of the spokes gives way, there will be bickerings in the army; if it is the periphery that breaks, you may be sure that the army will be destroyed. Rupture of the axle presages loss of wealth, and of the axle-pins bodes ruin to the carpenter.

23, 24. On the eighth day of the bright half of Bhâdrapada should the king, surrounded by citizens, with the astrologers, ministers, chamberlains, and Brahmans foremost among them, all in festive dress, order the standard of Indra to be carried by citizens into the town, amidst the sounds of horns and musical instruments, while the staff is covered with new cloth, and enveloped in garlands, perfumes, and incense.

25, 26. Gaudy streamers, triumphal arches, and festoons of wild flowers adorn the town where the inhabitants are over-merry; where the streets are cleaned and trimmed, crowded with handsomely-attired courtesans; where the shops are trimmed up, the squares crowded with mimics, dancers, and singers; where many festive and solemn shouts are heard.

27. White streamers foreshow triumph, but yellow ones sickness; vari-coloured ones bring victory, whereas red ones presage the raging of the sword.

28. If the staff in entering the town is subverted by elephants or other animals, danger is impending. A sound of boys clapping hands or a fight between animals (on that occasion) augurs war.

29. Thereon (when the beam has safely arrived in town) must the carpenter plane it, and then raise it on a machine according to the rules. The king now orders a vigil to be

kept with it, on the eleventh (of the bright half of Bhâdrapada).

30. The court priest, clad in white and wearing a white turban, makes a sacrifice to the Fire with hymns to Indra and Vishṇu, whilst the astrologer has to observe the symptoms.

31. A blazing fire, ardent, smooth, compact, having the shape of auspicious things, brings blessings; one showing different qualities is evil. This subject has been more amply treated in the Yâtra.¹

32. A fire that at the final benediction blazes forth of itself, and with soft lustre turns its flame to the right, renders all earth subject to the monarch, she whose girdle is the ocean and whose lovely necklace is the glittering stream of the Ganges and Jamnâ.

33. When the fire shows the hue of gold, Aḡoka blossom, yellow Barleria, lotus, beryl stone or blue lotus, then shall darkness, expelled by the rays, find no room in the royal house.

34. Those (princes) to whom fire emits a noise like that of a multitude of chariots, like the sea, clouds, elephants, or battle-drums, shall in their march cause the regions to be darkened and shaken by the troops of their infuriated elephants.

35. Whenever fire assumes the shape of a banner, jar, horse, elephant, or hill, earth (in all her extension, so as to have) the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himâlaya and Vindhya for breasts, comes under the sway of (such) kings (for whom the sacrificial fire shows those symptoms).

36. If fire has the scent of the elephant's frontal juice, of oil, lotus, fried grains, ghee, or honey, earth is to be like a mosaic formed by the rays issuing from the crown jewels of prostrate potentates.

37. These good or evil omens which arise from the fire at (the festival of) Indra's banner, are likewise to be observed

¹ Yogayâtrâ, ch. viii.

at the casting of horoscopes, at sacrifices, propitiating oblations to the planets, at the periods of marching and wedding.

38. When the priests have been honoured with sugar, cakes, milk porridge, etc., and with guerdons, the ensign of Indra should be raised on the twelfth, whether the asterism of the date be Çravaṇa or another.

39, 40. Manu has laid down the rule, that there are seven or five smaller flagstaves to be wrought by skilled artisans and called "Indra's daughters." The two named Nandâ and Upanandâ measure three-quarters of the height (of the great standard), Jayâ and Vijayâ, and two others, both termed Vasundharâ, are taller by a sixteenth. Higher by an eighth than all these is "Indra's mother," in the middle.

41. The various trinkets with which the immortals once joyfully decorated the divine banner, ought to be put on in due order.

42. The first ornament, being of quadrangular shape, and of the hue of red Açoka blossom, was given by Viçvakarman. Brahma and Çiva gave a vari-coloured girdle.¹

43. The third ornament, octangular and dark red, was granted by Indra. Yama bestowed the fourth gift, a dark, yet lustrous, pillow.²

44. The fifth gift from Varuṇa, was a sexangular, madder-hued, and resembling waving water; the sixth, from the god of air, was an armlet made of peacock's feathers, and dark as a cloud.

45. Skanda contributed for the banner his own motley arm ring,³ being the seventh gift. The eighth ornament, given by the god of Fire, bore likeness to a fire flame.

¹ The first ornament seems to signify the first streak of red at dawn; the girdle belonging to Brahma, in his quality as Prajâpati and *saṃvatsara*, and to Çiva, in his quality as Time, is a symbol of the circle of Time.

² The gift of Indra is, apparently, a symbol of the day divided into eight watches; Yama's is a symbol of rest, and at the same time something lustrous, because Yama is the lord of the dead and the genius of evening twilight.

³ Skanda, the "marching" god, and therefore called the Wargod, is

46. The Moon presented, ninthly, a collar hued like beryl-stone.¹ The Sun in his quality of Maker (of the phenomenal world) bestowed a tenth gift, an ornament resplendent and similar to a chariot's wheel.

47. The Viṣve Devas contributed the eleventh ornament, called Udvança,² and lotus coloured. The Seers gave the twelfth, termed Nivança, and showing the tinge of the blue lotus.

48. The planets Jupiter and Hesperus offered as their share to the standard the thirteenth ornament, something projecting at the upper and lower ends, largest at the top, and coloured like red lac.

49. These decorations to the banner are, each of them, consecrated to the divine being by whom they were produced, which the wise will do well to observe.

50. The circumference of the first trinket is a third of the extension of the banner. The dimensions of each of the following must be lessened by an eighth.

51. On the fourth day next, a skilled person must equip Indra's standard, and the king³ devoutly recite the following prayers which Manu has handed down from tradition.

52, 53. "Even as thou, O source of vigour, hast been honoured with manifold sublime ornaments by Çiva, the Sun, Yama, Indra, the Moon, Kubera, Agni, Varuṇa, the hosts of great Seers, the goddesses of the quarters, the Nymphs, Hesperus, Jupiter, Skanda, and the host of Winds, so mayest thou now, O God, graciously accept these beautiful ornaments."

54. "Thou art the unborn, imperishable, eternal, unchangeable One; thou the all-fertilizing Viṣṇu, the personification of the year in its course; hence his token is a ring, a circle.

¹ A symbol of the cluster of asterisms, of course. The colour *vaiḍūrya* is, according to Utpala, "deep yellow," *nīlapītakāntī*.

² The Comm. gives no satisfactory explanation of the terms *udvança* and *nivança*; he only says, *udvançanāmūbharaṇam* and *nivançaṃ nāma*.

³ That the king himself has to recite the prayers is not only stated by the Comm., but is also manifest from st. 56.

primitive soul; thou art Death, the all-destroying Fire; adorable art thou, with a thousand heads and a hundred moods!"

55. "I invoke the seven-tongued Seer, who will save us; I invoke Indra, who will protect us, the ruler of the gods, the mighty, well armed killer of Vṛtra. May our warriors be victorious!"

56. The king should, without breaking his fast, recite these auspicious verses when Indra's standard is being decorated, raised, brought into town, cleaned, crowned with garlands, and when it is being removed.

57, 58. The ensign of Indra must be adorned with an umbrella, streamer, mirror, fruits,¹ crescents, variegated garlands, stems of plantain and sugar-cane, with trinkets, figures of snakes and lions, loopholes and images of the guardian gods of the quarters. Then should it be raised, fastened with unimpaired ropes and props made from strong wood, together with the smaller standards styled "Indra's daughters," these also made of strong wood, and unbroken. The triumphal arch is secured at the bottom by tightly fitting mechanisms and pins.

59. The unceasing shouts of the crowd, along with festive cries, benedictions, and salutations; the piercing sounds of war-drums, tabors, horns, kettle-drums and other instruments must accompany the raising of the standard, all inauspicious sounds² being hushed, as Brahmans incessantly recite texts prescribed in the Scriptures.

60. The sovereign should (if necessary) order the citizens having fruits, curds, ghee, fried grains, wax, and flowers in their hands, while bowing their heads and shouting praises, to keep Indra's standard with the point directed against the residence of the foe as if threatening death to him.

¹ The v. r. has *hala*, "plough."

² The compound *açubharahitaçabdā* here denotes "without inauspicious sounds," and not, as it grammatically does, "with sounds free from evil omens." Grammar has been sacrificed to the exigencies of prosody; cf. ch. xix. 17 (trans.). The correct form of the compound would be *açubhaçabdārahitam*.

61. The raising is lucky, if it is proceeding neither too hastily nor too slowly, steadily, without damage to the garlands, trinkets, and other decorations. If otherwise, it is an evil omen, which the court priest should assuage through expiatory rites.

62. If carrion birds, owls, doves, crows, and herons perch on the banner, it is asserted that great peril awaits the sovereign ; and if a blue jay perches on it, the prince royal is threatened. A hawk alighting on it forebodes danger to eyesight.

63. The breaking or falling of the umbrella gives rise to the king's death ; marks of honey clinging to the standard presage robbery ; a meteor (coming down on it) destroys the monarch, and a thunderstroke the queen.

64. The fall of a pennant has for its effect the loss of the queen ; the coming down of a trinket produces drought. The flagstaff snapping asunder in the middle, at the top or the bottom, destroys the ministers, the king, or citizens (successively).

65. Danger from fire is foreboded by smoke ; obscuration of mind by darkness ; the ministers are undone when snake images are breaking or drop. In consequence of portents (seen) to the northward (of the banner), Brahmans are afflicted ; by such as are seen to the eastward, Kshatriyas, and so forth. The death of courtesans is announced by one of the smaller staffs, termed Indra's daughters, breaking.

66. If a rope gets loose or snaps asunder, children will suffer ; if a prop does, the king's mother comes to grief. Whatever unseemly or decent should be acted by children or histrions, will have results corresponding with it.

67. When the erected standard of Indra has been worshipped during four days, the king must, for the weal of his army, in company with his ministers, with all reverence cause it to be removed.

68. A prince who respects this institution, first established by Vasu, the sky-traveller, and always since observed by other rulers, may feel certain that no danger from enemies shall befall him.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Lustration Ceremony.

1. A lustration of horses, elephants, and troops ought to be performed at the season when our Lord Vishṇu, whose eye-lashes are the rain-clouds, and whose eyes are Sun and Moon, awakes from his slumber.

2. The expiatory ceremony termed lustration is to take place on the eighth, twelfth, or fifteenth of the bright half of Kārttika or Āṣvayuja.

3, 4. There must be constructed on an approved spot, northeastward of the town, a triumphal arch of excellent wood, sixteen cubits in height, and ten cubits in extent; besides a lodge where the expiatory rites are to be performed, made of branches of *Shorea robusta*, glomerated fig-tree or *Terminalia Arjuna*, and thickly strewn with holy grass, its door adorned with bambu fish figures, pennons, and quoits.

5. When the horses are brought into the lodge, they should have attached to their necks, by means of an amulet string, marking nuts, rice, costus, and white mustard seed, for the sake of their thriving.

6. The priest performs in the lodge the expiatory ceremony for the horses, during a week, with prayers to the Sun, Varuṇa, the Viṣve-Devas, the Creator, Indra, and Vishṇu.

7. The horses are to be treated with respect, not spoken to in a harsh way, nor beaten, their fears being removed by festive sounds, and the noise of horns, musical instruments, and song.

8. On the eighth day is erected, south of the arch, a shed with its front to the north, strewn with holy grass and tree barks; the fire is placed on the sacrificial eminence¹ (prepared) east of the shed.

¹ Utpala adds: वेदीलक्षणमत्राचार्येण नोक्तं । अस्माभिरन्यशास्त्रात्प्रदर्शयति । तथाच

यज्ञे चतुःषष्टिकरा विवाहे वेदी द्विजानां द्विनरप्रमाणा ।
कार्या ततोऽष्टांशमपक्रमेण राजन्यवैश्ववृषलान्यजानाम् ॥

9, 10, 11. Sandal, costus, madder, yellow orpiment, realgar, fragrant Priyangu, orris root, Croton polyandrum, *Cocculus cordifolius*,¹ *Morunga*,² *Curcuma longa*, *Tabernæmontana coronaria*, *Premna spinosa*, *Clitoria ternatea*,³ *Pûrṇakosha*,⁴ *Kaṭambharâ*,⁵ *Trâyamânâ*, aloe, *Nâgapushpâ*, *Mucuna pruritus*, *Asparagus racemosa* and *Asclepias acida* : these are the sacrificial ingredients to be put in jars, whereas an oblation is made in due form, consisting of various meats, especially honey, milk, and barley cakes.⁶

12. The fuel must be from the khayar, *Butea frondosa*, glomerated fig-tree, *Gmelina arborea* or pîpal. One should make the sacrificial ladle of gold or silver, if one is anxious of well-being.

13. The king, in full pomp, attended by the horseleech and the astrologer, has to take his seat on a tiger-skin, near the fire, with his face to the east.

14. The foretokens of the altar, the priest and the fire,

तथाच

सप्तहस्ता ब्राह्मणानां वेदी यज्ञे प्रकीर्तिता ।
व्यन्तराणामतो न्यूना निर्दिष्टा मुनिभिः सदा ॥
अतो न्यूनाधिका वेदी यजमानस्य मृत्युदा ॥

तथाच

यज्ञे विवाहे वक्ष्यामि वेदिमानं समासतः ।
त्रिसप्तहस्तविस्तारा ब्राह्मणानां शुभावहा ॥
चत्रियाणां पञ्चदश वैश्यानां नवसम्मिता ।
सप्तहस्ता तु शूद्राणां शिल्पिनां पञ्च कीर्तिता ॥
त्रिहस्ता व्यन्तराणान्तु वेदी सर्वत्र कीर्तिता ।
भुवोऽप्यलाभे मर्त्यानां चातुर्वर्ण्ये प्रकीर्तिता ।
पञ्चहस्ता कृता वेदी सर्वमङ्गल्यदायिका ॥

¹ Comm. explains *amṛtâ* with *guḍûcî*.

² Uncertain ; Comm. says, *anjanaṃ srotânjanaṃ prasiddham, çobhân-janam vâ*.

³ Utpala explains *agnimanthâ* with *tarkârî*, and *çvetâ* with *girikarṇikâ*.

⁴ Probably the same with *pûrṇakoshthâ*, a kind of *Cyperus* grass.

⁵ Synonymous with *mahâçvetâ*, according to Utpala.

⁶ Comm. says only : *yâvakaṃ yavaprakârah*.

such as mentioned both in the Yâtrâ in the chapter on the sacrifice to the planets, and in the chapter on Indra's banner, must on this occasion also be attended to.

15, 16. After consecrating and washing a horse marked with lucky signs and a choice elephant, honouring them with new white cloth, perfumes, garlands, and incense, one should softly lead them, with caressing words, under the triumphal arch amid the sounds of musical instruments, horns and festive shouts filling the quarters far and wide.

17. If the horse led to the spot, there stands with his right foot uplifted, the king will soon without difficulty conquer his foes.

18. A restive animal bodes ill to the sovereign. The other motions of elephants and horses have been expounded in the Yâtrâ, and ought here also to be considered so far as applicable.

19. The priest should give the courser a morsel, having muttered a benediction over it. By smelling at it or eating, the animal is said to bring victory; in the contrary case, the reverse is to happen.

20. The priest now plunges a branch of glomerated fig-tree into the water in the jars, and touches with it horses, soldiers, elephants, and the king himself, with prayers for expiation and prosperity.

21. The expiatory ceremony for the weal of the realm being done, the priest proceeds to utter imprecatory spells, at the same time piercing with a stiletto the breast of a clay figure representing the enemy.

22. The court priest then puts, praying, the bridle bit into the horse's mouth, whereupon the king mounts, and, the lustration being finished, moves with his army in a north-easterly direction.

23. The monarch, illumined by the multitude of moving gleams proceeding from his numerous crown jewels, shines like the sun at the season when the clouds have disappeared, whilst the wind is scented with the fragrance of the juice trickling from the elephants that are merry from hearing the sound of tabor and horn.

24. The bright chowries wafting delicious breezes around the king resemble the rows of swans of the king of the mountains (Himālaya) flying to and fro. It is those breezes by which the splendid wreaths and garments are slightly moved.

25. Equipped with diadem, earrings, and armlets studded with various gems and diamonds, and perfused by the rays of many jewels, the monarch shows the lustre of the rainbow.

26. Surrounded by horses that seem to fly upwards to the sky, and by elephants that appear to rend the earth, the prince will march amid his men as if he were Indra amid the victorious gods.

27. Or adorned with diamonds and pearls, wearing a white garland, turban, and perfumed garments, mounted on an elephant and covered by the umbrella, he bears comparison to Hesperus, when shining forth above a dark cloud and below the Moon.

28. He who owns an army in which men, horses, and elephants are over-merry, which is glittering from the beams of polished weapons, shows no evil symptoms, and strikes terror into the ranks of the enemy, shall soon conquer the earth.

CHAPTER XLV.

Sight of Wagtails.

1. I am going to tell the effects which, agreeably to the statements of the sages, take place on the first appearance of the bird commonly called wagtail.

2. A big sort of wagtail, with erected and black neck, is named "lucky," and brings luck. Another, black as far as his neck and face, is called "complete," and fulfils hopes.

3. A third species has a black dot on the neck and white cheeks; his name is "empty," and he makes empty. A yellow one, called orpiment-yellow,¹ augurs evil by its appearance.

¹ In this instance *gopīta* is not well to be explained, but as another spelling for *gopitta*. The words *pitta* and *pīta* are certainly originally identical.

4, 5, 6. A wagtail brings happiness by being seen on sweet odorous fruits, flowers, and trees ; at water reservoirs, hallowed spots, on the head of an elephant, horse, or snake ; on palaces and temples, in public gardens, near mansions, cows, a cow station, a company of fashionable people, a sacrifice, feast, princes, Brahmans ; on stables for elephants or horses ; on umbrellas, flags, chowries, and the like ; near gold ; on white cloths, water-lilies, blue lotuses, places decorated and patched up, vessels of curds, and corn ricks.

7. Sweet food will be obtained when the bird is standing in mud ; abundance of milk (may be expected), when he is standing on cow dung. When he goes on the turf, one is to get cloth, and when he stands on a cart the country is to perish.

8. By being seen on the thatch of a house he intimates loss of wealth ; by standing on a thong, imprisonment ; by being stationed on an unclean spot, sickness. By being perched on the back of a goat or sheep, he will bring about a speedy meeting between lovers.

9. A wagtail is ill-omened and threatens death and disease when appearing on buffaloes, camels, donkeys, bones, cemeteries, in house corners, on gravel, hills,¹ town walls, ashes, or hairs.

10. The wagtail is disastrous when he is clapping his wings, but auspicious when drinking water or standing by a river. He bodes good at sunrise, but produces evil effects when seen at sunset.

11. If a sovereign after the consummation of a lustration of his army moves in the direction in which he sees a wagtail go, his foe soon comes under his sway.

12. On the spot where a wagtail goes a-pairing, there is a treasure ; beneath the place where he vomits, is glass ; and where he voids his increments is charcoal. So they say ; wherefore, to remove your curiosity, you may dig the soil.

13. A dead, crippled, wounded, or diseased, bird produces effects corresponding with his bodily condition. When he is

² The Comm. has *aṭṭa*, " a turret, bastion," instead of *adri*.

alighting in one's presence, he brings wealth ; and when he is flying up into the air, he yields a meeting with relations.

14. The king, too, when he sees an auspicious wagtail on an auspicious spot, should arrange on the ground a hospitable offering, wholesome and acceptable, along with fragrant flowers and incense. Then he shall prosper.

15. Even if it be an ill-omened wagtail the king descries, he shall not come to grief, provided he be careful to honour the Brahmans, his *gurus*, virtuous men, and the deities, and take no flesh meat for a week.

16. The effects attending the first appearance of wagtails are to take place within a year ; in other cases, however, on the very day at a later hour. (To foretell the effects), one must make due allowance for modifying circumstances, as direction, place, countenance, horoscope, state of quiet or molestation, and so forth.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Portentous Phenomena.

1. I am going to treat of the portents which Garga expounded to Atri. A portent may be shortly defined as anything contrary to nature.

2. From the accumulation of evil, owing to men's sinful conduct, comes calamity, which celestial, atmospherical, and terrestrial portents foreshow.

3. The deities, displeased with men's sinful conduct, produce these portents, to paralyze which the ruler should order an expiation in his kingdom.

4. Celestial portents are unnatural phenomena of planets and stars, meteors, typhoons, storms, haloes. Atmospherical ones are aerial cities (*Fata morgana*), rainbows, and such-like.

5, 6. Terrestrial portents are those which occur with movable and immovable things. The latter may be checked by expiations and allayed ; an atmospherical portent may be somewhat mitigated, whereas a celestial one cannot be assuaged. Thus it is asserted by some. Yet a celestial portent also may

be allayed through donations of much gold, food, cows, and land, through (the ceremony of) milking a cow on a precinct hallowed to Rudra, and through the Koṭihoma.

7. A celestial portent may affect the sovereign in eight different ways, viz., in its consequences to himself, his children, his treasury, his horse and elephants, his residence, his wife, his priest, or his people.

8. The falling into pieces without any assignable cause, the moving, sweating, weeping, talking, and the like, of emblems of Çiva, of idols and shrines, tend to the destruction of ruler and land.

9. The breaking or coming down of an axle, wheel, yoke, flag on the cart at a religious procession, the being upset, sinking in or getting entangled of the cart, bring no good to land and king.

10. A portent appearing at images of the seers, Yama, the ancestors and Brahma, is disastrous to Brahmans; a portent at the idols of Rudra and the guardians of the quarters, is so to cattle.

11. A portent at images of the planets Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, augurs ill to court priests; one at Vishṇu's idol, to the people at large; one at Skanda's and Viçâkha's, to governors of provinces.

12. An unnatural phenomenon at the image of the Veda-Vyâsa, threatens the royal counsellors; and one at Vinâyaka's, the commander of the army. A portent at Dhâtar's and Viçvakarman's statue is stated to be disastrous to the people.

13. Any unnatural symptom at the images of the boys, girls, wives, and attendants of the gods, concerns the king's sons, daughters, wives, and retainers.

14. The same applies to images of giants, imps, elves, and snakes. All of them produce their effects in eight months.

15. On perceiving an abnormal phenomenon at an idol, the court priest, purified by a three days' fast and bathing, should worship the idol with a bath, flowers, ointment, and garments.

16. The priest has, in due manner, to wait upon the idol with a dish of honey and milk, such as presented to a guest,

to which are added sweetmeats and oblations of fruits, etc. Farther he should present a cooked oblation, according to the rules, along with prayers addressed to the god.

17. Those kings who, at the appearance of unnatural symptoms of idols, duly direct expiations to be performed, Brahmans and gods to be honoured, and a festival with singing and dancing to be held for a week, shall not experience the evil results, as they are checked by those formalities and by sacrificial fees.

18. In any country where something not fiery blazes forth, and where fire not lacking the necessary fuel will not flame, you may be sure that ruler and subjects shall be distressed.

19. If water, flesh, or anything wet, blazes, the king shall be killed ; if a weapon does so, there is to be a dreadful war ; the going out of fires in camps, villages, or towns, brings danger.

20. Where palaces, houses, gateways, flags and the like are burned by fire or lightning, there is surely a hostile invasion to be expected.

21. Smoke issuing from something else but fire, as well as haziness and utter darkness by day, forebode great danger. The disappearing of the stars in a cloudless night, and their being visible by day, is mischievous.

22. A glare proceeding from towns, quadrupeds, birds, or men, is said to be dangerous. The appearing of smoke, fire, and sparks, on couches, clothes, and hair, causes death.

23. On seeing weapons¹ blaze, move, utter sounds, jump out of the sheath, tremble, or show any other unnatural symptoms, one may predict that dreadful war and tumult is quickly approaching.

24. In such cases one has to offer white mustard seed and

¹ The Comm. has a remark touching the proper meaning of *āyudha*, in reference to the word *praharaṇa* occurring in stanza 19. He says : नयजिता चित्रलक्षण आयुधानां त्रयो भेदा अभिहिताः । प्रहरणानि पाणिमुक्तानि यन्त्रमुक्तानि चेति । तत्र प्रहरणानि खड्गादीनि । पाणिमुक्तानि चक्रादीनि । यन्त्रमुक्तान्यस्त्रशरास्त्रकोदण्डाश्चेति । येयमायुधमिति सञ्ज्ञा सा सर्वव्यापिनी ॥ Nagnajit is the reputed author of a work on the art of painting ; cf. ch. lviii. 4.

ghee to the God of Fire, with invocations to him; the fuel needed ought to be from juice-producing trees (e.g. *Calotropis gigantea*). Besides, gold must be bestowed on the Brahmans. Such is the expiation for portents of fire, etc.

25. When boughs of trees on a sudden snap asunder, you may predict a warlike expedition. On the laughing of trees follows ruin of the country; on their weeping follows prevalence of diseases.

26. A tree produces discord in the realm by blossoming out of season. When a young tree is excessively in bloom, children will die. When milk is flowing from a tree, all kinds of substances will be lost.

27. The oozing out of spirituous liquor produces the loss of elephants and horses; that of blood, brings war; that of honey, sickness. When oil is flowing out, there is danger of famine; when water issues, there is some great peril.

28. The sprouting of withered trees, and the withering of healthy ones, augurs loss of strength and food. When trees, once fallen, raise themselves, danger is to arise by the decrees of fate.

29. When a tree held in especial esteem bears blossoms and fruits out of season, it is concluded that death awaits the sovereign; smoke or glare from it denotes likewise the king's death.

30. By trees leaving their places or talking, the ruin of the country is announced. All portentous tokens of trees take effect in ten months.

31. After putting an umbrella upon the tree, worshipping it with garlands, perfumes, incense, and cloth, and propitiating him, the priest has to mutter the prayer to the Rudras that commence with "*Rudrebhyaḥ*," at the same time performing the sacrifice divided into six parts.¹

¹ Reading and translation are equally uncertain. The Comm. has षडेव होमाः and gives an explanation that is not wholly satisfactory: अत्रास्मिन्नुत्पातविषये रुद्राणां मन्त्राणामेकादशानामनुवाकानां जपः कार्यः । रुद्रेभ्यः स्वाहा । इत्यत्र षडेव होमाः कार्याः ॥ Probably the षडङ्गहोम is the same with the six Kūshmāṇḍas; cf. ch. xlvi. 71, footnote.

32. The king has to treat the Brahmans with milk-porridge, honey, and ghee. The reward to be bestowed consists of land, agreeably to the rule laid down by the eminent Seers in reference to portents shown by trees.

33. Two or three lotuses, barley-ears, and such-like, growing on one stalk, presage the death of the owner. The same is true of a germinated blossom or fruit.

34. Excessive growth of corn, and generic difference of fruits and blossoms on one tree, intimate with certainty a hostile inroad.

35. When sesamums yield only half the usual amount of oil, or no oil at all, and when food loses its flavour, then you may be sure an extreme danger is impending.

36. A portentous blossom or fruit must be removed from the village or town. At such an emergency a cooked oblation is to be offered to Soma, or a victim killed, for expiation.

37. On seeing unnatural signs in corn, the owner should first bestow the field where it grows to the Brahmans, and then bring, in the midst of it, a boiled oblation to Earth. By so doing one shall suffer no injury.

38. Want of rain causes dearth; too much rain gives rise to danger of famine and foreign invasion; rain in the wrong season produces illness; and rain by a cloudless sky forebodes death to the king.

39. From an irregular change of heat and cold, and from a disordered progress of the seasons, ensues after six months unsafety to the realm, as well as horrible diseases engendered by (the wrath of) Fate.

40. A continual rain during a week, and that out of season, is followed by the death of the sovereign; a blood rain produces war; a rain of flesh, bones, fat, and such like, produces pestilence.

41. You may hold danger to result from a rain of grain, gold, barks, fruits, flowers, and the like. A town where it rains charcoal and dust is going to perdition.

42. A rain of stones from a cloudless sky, or of monsters, or a (sudden) break in the midst of excessive rain, engenders manifold calamities to the grains.

43. [From a rain of milk, ghee, wax, curds, blood, and hot water,¹ may be prophesied the ruin of the country ; and from blood rain, strife between princes.]

44. When no shadow is seen by bright sunshine, or the shadow is seen inverted, one may announce a very great peril to be near.

45. When by day or night, in east or west, is seen a rainbow in a cloudless sky, there is great apprehension of famine.

46. It is said that at the time of a portentous rain, the Sun, Moon, the Rain-god and Wind do co-operate. Donations of corn, food, and cows ought (in such cases) to be made, by which the evil is assuaged.

47. The receding of rivers from a town, and the drying up of never shallow rivers or other waters, like deep lakes, etc., produces desolation within a short time.

48. Rivers that carry fat, blood, or flesh, that are troubled, filthy, or run backwards, presage the approach, six months hence, of a hostile army.

49. Blazing, smoking, boiling, as well as weeping, shrieking, singing, and talking of wells, are said to produce mortality among the people.

50. The springing up of water without previous digging, any change in the water's smell and taste, or any portent in reservoirs, denotes great danger. At such an emergency the manner of expiation is as follows.

51. In case of water showing unnatural symptoms, Varuṇa is to be worshipped with muttering of prayers addressed to him. By such means the evil is allayed.

52. When women bring forth monstrosities, or two, three, four, and more children at a time, and long before or after the usual period, ruin befalls the family or the country at large.

53. Mares, camels, buffaloes, cows, and elephants perish by giving birth to twins. The effects of portentous births appear in six months. Anent the expiation has Garga delivered the following stanzas :—

54. "If a man is anxious of his own weal, he must

¹ The r. *varīṇām* is certainly wrong ; it should be changed into *vāriṇo*.

leave those women in a stranger's territory, satisfy the Brahmans by fulfilling their wants, and cause expiatory ceremonies appropriate to the occasion to be performed by them.

55. "Quadrupeds ought to be dismissed from their flocks (and brought) to foreign grounds. Else they will prove fatal to the town, their owner, and flock."

56. Quadrupeds covering animals of totally different kind, cows leaping upon one another, and a dog sucking a calf, these are bad signs.

57. On such an emergency you may know for certain that in three months a hostile inroad shall occur. To avert it, Garga has taught the two stanzas that follow :—

58. "Parting with the animal, banishing or giving it away, that will speedily expiate (the portent). At the same time (the owner) must treat the Brahmans, and bid them perform muttered prayers by way of sacrifice.

59. "The court priest offers a cooked oblation and a victim to the Creator, with a prayer to the god, while food and fees in plenty are distributed."

60. When a carriage without the drawing animal moves on, and one being drawn does not, or when the wheels stick or give way on the road, then the kingdom is threatened.

61. When musical instruments sound without being struck, and give no sound at all when struck, or a wrong note, the foe is approaching or the king about to die.

62. Tunes of song and sounds of musical instruments in the sky, as well as unnatural transformations of movable and fixed objects, presage death or diseases; a jarring instrument announces defeat at the hands of the enemy.

63. Where ox and plough get entangled, where spoons, winnowing baskets and other implements show portentous tokens, and where jackals are hooting, there is danger from the sword. The Sage's advice (with regard to the aforementioned portents) runs thus:—

64. "These aerial portents producing themselves, the monarch ought to honour the God of Air with fried flower,

and bid the Brahmans to devoutly mutter the five verses beginning with ' *Ā rāyo.*'¹

65. "He is to honour the Brahmans with milk, food, and guerdons. They must likewise carefully perform sacrifices to the Fire, the reward for which consists in plenty of food and fees."

66, 67. Town birds roaming in the forest and wild birds entering the town without marks of fear; day birds roaming by night and nocturnal ones by day; wild beasts or birds forming circles at dawn and twilight, or shrieking with one accord in a blasted quarter: all these bring danger.

68, 69. Threatening also are dogs wailing, as it were, at the door; jackals yelling in vexed condition; a dove or owl penetrating into a palace; a cock crowing at eve; the *kokila* warbling early in winter; hawks and the like moving in the sky in gyrations from right to left.

70. Assemblies of many birds on dwellings, holy trees, triumphal arches and gates, as well as their coming up from beehives, ant-hills, and lotuses, are forebodings of ruin.

71. Dogs carrying limbs of dead bodies and bones into a room, intimate pestilence. Cattle or swords, when uttering words, announce the king's death. The Sage says:

72, 73. "When wild beasts and birds show unnatural signs, one should make sacrifices to Fire, and give sacrificial fees. Five Brahmans should mutter the prayer, '*Devâh kapota,*'² etc., and one Brahman the prayer '*Su devâ,*'³ etc. Or they may use the augural song for a prayer, and the headings of the Atharva-veda.⁴ The reward to be given to the priests consists of cows."

¹ Rgveda 7, 92. Instead of वायोरिति the author may have written वायो इति, as the rules of Sandhi are not always observed before *iti*. Yet वायविति would be preferable.

² Rgveda 10, 165.

³ Vâlakhilya 6, 4.

⁴ Utpala considers *manovedaṣirânsi* to be a Dvandva: मनो मन्त्रः । वेदशिरांसि अथर्वशिरःप्रभृतीनि. But such a *mantra* would needs

74. The falling down and breaking of Indra's standard, of door-bolts, columns, gates, door-leaves, arches, and ensigns, foreshows the king's death.

75. A strong glare at dawn and twilight, the appearance in woods of smoke without fire, the splitting of the earth without chasms being visible, and her trembling, give rise to apprehension.

76. The country where the sovereign is attached to heretics and atheists, immoral, irascible, envious, cruel, and bent on making wars, that country comes to ruin.

77. Where little boys, with weapons, sticks and stones in their hands, are fighting and uttering such cries as "Strike! strike! cut! pierce!" there also is danger impending.¹

78. A dwelling where with charcoal, red chalk, and the like, are drawn figures of monsters and ghosts, or which is painted over by hobgoblins,² such a dwelling soon comes to perdition.

79. That house too meets ruin which is motley with cobwebs, not honoured at morn and evening, filled with quarrels, and where the housewife is always sluttish.

80. When goblins show themselves, you may predict pestilence to be near at hand. For averting these evil tokens, Garga has prescribed the following expiation:—

81. "The best expiations, in such a case, are oblations of fruits, etc., and treats on a grand scale, which the king should

require some defining word. *Manaveda* must be a Tatpurusha, and as *manah* = *manu*, is "a spell," and in so far synonymous with *brahman*, and as the Atharvaveda is also called *brahmaveda*, we may conclude that *manaveda* is one of the designations of that Veda.

¹ Comm. तथाच पराशरः

यदि धनुरसिकाष्ठलोष्टहस्ताः पुरं शिशवी रणवत्समाचरन्ति ।
प्रहर हर जहीत्युदाहरन्तो भयं नचिरात्तुमुलं निवेदयन्ति ॥

² All MSS. have *nāyaka*, which the Comm. explains to be *gṛhasvāmī*. As the passage, so interpreted, is unintelligible, I suppose that the word *nāyaka* is to be taken in the acceptation of *vināyaka*, although I am unable to adduce any other example of the word being thus used.

order, at the same time worshipping Indra with metrical prayers addressed to the god."

82. The appearance of portents at the time a monarch or realm is destroyed, at the rise of a comet, and at an eclipse of sun or moon, as well as their appearance in the proper season, has no injurious effects.

83. Those phenomena that, as being natural effects of the season, produce no mischief, may be known from the ensuing concise verses of Rshiputra's:—

84, 85. "Lightning, thunderbolts, earthquakes, gleaming of morning and evening, squalls of whirlwind, haloes, settings and risings of the sun darkened by haze or vapour, the trees bearing food, juice, oil, numerous flowers and fruits, increase of rut with bulls and birds, are favourable tokens in the two months of spring."

86, 87. "In summer you may presage good on seeing the rivers dry up and the sky rosy at dawn and twilight, and boisterous like a sea, or covered with a blaze not proceeding from fire, with explosions, vapour, dust, and wind. The sky may also appear stained by falling stars and meteors, and the orb of Sun and Moon in it shine tawny."

88, 89. "Rainbows, haloes, lightning; sprouting of sear trees; trembling, upheaval, change in appearance, rumbling and splitting of the earth; rising, overflowing, and inundations of lakes, rivers, and water reservoirs; giving way of hills and dwellings: all these are symptoms not dangerous in the rainy season."

90, 91. "The sight of celestial nymphs, spirits, gandharvas, celestial chariots and prodigies; the appearance in the heavens of planets, asterisms, and stars by day; strains of song and music in woods and on mountain edges; the luxuriant growth of corn and the decrease of water, are, all of them, said to be favourable in autumn."

92, 93. "Cool breezes, frost, noise of wild deer and birds, the sight of giants, gnomes, and such-like beings, the sound of an inhuman voice, the darkening of the horizon, canopy, woods and mountains owing to haze, and high risings and settings of the sun, are held auspicious in winter."

94, 95. "Fall of snow, abnormal winds, the sight of deformities and prodigies, a sky black like collyrium, streaked yellow with falling stars and meteors; wonderful births from women, cows, goats, horses, wild beasts and birds; strange symptoms on leaves, sprouts, and twigs: all this is auspicious in the dewy season."

96. "All these phenomena produce good in their own season, as being the natural concomitants of the season, but they are most dreadful when appearing out of the season."

97. "What madmen utter in their songs, children in their talk, and women in their chattering, will never go amiss."

98. "Indeed, truthful is that oracular voice; first the goddess of speech walks amongst the gods before she descends to men, and she speaks not unless incited."

99. A clever observer of portents, should he be even devoid of astronomical knowledge, will become a renowned man and a favourite of the king. It is this mystery revealed by the Seers, by knowing which a man will be enabled to look into past, present, and future.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Miscellaneous.

1. In the preceding part of this work I have amply mentioned the good and evil influences of celestial and atmospheric phenomena, chiefly when describing the planets' courses, conjunctions, conflicts, roads, etc.

2. "Hence Varâha-mihira ought not to treat the same matter again, he professing to be a compendious author;" thus they will blame him and say: "Men of science should not give the chapter generally known by the designation of Miscellaneous chapter,¹ since it contains a repetition of already mentioned effects."

3. But it is the very character of this chapter to repeat what has previously been told, and if I did not write it I should be no less liable to blame.

¹ Properly, "motley as a peacock's tail."

4. All planets, if radiant and moving in the northern paths, bring peace, abundance, and happiness; but the same, by moving in the southern paths,¹ and bereft of radiance, produce famine, robbery, and death.

5. If Venus stands in Maghâ, and Jupiter (at the same time) in Pushya, monarchs will keep peace, and their subjects enjoy happiness, mirth, and health.

6. If the planets, the Sun excepted, oppress Kṛttikâ, Maghâ, Rohiṇî, or Jyeshthâ, the western country is visited with distress.

7. If at evening the same are stationed like a flag in the east, there must needs be strife between the sovereigns of the east; and if they are so disposed in midheaven, the middle country is sure to come to grief. These effects, however, only take place in case the planets are coarse, not if they are bright and radiant.

8. By the planets occupying the southern quarters, the rain-clouds in the Dekkhan get dispersed. War results from their showing small and coarse, but peace is augured from their appearing bulky and radiant.

9. By beaming brightly, while standing in the northern road, they bring bliss to the kings in that quarter; by looking small and ashy-hued, they will harm countries and princes in that direction.

10. When the stars of the lunar mansions and planets are wrapped in smoke, flame, and sparks, or remain invisible without assignable cause, the whole land and its ruler will come to destruction.

11. When a brace of moons shine by day, then will Brahmans soon thrive uncommonly well; two suns forebode war between Kshatriyas; three, four, or more suns, announce the world's end.

12. A comet by coming in contact with the Seven Seers, Abhijit, the Polestar, and Jyeshthâ, destroys the rain-clouds, is injurious to good actions, and brings sorrow. Açleshâ being touched, the rain will certainly come to nought, and

¹ Cf. ch. ix. 1-6.

the country, distracted and full of (fatherless) children, will perish.

13. Saturn, by moving and retrograding in Kṛttikâ and the next six lunar mansions, causes famine, violent danger, discord amongst friends, and drought.¹

14. If Saturn, Mars, or a comet crosses Rohinî's wain, need I tell that the whole world shall perish in a sea of calamities?²

15. When a comet repeatedly appears or moves through the whole of the asterisms, then shall the world, movable and immovable, taste the bitter fruits of actions in a former existence.

16. By showing the shape of a bow, and by being rough and blood-coloured, the Moon threatens famine, announces the moving on of armies, and victory on the side the string of the bow is turned to. When her cusps are turned downwards, she is fatal to kine, and gives rise to the loss of the crops. By flaming or smoking, she forebodes death to the king.

17. When the Moon is sleek, large, showing equal horns, broad, and standing high northward in the wild elephant's path,³ when looked at by benign planets, and far removed from the malign ones, she greatly promotes the happiness of mankind.

18. If the Moon accomplishes her conjunction with Maghâ, Anurâdhâ, Jyeshthâ, Viçâkhâ, or Citrâ, by approaching them from the south, she is not auspicious. She is, on the other hand, beneficial, if taking her course north or through the midst of those asterisms.

¹ Comm. तथाच गर्गः

विलम्बितगतिः सौरः प्राग्द्वारेषु यदा भवेत् ।

महाभयानि चत्वारि विजानीयात् समन्ततः ।

अनावृष्टिं भयं घोरं दुर्भिक्षं मित्रविग्रहम् ॥

² This stanza is quoted in Pancatantra i. st. 240. Cf. also ch. vi. 9 ; ix. 25. Comm. तथाच गर्गः

रोहिणीशकटं भौमो भिनत्त्यर्कसुतो ऽथवा ।

केतुर्वा जगतो ब्रूयात् प्रलयं समुपस्थितम् ॥

³ Cf. ch. ix. 1.

19. The cloudy horizontal line that crosses the Sun at rising or setting is termed a "bar."¹ An "inclosure" is the same with a mock sun, and an airy staff² has the appearance of a straight rainbow.

20. The long beams going up from the Sun at rising or setting are the "unerring" beams.³ A fragmentary straight rainbow is called the "red line";⁴ the same, but longer, is termed Airāvata.⁵

21. Twilight (of evening) is the time from the Sun's disc having half set upwards to the time when the stars become distinctly visible; and (twilight of morning) is the time from whence the stars begin to fade in lustre until the moment the Sun has half risen.

22. From the aforesaid phenomena at twilight (of morning and evening), one has to foretell good and evil. When all of them appear sleek, there will be instant rain; when coarse, there will be unsafety.

23. Rain is to be expected by an unbroken cloudy bar, a clear sky, darkish or sleek sunbeams, a bright rainbow, lightning in the north-east, or when a tree-shaped cloud is shone upon by the Sun's rays, or when a huge cloud shrouds the setting Sun.

24. In the country where the Sun seems broken off, wry, blackish, small, or marked with the figures of crows or other inauspicious animals, and coarse, in that country it is almost certain that the ruler is undone.

25. He whose army is followed by troops of carnivorous birds when he is about to do battle, shall suffer a heavy defeat; but if the birds are in advance, he shall triumph.

26. When at sunrise or sunset a Fata morgana in the shape of an army obstructs the solar orb, then you may predict that battle and peril draw near to the king.

27. A softly gleaming twilight, joined to a soft breeze and the noise of unmolested birds and wild beasts, is lucky; one that is obscured by dust, is lacking lustre, or shows a tinge like blood, causes the ruin of the country.

¹ Cf. ch. xxx. 25.

² Cf. ch. xxx. 16.

³ Cf. ch. xxx. 11.

⁴ Cf. ch. xxviii. 16.

⁵ Cf. ch. xxx. 8.

28. Herewith have I expounded, without repetition, all that the Seers have more copiously stated. Even after hearing the *kokila's* tune, the crow will not leave off croaking; for it is but its nature not to outdo the *kokila*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Royal Inauguration Ceremony.

1. The ruler is to the people what the root is to the tree. Since general woe ensues from the root being impaired, and general weal follows from its being kept in good condition, the sovereign must, in the first place, be taken care of.

2. Now learn the propitiating ceremony, such as it has been revealed by the Creator for Indra's sake to the teacher of the gods (Brhaspati), and handed down by the latter to Vṛddha-Garga, who delivered it to Bhâguri.¹

3. This inauguration ceremony,² than which no rite for

¹ The *pushyasnânam* agrees in its general features with the royal inauguration ceremony as prescribed in Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa viii. and Çatapatha-Br. v. ; yet in the particulars there are important discrepancies.

² Utpala takes *pushyasnânum* to signify "the washing at (the conjunction of the Moon with) Pushya." The period fixed upon for the ceremony is, indeed, the conjunction just named, but that is plainly done upon the principle of *nomen omen*. The original meaning is that of "auspicious washing," for it was by no means necessary to perform the rite at Pushya, though it was the more common course. The wrong etymology is countenanced by these lines of Vṛddha-Garga's :

देवाश्च दितिजैः सार्धं स्पर्धमाना हि मानिनः ।

परस्परं महद्बुद्धं चक्रुः सर्वे सुरासुराः ॥

ततो दैत्यगणैः क्रुद्धैर्देवाः सर्वे विनिर्जिताः ।

ततो ऽङ्गिराः सुरगुरुर्ध्यानसक्तो ऽभवत्पुरा ॥

पुरन्दराभिषेकार्थं बृहस्पतिरकल्पयत् ।

तिथ्यमात्मीयनक्षत्रं यस्य देवो बृहस्पतिः ॥

quelling evil portents is more efficacious, must be conducted by the astrologer and the court priest.

4, 5. A fit place for the ceremony is some spot in a forest covered with young trees, shrubs, creepers, and spreading plants, abounding with lovely, sweet-smelling trees, with unimpaired leaves and shoots; where no cordia, no beleric myrobalan, no spinous, bitter, bad-smelling trees are found, and where no inauspicious birds, like owls, vultures, etc., are staying.

6, 7. Some woodskirt ringing with the noise of cocks, pheasants, parrots, peacocks, woodpeckers, blue jays, green pigeons, sylvatic partridges, red partridges, francolines, *vanjulas*,¹ doves, *grīkas*,² bees inebriated with sipping flower-juice, *kokilas*, and others,—such a place also is adapted to the purpose; as well as some pure building on consecrated ground.

8. Or one should perform the rite on beautiful sandy river banks, scratched by the nails of aquatic birds, and as charming to eye and heart as the (swelling) haunches of sportful damsels.

9, 10. Or near a lake azure as the clear sky, where dark lotuses are open like so many eyes, where skipping swans form as it were a (white) umbrella, and ducks, ospreys, and cranes raise their cries. Or a lake where the water-lilies, like so many damsels, show their full-blown flowers like so many faces, and their swelling buds like breasts, whilst they seem to chatter in the melodious tones of warbling swans.

11. Or else one may perform the ceremony in a cow-station that is gay with the lowing and frisking of young calves, where the ground is covered with impressions of hoofs, dung, and froth proceeding from kine ruminating.

तेन देवो ऽभिषिक्तः स देवराजः पुरन्दरः ।
 ततो बलं समाहूढो नाशयामास दानवान् ॥
 देवाश्च हृष्टमनसः पुरीं प्राथामरावतीम् ।
 पुष्यस्नानं बलतरं तदारभ्य प्रवर्तितम् ॥

¹ What kind of bird the *vanjula* is I cannot tell; a synonymous term is *khadiracañcu*.

² According to the Comm. the *grīka* is the same as *grīkarṇa*.

12. Or on the seaside crowded with happily arrived splendid ships, and showing a line half dark, half white, owing to the fishes and white birds lurking in the rotang.

13. Or in hermitages where the young ones of deer and birds find a safe refuge, and a lion is subdued by a hind, like wrath is quelled by patience.

14. Or in a house blessed with deer-eyed women with voices sweet as the *kokila*'s, and with steps that betray them to be hindered by the golden girdle, ankle rings and heavy haunches they have to carry.

15. Or at hallowed shrines, bathing-places, in public gardens, spots with beautiful scenery, on some tract of land sloping down to the north-east, and bounded by a stream running in a direction from left to right.¹

16, 17. The soil, to be conducive to victory, must be hard, good-smelling, sleek, sweet, plain, not covered with ashes, charcoal, bones, brackish spots, husks, hairs, cavities, lairs of land-crabs, holes of porcupines and mice, and ant-hills. In choosing an encampment for the troops, one has to follow the same rules as much as circumstances allow.

18, 19. The astrologer, minister, and officiating priest must set out by night from the town in an easterly, northerly, or north-easterly direction, where, after preparing an oblation, the priest devoutly and humbly performs the invocation, presenting fried grains, whole barleycorns, curds, and flowers. The verses for the invocation, such as taught by the Seer, are:

20. "May they come! all the divine beings who are desirous to receive our worship, the regents of the quarters, the snakes, birds, and whosoever has a share in the offering."

21. Having thus invocated them all, the priest shall say: "On obtaining our worship, they will depart to-morrow morning, leaving their blessing to our sovereign."

¹ Comm. तथाच वृद्धगर्गः

समुद्रतीरे सोद्याने नदीनां सङ्गमे शुभे ।

महाह्रदे ऽथवा तीर्थे देवतायतने ऽथवा ॥

सर्वर्तुकुमुमोपेते वने द्विजवरैर्युते ।

गृहे रम्ये विविक्ते वा पुष्यस्नानं समाचरेत् ॥

22. After they have worshipped the invocated beings, they are to stay there over night, to observe good and evil dreams, agreeably to the rules laid down in the Yâtrâ.

23. On the next morning, the ingredients for the rite, which will presently be described, must be carried to the designated spot. The following stanzas bearing upon the subject have been delivered by the Seers :

24, 25, 26. "Then should the priest, by drawing a circle, prepare the ground, to be decked with various and numerous gems ; then divide the diagram into different compartments, which he assigns severally to the Snakes, Yakshas, Gods, Ancestors, Gandharvas, Nymphs, Seers, Blessed, Planets, Lunar Mansions, Rudras, Mother Deities, Skanda, Vishṇu, Viçâkha, the Guardians of the Eight Quarters, and the Wives of the Gods.

27, 28. "Having marked them by different colours, he must skilfully honour each of them, according to their rank, with delicious fragrant perfumes, garlands, and ointments ; likewise with sweetmeats, and various other sorts of food, as fruits, roots, flesh ; and with different delicious beverages, liquor, milk, wine, and the like."

29. I proceed to tell how the deities, whose names are written down in the diagram, should be honoured. As to the planets, one must keep to the rule stated in (the chapter of the Yâtrâ on) the offering to the planets.

30. The imps, demons, and children of darkness are worshipped with flesh, boiled rice, wine, etc. ; the Ancestors, with unguents, collyrium, oil, and also with flesh and boiled rice.

31. The Seers are honoured with passages from the Sâma-, Yajur-, and R̥g-Veda, along with perfumes, incense, and garlands ; the Snakes with colours not amalgamating with one another,¹ with honey, ghee, and sugar.

32. The Gods are worshipped with incense, ghee, oblations to fire, garlands, jewels, praises and signs of reverence ;

¹ The rendering is doubtful ; Comm. : यत्र बहूनां वर्णानामश्लेषः सं-
योगो नास्ति तैः ।

the Gandharvas and Nymphs, with most sweet-scented perfumes and garlands.

33. The rest are treated with vari-coloured oblations. As tokens of worship to all of them in general must be laid down amulet strings, raiments, flags, ornaments, and sacrificial strings.

34, 35. The priest then proceeds to kindle fire on the sacrificial eminence, either on the western or southern side of the circle, and bring up the ingredients, viz., long sprigs of Dûb-grass not yet in the bud, fried grains, ghee, whole barleycorns,¹ curds, honey, white mustard seeds, perfumes, flowers, incense, orpiment, collyrium, sesamum, and sweet fruits of the season.

36. Further there must be dishes of milk porridge and ghee. It is with these ingredients the priest performs his sacrifice on the western eminence, where the inauguration is to take place.

37. In the corners are arranged strong water-jars, with white yarn tied round their necks, and covered with sprouts and fruits from such trees as yield a milky juice.

38. The jars contain water mixed with the substances for the washing, and with gems. As to the substances for the ceremony, they are enumerated in the following verses of Garga's.

39-42. "Into the water-jars one shall put the plants Jyotishmatî,² Trâyamâñâ, Abhayâ, Aparâjitâ, Jîvâ, Viçveç-

¹ The Comm. explains अक्षताः by यवाः; of लाजाः he only remarks : प्रसिद्धाः.

² The original names of the plants have been retained in the translation, in order to show that the choice of those plants is based upon the principle of *nomen omen*. The place of several among them is not yet determined. The Comm. gives a paraphrase that is not without value : ज्योतिष्मतां सुप्रसिद्धाम् । त्रायमाणां प्रसिद्धाम् अभयां हरीतकीम् - अपराजितां शमीं (v.l. शमां) । जीवां जीवन्तीम् । विश्वेश्वरीं पञ्चारिणीम् । पाठां प्रसिद्धाम् । समङ्गां रक्तमङ्गुष्ठाम् । विजयां वचाम् । सहां (v.l. महां) मुद्गपर्णीम् । सहदेवीं (v.l. °वां) प्रसिद्धाम् । पूर्णकोशां प्रसिद्धाम् । शतावरी प्रसिद्धैव । अरिष्टकां प्रसिद्धाम् । शिवां प्रसिद्धाम् ।

varî, Pâthâ, Samangâ, Vijayâ, Sabâ, Sahadevî, Pûrṇakoshâ, Çatâvarî, Arishṭikâ, Çivâ, Bhadrâ, Brâhmî, Kshemâ, Ajâ ; further all sorts of seed, gold, things held auspicious at festivities, so far as procurable ; all sorts of herbs and flavours [gems, all sorts of perfumes, fruits of *Ægle marmelos* and *Flacourtia sapida*, herbs with auspicious names, gold and things used at festivities].¹

43. "The priest shall spread out, first, the skin of a bull with auspicious marks, who has died from old age. The skin is to be laid so that the neck is turned to the east.

44. "Thereupon is put a red, unimpaired skin of a fighting bull ; then, thirdly, a lion's skin, and thereon a tiger's.

45. "These four skins should be spread out on the sacrificial eminence when the moon is in conjunction with the asterism of Pushya, and at a lucky hour."

46. Upon the skins is to be placed a throne wrought of gold, silver, or copper, or made from the wood of such trees as yield a milky juice.

47. The seat is raised a cubit, or one cubit and a quarter, or one and a half, the first bringing luck to governors of provinces, the second to those princes who aspire to conquer their neighbours, and the third to those who wish to lord it over a whole empire.

48, 49. The king shall lay a piece of gold on the stool, and then take his seat, cheerful, surrounded by his ministers, intimates, priest, astrologer, burgesses, and persons of an auspicious name,² while the solemn acclamations sent forth by bards, citizens, and Brahmans, and the festive sounds of tabors, horns, and musical instruments, quell all evil.

भद्रां बलाम् । ब्राह्मीं प्रसिद्धाम् । क्षेमां कष्टगुग्गुलं चोरकमिति प्रसिद्धाम् । अजां प्रसिद्धां केचिदेडिकाक्षीमितीच्छन्ति ॥ मङ्गल्यानि दध्यक्षतसुमनसादीनि ॥ प्रशस्तनाम्न्यो या औषध्यः । यथा जया जयन्ती जीवपुत्रा पुनर्नवा विष्णुकान्ता वाराही लक्षणा ॥

¹ St. 42 contains a superfluous repetition of the three preceding ; yet the author may have found the stanza in his copy of Garga's work.

² The Comm. adduces as examples : Jayarâja, Sinharâja, Bandhurâja, Vyâghrarâja.

50. The court priest now wraps the king, who wears a new linen garment, in a woollen blanket, and after making a libation, pours over him the contents of the jars filled with ghee.¹

51. The number of jars may be eight, or twenty-eight, or a hundred and eight; the greater the number the greater the efficacy. The prayer to be recited on the occasion, composed by the Seer (Vṛddha-Garga), here follows:

52, 53. "This glossy liquid is identified with splendour; this is the best expeller of ill; this is the food of gods; on it the worlds are founded. Whatever evil, earthly, atmospheric or celestial, has reached thee, may it all come to nought by contact with the shining liquid!"

54. Then, taking off the woollen blanket, he sprinkles the king with the water destined for the rite, mixed with fruits and flowers, and recites this prayer:

55-70. "May the gods sprinkle thee, and the Blessed from all eternity, Brahma, Vishṇu, Çiva, the Sâdhyas, the hosts of Maruts, the sons of Aditi, Vasus, Rudras, the healing Açvins, Aditi the Mother of Gods, Benediction, Perfection, Eloquence, Glory, Fortune, Firmness, Magnificence, Sinîvâlî, Kuhû, Danu, Surasâ, Vinatâ, and Kadru. So, too, may the other Goddesses not named, the Mothers of Gods, and the heavenly crowds of Nymphs sprinkle thee, all together. The Lunar Asterisms, Hours, Halfmonths, Days, Chief Day Periods, Years, Regents of the Days, Minutes, Seconds, Moments, Bits,—these, and other divisions of Time, may they graciously sprinkle thee. The Vaimânikas, the celestial Legions, Manus, Oceans, the Seven Seers with Arundhatî, the Fixed Places,² Marîci, Atri, Pulaha, Pulastya, Kratu, Angiras, Bhṛgu, Sanatkumâra, Sanaka and son,³ Sanâtana, Daksha, Jaigîshavya, Bhalandana,⁴ Ekata, Dvita, Trita,

¹ In so much does the ceremony more resemble an anointment than a washing.

² Amongst them the Pole-star.

³ Or *Sanandana* as noun proper.

⁴ Cf. the Var. rr.

Jāvāli, Kaçyapa, Durvāsas, Durviñīta, Kaṇva, Kātyāyana, Mārkaṇḍeya, Dīrghatapas, Çunaçcepa, Vidūratha, Ūrva, Saṃvartaka, Cyavana, Atri, Parāçara, Dvaipāyana, Yavakrīta, Devarāja, and his younger brother,—these, and other Seers intent on wisdom and holiness, rich in purity, may they sprinkle thee, along with their pupils and wives. The Mountains, Trees, Creepers, holy Shrines, the blessed Rivers, the Snakes, Elves, blessed Vaikhānasas, Vaihāyasas, the Father of Creatures, Diti, the Kine who are the Mothers of the Universe, the heavenly Chariots, all the Worlds, changeable and unchangeable, the Fires, Ancestors, Stars, Clouds, Sky, Regions, Waters,—these, and many others whose names are hallowed, may they graciously consecrate thee with water that destroys all evil omens, and bestow on thee hail, long life, and health !”

71. These are the verses recited, as well as others prescribed in the ritual of the Atharva-veda, and the prayers called Rudraḡaṇa, Kūshmāṇḍa, Mahārauhīṇa, Kuberaḡḍaya (or Kuberaḡḍya), and Saṃḡḍḍhi.¹

72. The washing finished, the king has to put on a brace of cotton garments, over which have been muttered (by way of benediction) the three verses beginning with *Āpo hi shthā*, and the four commencing with *Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ*.²

73. The monarch, after taking water and honouring the deities, his *gurus* and the Brahmans, and also the royal umbrella, standard, and weapons, amidst jubilations and blowing of horns, proceeds to do his personal devotion.³

¹ Comm. एकादशानुवाका रुद्राः । कूप्माण्डैः षडनुवाकाः कूप्माण्डाः । महारौहिणेन मन्त्रेण । कुबेरहृदयेन समृध्या चर्चा ॥ About the six Anuvāka verses termed Kūshmāṇḍa, cf. Skr. Dict. of B. and R. i. v. ; about Mahārauhīṇa, cf. i. v. *rauhīṇa* l. c. What *ṛcas* are called Kuberaḡḍaya and Saṃḡḍḍhi is unknown to me.

² Atharva-veda 1, 5, 1, *sqq.*, and 1, 33, 1, *sqq.* It may be remarked that the former *mantra* has in our editions of the A.V. not three but four verses. An inaccuracy of the author's is that he indicates *hiraṇyavarṇa*, instead of *hiraṇyavarṇāḥ*.

³ Comm. आत्मीयेष्टदेवतार्चा, *i.e.* commending himself to the protection of his guardian deity.

74. He puts on his new triumphal apparel, which has been consecrated with the three verses : *Āyushyaṃ varcasyaṃ rāyasposham*, etc.¹

75, 76. He now goes to the other sacrificial eminence, and seats himself upon skins, which must be spread out, one above the other, in this order : 1st, a bull's skin ; 2nd, a cat's ; 3rd, an antelope's ; 4th, a porcine deer's ; 5th, a lion's skin ; and 6th, a tiger's.

77. The court priest presents on the principal place an offering to Fire, made up of fuel, sesamum, ghee, etc., at the same time addressing prayers to Rudra, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Viṣṇu, and the Wind.

78. The astrologer expounds the foretokens of the fire, in the manner indicated in the chapter on Indra's banner. All being finished, the court priest, joining his hands in supplication, says :

79. " All the multitudes of divine beings, now that they have received worship at the hands of the king, and bestowed on him unbounded success, may they depart to return another time ! "

80. The monarch then honours the astrologer and court priest with many gifts ; farther, such other persons as can claim rewards, Brahmans skilled in the ceremonial, and others, according to their deserts.

81. He must issue an amnesty to his people, relieve the victims in the slaughter places, and free the prisoners excepting those guilty of high treason.

82. A repeated performance of this ceremony at the time of the Moon's conjunction with Pushya makes pleasure, renown and wealth increase. When the same propitiating rite is performed at any other conjuncture, it will, according to ancient authorities, yield but half the (desired) results.

83. " The auspicious washing ceremony may be performed at a time when evil portents and calamities are afflicting the realm, at the time of eclipses, the appearing of a comet, and a planetary conflict.

¹ Vājasaneyi-S. 24, 50-52.

84. "There is no portent on earth that cannot be assuaged by it, and there is no solemnity that can excel it.

85. "This rite is very salutary at the king's inauguration, and also when he aspires to the rank of an emperor, or when he is longing for the birth of a son.

86. "It was for the sake of mighty Indra that Bṛhaspati, of world-wide fame, taught this extraordinary washing, which is conducive to long life, increase of progeny and popularity.

87. "He who in the same manner causes his horses and elephants to be washed, shall see those parts of his forces free from disease and attaining the highest efficiency."

CHAPTER XLIX.

Signs of Gold Diadems.

1. The lucky and unlucky signs of gold diadems that have been amply described by the Masters, are here enumerated by me, and that completely, though in a succinct manner.

2. The diadem of a king must, to be auspicious, have an expansion of eight digits in the middle; a queen's should, according to prescription, be seven digits; and a prince royal's, six.

3. The diadem of a commander of the troops has an expansion of four digits in the middle, and a diadem bestowed by way of royal favour¹ two. These are the five kinds of diadems known.

4. All have a length double of the expansion, whereas the expansion on both sides is half that of the middle. All should be wrought from pure gold for the sake of increasing bliss.

5. A royal diadem has five crests; a prince royal's, or

¹ Cf. Kathâsarit-Sâgara, ix. 54, 233 :

ततः प्रविश्य नगरं वीरदेववलौ च सः ।

चत्रिसेनापती पट्टं बद्ध्वा रत्नैरपूरयत् ॥

queen's, has three. A chief commander's diadem has one crest; a diadem bestowed as a mark of royal favour has none.

6. When the gold plate for the diadem in being wrought easily expands, it bodes success and victory to the king, and happiness to the people.

7. A flaw in the middle produces loss of life and kingdom. A diadem having a split in the middle must be cast away; one that shows a burst on the sides, gives trouble.

8. At the appearance of evil tokens, the diviner has to prescribe an expiation for the king. A diadem with auspicious signs is conducive to the weal of king and land.

CHAPTER L.

Signs of Swords.

1. A sword of the longest description measures fifty digits; the shortest is of twenty-five digits. A flaw on such a spot (of the sword) as corresponds with an odd number of digits, must be deemed ill-ominous.

2. Yet flaws resembling a Bilva-fruit, Vardhamâna-figure, umbrella, emblem of Çiva, earring, lotus, banner, weapon, or cross, are held auspicious.

3. Flaws shaped like a lizard, crow, heron, carrion bird, headless trunk or scorpion, and several flaws along the upper edge, are not lucky.

4. A sword that shows a chink, is too short, blunt, damaged at the upper edge, unpleasing to eye and mind, and without tone, is inauspicious. The reverse qualities forebode favourable results.

5. The rattling of a sword (of itself) is said to portend death; its not going out of the sheath (when drawn)¹ augurs defeat. There will be strife when the sword jumps out of the scabbard by itself, but victory when it is seen flaming.

6. The king ought not to unsheath it without reason, nor rub it, nor look at his own face in it, nor tell its price. He

¹ In the text we should read परजयायाप्रवर्तनं, as the Comm. has it.

should not mention the place whence it has come from, nor take its measure, nor, without precaution, touch the blade.¹

7. The most esteemed swords are those that are fashioned like a cow's tongue, a lotus-petal, a bambu-leaf, an oleander-leaf, rapiers and scimitars.

8. If a wrought sword proves too long, it may not be shortened by striking off a portion of it, but should be polished till it has the length required. The owner dies if a piece is struck off at the upper end, and his mother dies if the same is done at the point.

9. From a flaw on the hilt you may infer the existence of a corresponding flaw on the blade, just as you may conclude on seeing a mole in the face of a damsel, that there is another such in her hidden parts.

10. And by observing which part of the body is touched by a swordsman, when consulting the diviner, the latter will be able to indicate the place of the flaw on the sword in the scabbard, provided he (the diviner) knows the following rules.

11-15. If the man touches his head, the flaw is at the first digit; the second digit corresponds with the forehead; the third with the spot between the brows; the fourth with the eyes; the fifth with the nose; the sixth with the lips; the seventh with the cheeks; the eighth with the jaws; the ninth with the ears; the tenth with the neck; the eleventh with the shoulders; the twelfth with the breast; the thirteenth with the armpits; the fourteenth with the paps; the fifteenth with the heart; the sixteenth with the belly; the seventeenth with the loins; the eighteenth with the navel; the nineteenth with the abdomen; the twentieth with the hip; the twenty-first with the pudendum; the twenty-second with the thighs; the twenty-fourth with the knees; the twenty-fifth with the legs; the twenty-sixth with the part between the legs; the twenty-seventh with the ankles; the twenty-eighth with the heels; the twenty-ninth with the feet; the thirtieth with the toes: such is the theory of Garga.

¹ Cf. the passage from Parâçara as quoted in the foot-note on st. 24.

16-19. The consequences to be foretold from a flaw in the first, second, third digit, and so forth, up to the thirtieth digit, are as follows: death of a child, obtaining of wealth, loss of riches, good fortune, captivity, birth of a son, quarrels, acquiring of elephants, death of a child, acquiring of wealth, destruction, getting a wife, grief, gain, loss, getting a wife, death, prosperity, death, contentment, loss of wealth, acquiring of riches, death without salvation,¹ obtaining of wealth, death, good fortune, poverty, dominion, death, kingly power.

20. Upwards of the thirtieth digit no consequences are specified; in general, however, the flaws at the odd digits are injurious, at the even ones auspicious. But according to some authorities, the flaws from the thirtieth digit upwards to the sword's point are of no consequence at all.

21. A sword that smells like oleander, blue lotus, elephant's frontal juice, ghee, saffron, jessamine, or *Michelia champaka*, brings good luck; but ill-omened is one that has the odour of cow urine, mud, or fat.

22. A smell similar to that of tortoise blubber, blood, or potash, augurs danger and pain. A sword glittering like beryl, gold, and lightning, brings victory, health, and prosperity.

23. The fluid to imbrue a sword with, according to the precept of Uçanas, is: blood, if one wishes for a splendid fortune; ghee, if one is desirous to have a virtuous son; water, if one is longing for inexhaustible wealth.

24. An approved mixture to imbrue the sword with, in case of one desirous to attain his object by wicked means, is: milk from a mare, a camel, and elephant. A mixture of fish bile, deer-milk, horse-milk, and goat-milk, blended with toddy, will make the sword fit to cut an elephant's trunk.²

¹ The Comm. has *anirvāṇi*, and explains it by *mṛtyu*.

² Comm. तथाच पराशरः ।

अथ पायनानि । क्षीरपायितमरिवधार्थी धारयेत् तिलतैलारना-
लाभ्यमर्थार्थी । पुत्रार्थ्युदकेन । सर्पिषा श्रीकामः । साहसिकः शोणितेन ।
हस्यश्चाष्टक्षीरैः शिलासारच्छेदकामो जाक्षीरेण तालवंशयोर्मत्स्यव-
साबर्हिणपित्तेन द्विरदस्कन्धच्छेदकामो नित्यञ्चैनं घृणपुष्पगन्धबल्युपहा-

25. A sword, first rubbed with oil, and then imbrued with an unguent compounded of the milky juice of the Calotropis, goat's horn, ink, dung from doves and mice, and afterwards whetted, is fit for piercing stones.

26. An iron instrument imbrued with a stale mixture of potash of plantains with buttermilk, and properly whetted, will not get crooked on a stone, nor blunted on other iron instruments.

CHAPTER LI.

*Art of Soothsaying.*¹

1. The soothsayer must tell a consulting person's fortune by observing the latter's direction, utterances, place, what the same is taking into his hand, and which limb of his own or another's he is touching ; conjointly with this the diviner should intelligently consider the time being. For Time, comprehending all that is movable and immovable, is all-knowing, all-seeing, and all-present, and shows to all who need it, the good and evil consequences through means of bodily motions and utterances.²

2. The place (of consultation) is favourable if it is level, covered with good grass, pleasing in the limpidity of its sweet water, covered with beautiful flowers or corn, frequented by Gods, Seers, Brahmans, virtuous men, and Blessed

रैरर्चयित्वा शिरस्युपशायिनं कुर्यान्नावमन्येत नचोच्छिष्टः संसृशेन्ना-
दर्शिकुर्यान्नानिमित्ते विवृणुयान्न क्रीडेन्नास्य मूल्यं ब्रूयादिति (v. 1.
क्रोडितेनास्य मूल्यं विवृणुयादिति) ॥ Cf. st. 6.

¹ This chapter is probably spurious ; see the remarks of the Comm. quoted in the Var. rr.

² The passage in Parâçara which has obviously served as the model, runs thus : इह खलु चराचराणां भूतानां कालो अन्तरात्मा सर्वदा सर्वदर्शी शुभाशुभैस्तत्फलसूचकः । सविशेषेण प्राणिनां स्वपराङ्गेषु स्पर्शनादिकाकालव्याहारेङ्कितचेष्टादिभिर्निमित्तैः फलमभिदर्शयति । तत्प्रयतो दैवज्ञो अनुपहतमतिरवधार्य स्वशास्त्रार्थमनुस्मृत्य यशोधर्मानुग्रहार्थमर्थिनां शुभाशुभानामर्थानां भावाभावमभिनिर्दिशेत् ॥

(inhabitants of Heaven), and if it is shadowed by trees of auspicious appellation, charming in their bloom, loaded with many fruits, possessed of sleek barks and leaves, and not occupied by ill-omened birds.¹

3. Not good is a place abounding with such trees as are cut, split, perforated by insects, thorny, scorched, rough, crooked, bearing unseemly² names, inhabited by ill-ominous birds, and covered with sear and withered leaves and barks.

4. Unfavourable also are: a cemetery, desolate shrine, crossway, a dismal rugged spot, an always brackish ground, a spot covered with sweepings, charcoal, potsherds, ashes, husks, or dry grass.

5. Bad is, besides, any place, when occupied by monks, naked friars, barbers, enemies, shackles, butchers, outcasts, gamblers, ascetics, or persons in distress; moreover, any place where weapons or spirits are being sold.³

6. East, north, and north-east are the directions⁴ of good augury to the consulting person; not so north-west, west, south, south-east and south-west. The favourable time is forenoon, not night, nor dawn, nor twilight, nor afternoon.⁵

7. The same good or evil tokens as expounded in the rules

¹ Comm. तथाच पराशरः

अथ पुष्पितफलितहरितस्निग्धत्वक्पत्रप्रशस्तनामाह्वतिसौम्यद्विजनिषेविततरुच्छायोगूढे सस्यकुसुमहरितमृदुशाद्वलसिक्तमृष्टहृद्यप्रसन्नसलिलावकाशे (देशे) देवर्षिसिद्धसाधुद्विजावासे प्राङ्मुखीत्तरमुत्तरपूर्वाभिमुखो वा यः पृच्छेत् तस्य प्रार्थितोपपत्तिमभिनिर्दिशेत् ॥

² e.g. *vibhītaka*, *vetasa*.

³ Comm. तथाच पराशरः

द्विन्नभिन्नशुष्करूचवक्रजन्तुजगदकण्टकिक्रव्यादद्विजनिषेविताप्रशस्तनामाङ्कितपादपच्छाये श्मशानशून्यायतनचलरोषररिपुनापितायुधमद्यविक्रयशालासु नैर्ऋताग्नेययाम्यवारुणवायव्याशाभिमुखः प्रचीदयेत् तस्येष्टमर्थमनर्थाय विद्यात् ॥

⁴ i.e. to be faced at.

⁵ Parāçara :

वेलाः सर्वाः प्रशस्यन्ते पूर्वाह्ने परिपृच्छताम् ।

सन्ध्योरपराह्ने तु चपायां तु (r. च) विगर्हिताः ॥

for journeys, must in this case be interpreted, and that from observing what object is placed before the inquirer, or seen in his hand, his coat, or what is being carried by the crowd.

8, 9, 10. The masculine¹ limbs are: thigh, lip, pap, testicle, foot, tooth, arm, hand, cheek, hair, throat, nail, thumb, temple, armpit, shoulder, ear, anus, and joint. Feminine are: brow, nose, buttock, wrinkles, hip, line of felicity in the palm, finger, tongue, neck, instep, ankle, leg, navel, margin of the ear, and hindpart of the neck. Neuter are: mouth, back, collarbone, knee, bone, side, heart, palate, eye, penis, breast, end of the spine, head and forehead. Touching of a limb of the first description, foreshows speedy results; touching of one of the second kind, denotes slow results; the touching of neuter limbs produces no effects whatever; nor do the other two, if they happen to be coarse, impaired, broken, or lean.

11. When the querist touches or moves his great toe, he is to suffer from eyesore; when he touches or moves a finger, one may announce sorrow on account of his daughter; when he strikes his head, there threatens danger from the king.

12. His touching the breast, presages separation; his taking off a piece of cloth from his body, denotes loss; when he pulls a piece of cloth closer to him, and joins foot to foot, he will get friends.

13. When he scratches the earth with his great toe, he is thinking of land; when he scratches his feet with the hand, his thoughts are fixed on a female slave.

14. If the man looks at a t̄al- or birch-leaf, he is thinking of muslin; if he is standing on glass, husks, bone, or ashes, sickness is soon to befall him; if he gazes on a string, net, or bark, captivity awaits him.

15, 16. Should he mention or see long pepper, black pepper, ginger, cyperus grass, lodh, costus, cloth, andropogon, cumin, spikenard, anise, and Tabernæmontana, one may foretell that his thoughts are engaged on the following subjects, severally: a wife's fault, a man's fault, a person in distress, loss of all,

¹ *i.e.* denoted by words of masculine gender.

missing of the road, loss of a child, of wealth, of grain, of a child, of bipeds, of quadrupeds, of land.

17. From his keeping in the hand a fruit of the Indian figtree, of Bassia, ebony-tree, roseapple, waved-leaved figtree, mango, and jujube,¹ it may be predicted that he is to acquire wealth, gold, men, iron, muslin, silver, and copper.

18. The sight of a dish filled with grain and a full water-pot, augurs the thriving of the family; excrements of an elephant, cow, or dog, denote the loss of wealth, women, or friends (severally).

19. On seeing cattle, an elephant, buffalo, lotus blossom, silver, or a tiger, the querist is destined to get a multitude of sheep, riches, garments, sandal, silk, or ornaments (successively).

20. When a fortune-teller is consulted by persons in the sight of a skull-wearing Çaiva monk, they do so for the sake of friends or gambling; when in the sight of a friar of a decent order, their query concerns a courtesan, king, or wife in childbed.

21. The consultation being held in the sight of a Buddhist monk, a teacher, a Jaina monk, a naked mendicant friar, a diviner, a pedlar,² a fisher, it concerns a thief, a commander of the troops, a merchant, a female slave, a soldier, a shop-keeper, a condemned criminal.

22. From the sight of an ascetic is to be inferred that the inquirer is thinking of an absent person; he is thinking of cattle tending, if a vendor of liquors is in sight. From the

¹ To r. in the text जात, instead of जाति.

² That *nimitta* must be understood to mean *naimittika*, appears not only from the Commentary, but also from the corresponding passage of Parâçara's: निर्ग्रन्थदर्शने दासीपृच्छां । वृद्धश्रावकदर्शने मित्रद्यूतकृतां वा । शाक्यस्य चौरकृतां । परिव्राजकस्य नृपसूतिकागणिकार्थां वा । उपाध्यायस्य चमूपतिकृतां । नैगमस्य श्रेष्ठिकृतां । नैमित्तिकस्य योधार्थां । अर्हंतो वार्णिकार्थां । उच्छ्वृत्तीनां विपन्नार्थां । तापसस्य प्रोषितार्थां । शौण्डिकस्य पशुपालनार्थां । कैवर्तस्य वध्यघातकृताम् । Remarkable in this passage is *vū* after a compound, as if the component parts were separated.

sight of one busy with gleanings, you may conclude that mishap has befallen the querist.

23. The man using the expression : "I should like to ask," it denotes him to think of a meeting ; the expression "do, tell!" shows he is thinking of his household ; the words : "Master ! pray, look !" intimate the man to think of gain ; the expression "do, prophecy !" shows that he cares for dominion.

24. If he says, "inform me," his thoughts are bent on victory or travelling. Should he say : "examine, and tell my thoughts," then his care concerns a kinsman. If he suddenly rushes upon the diviner, who is standing among a crowd, with the word "look !" he is thinking of a thief.

25, 26. By an internal part of the body being touched, a member of the family is indicated to be the thief ; by an external part being touched, a stranger is indicated ; by a motion of the great toe, a slave is referred to ; by the other toes, a female slave ; by the legs, a domestic ; by the navel, a sister ; by the heart, one's own wife ; by touching the thumb, a son is denounced ; by the fingers, a daughter ; by the belly, one's mother ; by the head, one's father or uncle ; by the right arm, one's brother ; by the left arm, a brother's wife.

27, 28. Indications that the inquirer is not destined to recover the property stolen from him, are the following : if, after touching an internal part of the body, he takes to an external one ; or if he emits phlegm, urine, excrements ; or suffers something to drop from his hands ; or vehemently bends and stretches his limbs ; or if he describes people carrying empty vessels, or a thief ; or if ominous words are heard, such as "taken, fallen, impaired, forgotten, lost, broken, gone, stolen, dead," and the like.¹

29. The aforesaid signs, when combined with the sight of

¹ Comm. तथाच पराशरः

आभ्यन्तराङ्गं स्पृष्ट्वा बाह्यं स्पृशेन्निर्हरणं वा श्लेष्मपुरीषनस्थानां कुर्याद्-
द्वस्ताद्वा किञ्चित्पातयेत् गात्राणि वा स्फोटयेत् चतहृतपतितमुषितवि-
स्मृतनष्टदुष्टानिष्टभग्नतर्जिणशब्दप्रादुर्भावो वा स्यात् रिक्तभाण्डत-
स्कराणां दर्शने नष्टस्थालाभं विद्यात् ॥

husks, bones, poison, etc., or with the sound of weeping and sneezing, portend death to men attacked by illness. When the querist, on sharply touching an internal part of the body, breaks wind upwards, then you may foretell that he is satiated by having copiously dined.

30. From his touching the forehead and from seeing awns, you may infer boiled rice has been his food; from his touching the breast, king's rice; from his touching the neck, a preparation of barley.

31. If he touches his loins, paps, belly, or knees, he is sure to have eaten pease, milk, sesamum, or rice gruel. From his smacking and licking his lips, you may know that he has tasted something sweet.

32. By something loathsome,¹ he will stretch his tongue; by something sour, he will make a wry mouth; by something pungent, bitter, tart, or hot, he will hiccough, and by something salt, spit.

33. If he gives up phlegm, it is a sign that he has eaten something dry and bitter, and that in little quantity. The sound or sight of a carnivorous animal is a token of his having enjoyed fleshmeat; if he touches his brows, cheeks, or lips, he has eaten fowl.

34. His touching the head, throat, hair, jaw, temple, ear, leg, abdomen, proves him to have taken elephant's flesh, buffalo's flesh, mutton, pork, beef, hare's flesh, deer's flesh, mixed meat.

35. When an evil augury is seen or heard, you may foretell that he has eaten lizard's flesh and fish. In similar manner may, at the time of consultation, the deliverance of a pregnant woman be prognosticated.

36. Whether a male, female, or androgynous child is to take birth, is foreshown by something masculine, feminine, or neuter being seen, inferred, present, and touched. A happy deliverance is augured from the sight of drink, food, flowers, and fruits.

37. When a woman touches with the thumb her eyebrow,

¹ r. *visṛkve*, as one MS. of the Comm. has it, instead of *visṛkke*.

belly, or finger, she is thinking of the child she expects ; so, too, when honey, ghee, gold, gems, corals, or the woman's mother, nurse, or children, are before her eyes.

38. Should a pregnant woman uphold her belly with her hand while an evil omen is seen, she will miscarry ; so, too, if she withdraws her belly from the pressure of the stool,¹ or joins one hand to the other.

39. When she touches the right nostril, you may foretell that she is to conceive next month ; when she touches the left nostril or the left ear, her pregnancy is to begin after two months ; when it is the right ear, two months will elapse before that occurrence ; and when it is the breasts, four months.

40. She will give birth to three sons and two daughters if it is the lower part of her hair-knot she touches ; five sons, if it is the ears ; three sons, if it is the hand. The thumb being touched, it denotes five sons ; the forefinger, four ; and so on in succession. The great toe and both ankles denote one daughter.

41. She is to be mother of a couple of girls or of boys according to her touching either the left or the right thigh, and the mother of four or three children according to her touching the middle or the end of her forehead.

42, 43. Head, forehead, brows, ears, cheeks, jaws, teeth, neck, right² shoulder, left shoulder, hands, chin, pipe of the lungs, breast, right pap, left pap, heart, right side, left side, belly, hip, joint of the holy bone, right thigh, left thigh, knees, legs, feet ; each of these parts of the body corresponds

¹ The translation is doubtful ; the corresponding passage in Parâçara has : पीठमर्दकं वान्तरा कृत्वोदरं कण्डूयेद्यहस्तं हस्तेनाभिगृह्य वा पृच्छेत् . It is not clear what is meant, in this passage, with *pīṭhamardaka* ; apparently a cushion.

² It is most strange that in the foregoing stanza the word *sayya* is used in the acceptation of "left," but here of "right." The former passage is an imitation of Parâçara's words : दक्षिणोरुसंस्पर्शे द्वौ पुत्रौ द्वेच कन्यके जनयिष्यसि । वामस्य तिस्रः कन्यका द्वौ पुत्रौ ; the latter passage has दक्षिणांसे प्राक्फल्गुन्याम् । उत्तरायां वामे ॥

with one of the twenty-eight lunar asterisms beginning with Kṛttikâ.¹

44. Herewith have we clearly expounded the prognostics from limbs being touched, after we had duly studied the authoritative works, with the view of attaining the results wished for. He who knows all this, and is not deficient in intelligence and alertness, shall always be honoured by the king and the multitude.

¹ Consequently the head being touched, the child will be born at Kṛttikâ, and so on. Parâçara: शिरसि संस्पृष्टे कृत्तिकासु जन्म विद्यात् । ललाटे रोहिण्यां भ्रुवोर्मृगशिरसि । इ. आ. ।

(To be continued.)

ART. V.—*Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of the Principalities of Tokháristán, in which some Previous Geographical Identifications are Reconsidered.* By Colonel H. YULE, C.B.

Recently engaged in compiling a Map of Badakhshán and the adjoining regions, to illustrate a paper for the Geographical Society, I have naturally been led to consider the interesting geographical details which the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang gives of those countries, as well as the current interpretations of his routes and localities. In several instances those interpretations seem to me open to amendment. The most eminent of Hwen Thsang's geographical illustrators are Major-General Cunningham and M. Vivien de St.-Martin; both of whom have dealt ably with the whole series of the Chinese Traveller's wanderings. If, after the careful study of a small part of these, I venture to differ from both accomplished commentators in regard to some of the identifications which concern that part only, I trust that I shall be guilty of no presumption. Recent documents, in part as yet unpublished, afford advantages for this discussion which were not available to my predecessors.

In the sketch-map that accompanies these notes I have endeavoured to lay down the limits of the different principalities, where these are not determined by the geographical facts, according to the approximate dimensions stated by Hwen Thsang. The *li* in which his estimates are reckoned is valued by M. Vivien de St.-Martin at $\frac{1}{3}$ of an English mile; by General Cunningham, as a practical road-measure, usually at $\frac{1}{6}$. But the circuit of the different States, as well as the intervals from capital to capital, which are occasionally given, are always stated (at least in this part of Hwen Thsang's Travels) in even hundreds of *li*. And

my strong impression is, that in the cases with which we are dealing the expression "one hundred *li*" merely means "one day's journey." Who in those wild regions could supply the Traveller with estimates of measured distance round the circuit of a State? Any such estimates of extent would almost infallibly be expressed in days' journeys. I take up the very document which led me to the present subject, Pandit Manphúl's Report on Badakhshán, and I find that it begins with the information that "the length of this country is about 200 miles (sixteen stages), and its breadth about 150 miles (ten days' journey)." The rendering into miles here, for the benefit of the Pandit's English readers, is analogous to Hwen Thsang's *li*, but the fundamental datum is that of the number of marches. That the expression "one hundred *li*" has to this day, in certain parts of China, the meaning which I here assign to it, is attested by Colonel Sarel,¹ and I think that like testimony is given by some other recent traveller. The admission of this meaning would have saved some unprofitable criticism. Thus, Hwen Thsang gives 500 *li* as the distance between Nagarahára (say Jalálábád) and Purushapúra, or Pesháwar. General Cunningham is at pains to point this out as erroneous, because the distance measured by perambulator is a good deal more than 500 *li*, according to his valuation of the *li*.² But when we turn to an itinerary, *e.g.* Mullah Abdul Mejid's, we find that Jalálábád is just five marches from Pesháwar, or in Hwen Thsang's phraseology, as I understand it, 500 *li*. In laying down my boundaries I find that $4\frac{1}{2}$ such days' journeys (or, used in that sense, 450 *li*) to a degree of latitude gives *as an average* tolerably consistent results, and this scale has been used.

We shall begin from Samarkand.

(1). *Sa-mo-kian*, SAMARKAND (*Landresse*).³

¹ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxii., p. 11.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 47.

³ Under the different localities, the name in *italics* is the transcription of the Chinese syllables adapted from M. Julien; that in *heavy type* their alphabetical equivalent as given by him; that in capitals the identification; and the name within parentheses that of the original authority for the identification. *Landresse* I can only quote through Cunningham.

I may remark that by later Chinese writers this famous city appears to be called *Tsinssekan*, *Sihmissekan*, and the like,¹ a form which also turns up in some medieval European documents. Thus, in papal bulls connected with the nomination of missionary bishops in 1328, one of these, Thomas of Mancasola, is appointed Bishop in Samarkand, *in civitate Semiscantensi*. The same form appears in the *Cimesquinte* of Gonzalez de Clavijo. This is explained by the statement of Al-Bírúni that in Turkish the city was called *Samezkand*, instead of Samarkand.²

(2). *Kie-shwang-na*, Kaçanna, KESH or Shahr-Sabz (*Cunningham*), at 300 *li* from Samarkand (three marches?). 200 *li* (two marches?) S.W. of this he enters a difficult hill-country, and after travelling 300 *li* (three days) in it, he reaches the Iron-Gate.

On passing the Iron-Gate the Traveller finds himself in (3) *Tu-ho-lo*, TUKHÁRA, TOKHÁRISTÁN (*Landresse*), which extended 1000 *li* in latitude and 3000 in longitude (ten days' journey by thirty days), reaching from the frontiers of Persia to the *Thsung-ling* or Mountains of Pamir; whilst the great *Po-chu*, Vach, or OXUS, ran through the middle of it towards the west. For several centuries the Royal line had been extinct, and a variety of chiefs assuming the title of Prince had divided the land among them, so that the former Empire of TUKHÁRA now constituted twenty-seven petty States, separated from each other by natural barriers. The whole of these States owned the supremacy of the Turkish Khan.

By the name of *Tuholo*, or TUKHÁRA, Hwen Thsang undoubtedly denotes the *Yetha*, identical, as M. Vivien de St.-Martin has shown, with the Haiáthalah or Ephthalites. Yet the application of the name to them presents difficult questions.

It is indeed quite consistent with M. V. de St.-Martin's view that the *Yetha* were only in a new phase the *Yuéchi*,

¹ *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. vi., tom. ix., pp. 47, 70; *Deguignes*, iv., 49; *Gaubil*, *H. de Gentchiscan*, p. 37.

² *Cathay*, etc., p. 192; *Sprenger*, *Post und Reise Routen*, p. 20.

whose descent on Transoxiana and Bactria about B.C. 126 extinguished the Greek kingdom north of the Indian Caucasus. For the *Tochari* are mentioned by Strabo as main agents in that overthrow, and are placed by Ptolemy at a later date as a *great nation* in Bactria. And when we find Hwen Thsang, on his journey homewards, using the same name of *Tukhára* in connexion (as it would seem) with the original seats of the Yuéchi beside the Gobi Desert, it shows that he also regarded the Yuéchi as identical with the race whose predominance on the Oxus had recently been broken by the Turks, viz., the *Yetha* or Haiáthalah.

The name occurs in the Mahábhárat as that of a northern race; and Lassen, Ritter, and Vivien de St.-Martin concur in assigning these epic Tukhára to the mountains about the sources of Oxus and Jaxartes.¹ I cannot discover what determines this allocation, nor why these Tukhára, *for anything that is said of them in Lassen's quotations*, should not be placed further to the east, and identified even then with the race, of supposed Tibetan blood, which bore the name in later days after its migration to the banks of the Oxus.² A greater difficulty in the way of this supposition, (*viz.*, that the name always pertained to the Yuéchi as their Indian title), is the mention of the Tochari seven centuries before our era, in the clay-stamped Annals of Senaccherib, as a mountain-race invaded by that King; the same inscription commemorating an attack upon the *Dahae* as immediately following.³ If these readings are certain, it would seem that the true Tochari must for ages before the existence of the Greek Kingdom of Bactria have occupied seats to the westward

¹ *Lassen*, i., 852; *Ritter*, vii., 697; *V. de St.-Martin* in *N. Ann. des Voyages* for 1849, vol. 3, pp. 25-27. If Ritter were correct in bringing the Tochari or *Thogarii* (as the name is in Justin) into battle with the Parthians in B.C. 197, this would show them to have been in Transoxiana long before the fall of Greco-Bactria. But Ritter has here (the rarest of all things) made a mistake. The date belongs to the death of Artabanus II., not I., and should be 128, not 197 B.C.

² The fact, which Lassen notices, that the Tukhára brought to the Pandava king, among other presents, *furs, iron, and silk*, the three staples of the Seres, fits surely better to a people on the Khotan Frontier of China than to wild denizens of the buttresses of Pamir. (See *Lassen*, i., 848.)

³ *Journ. Royal As. Soc.*, vol. xix., p. 151. The *Tokari* are also represented from an Egyptian wall-sculpture by Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. iv., pp. 45-46.

of Imaus, and the circumstances that transferred the name to the Yetha are not easy to conceive.

Advancing to the Oxus, the Traveller arrives at (4) *Ta-mi*, or TERMEDH (*Cunningham*), one of the subdivisions of Tukhára, which had an extent of 600 *li* from east to west, and 400 from north to south (six days' journey by four).

(5). On the east it touched upon *Chi-go-yanna*, or CHAGHÁNIÁN (*Cunningham*), corresponding generally to the modern province of HISSÁR. This extended 400 *li* in longitude by 500 in latitude (four days by five).

(6). The next kingdom eastward was *Holumo*, having only one day's journey in breadth from east to west, and three in length from north to south. *Cunningham* suggests this to be *Hamurán* (written also *Hamudán*, *Hamdarán*, etc.), which in the old Arab geographies is the second stage between Chagháníán and Wakhsh; whilst Vivien de St.-Martin prefers *Hissár Shadumán*. Our knowledge of this region remains most vague and scanty, but our maps, on whatever authority, represent Chagháníán as considerably east of Hissár, a circumstance opposed to the latter view.

The form of the territory, narrow in proportion to length, indicates that it is probably a river-valley; and in the position assigned, the river can scarcely be other than the northern Surkh-áb, or Karategín branch of the Oxus. I suspect that the name *Holumo* represents GARMÁ. AB-I-GARM is one of the lower districts of Karategín, and GARMÁ is also a name applied to the chief place of that principality. The latter, however, seems to be too distant, unless the three days' length be an under-statement.¹

(7). The next kingdom eastward is *Suman*, the SUMÁN or SHUMÁN of the Arab geographies (*Cunningham*). This kingdom according to Hwen Thsang was 400 *li* (four days' journey) from east to west, and 100 only from north to south. Towards the S.W. it lay upon the Oxus, and it extended to a kingdom called (8) *Kio-ho-yanna*, Kuvayana, measuring

¹ See a recent paper on Karategín from the Russian in the Proceedings of the R. G. S. Meyendorff, however, applies the title of Khan of *Ab-i-Garm* to the chief of Karategín.

two days' journey by three. This M. V. de St.-Martin takes for *Karátégín*, but nothing in the translation carries us in that direction, and it may more naturally be identified with *KUVÁDIÁN*.

Shumán is placed by the Arabian itineraries 22 *farsakhs* from Chagháníán. I should judge it to have been near, if not identical with, the modern town of Baljiwán or Kuláb.

(9). East of Shumán was *Husha*, extending three days' journey (300 *li*) from east to west, and five from north to south. This Cunningham, rightly as I think, identifies with *Wakhsh*. M. de St.-Martin interprets it as Ush in Farghána—a long stride indeed! But the name of the next province seems enough to settle the question.

(10). *Khotulo*, KHOTL or Khotlán (*Cunningham*). This was about 1000 *li* (ten days' journey) either way. On the east it came in contact with the *Thsungling* or mountains buttressing Pamir, and extended to No. 11.

Another ancient notice of Khotl preserved by Matwanlin, and cited by Rémusat and Klaproth, mentions the rock-salt which is still a production of Kuláb, and calls the capital *Sse-tsu-kian* or *San-tsu-kian* (?).

(11). *Kiu-mi-tho*, Kumidha. This kingdom was some 20 days' journey (2000 *li*) from east to west, and two days from north to south, lying among the Thsungling mountains. On the S.W. it adjoined the Oxus; on the south it was in contact with the kingdom of *Shikhini* or SHIGHNÁN. The state of *Kiumi* is also mentioned along with *Shikhini* and *Humi* (see No. 33) in the historical extracts of Abel Rémusat, as sending tribute to China in the 7th century.¹ Major General Cunningham, though not giving any specific modern identification of this State, most happily connects it with the *Comedae* of Ptolemy, who inhabited the hill-country east of Bactriana, and up whose valley lay the route of the caravans from Bactra, bound for Serica across Imaus or the Thsungling. The proportions of length and breadth ascribed to the territory of *Kiumitho*, 20 by 2, show that a valley is in question.

¹ See "*Extension de l'Empire Chinois du côté de l'Occident*," in *Mem. de l'Ac. des Inscr.*, tom. viii. p. 93.

The passage in Ptolemy just alluded to is one of the most notable in regard to the geography of Inner Asia of all that have come down to us from classic times. There can be little doubt that Gen. Cunningham's identification of *Kiumitho* with the *Comedae* is well founded, and we could scarcely desire a more precise definition of their position than Hwen Thsang has here given us. "They lay to the eastward of Khotl, among the roots of Pamir, to the northward of Shighnán, and had the Oxus on their south-west." Nor could words more exactly define the position, so far as we know it, of the existing principalities of DARWÁZ and ROSHÁN.

The old Arabian geographers do not mention the state of Darwáz by that name. But they tell us that four days beyond Washjird there was a place called *Rásht*, forming the extreme frontier of Khorasan in that direction. It stood in a narrow valley among the mountains, by which the Turks in ancient days used to come down on their forays. Fadhl the son of Yahya, the Barmecide, towards the end of the second century of Islám, caused a barrier to be constructed on this pass, which long continued to be garrisoned.¹

I suspect that this *Rásht* or *Rásit* is the place which thus acquired the name of Darwáz or the Gate. If this be right, then the valley of the *Comedae*, up which the ancient caravans travelled eastward for silk, the Valley of *Rásht* down which the Turks came to plunder in the 8th century, and the Darwáz of our maps are all identical. Nay, it is possible that in the name of the chief place of modern Darwáz, *Kala' KUM*, we have a surviving trace of the old inhabitants, the *Kumidha* or *Comedae*, and that the name *Rásht*, if we were certain of its true form, might prove to be identical with *Roshán*.²

¹ See *Ibn Khordádbah* in *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. vi., tom. v. p. 270; *Edrisi*, i., 483; *Sprenger*, p. 44. Reinaud puts the date about A.D. 794 (*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 161). He mentions moreover that the barrier was called *Al-Báb*.

² We know nothing of the passes which descend from Pamir to Roshán and Darwáz except that there are such. It is probable that the *Vallis Comedarum* may be that of the great Oxus tributary from Pamir which joins the Panja at Bartang on the borders of Roshán and Darwáz. As some perplexity has arisen about Darwáz from the position assigned to "*Darwázi*" territory in the Itinerary of Abdul Mejid between Kokan and Kuláb, I may call attention to a passage in

We now return to the western part of Tokháristán, and to the Traveller's actual route.

(12). On leaving Termedh, and crossing the Oxus, he proceeded to *Hwo*, which was a principality in the immediate hands of the eldest son of the Khan of the Turks, who was a kind of governor-general over all the petty kingdoms of Tukhára. *Hwo* is described as a country having a circuit of 3000 *li* or 30 marches. The territory was level, the vegetation of extraordinary vigour, the climate mild. The mountains of Thsungling terminated on its eastern frontier. In another passage it is stated that *Hwo* adjoined the Oxus, and that its capital "stood on the eastern bank of the river."¹

Cunningham thinks *Hwo* is probably KHULM; Vivien de St.-Martin is quite clear that it is GHORI. I agree with the latter that Khulm appears in the Itinerary under another name (see No. 15), but I must differ with him as to the identification of *Hwo* with Ghori. Both the character ascribed to the country and the position of *Hwo* in relation to the Oxus and to other principalities preclude this view. To the south-east of *Hwo* lay *Kuosito* and *Antalopo*, i.e. KHOST and ANDARÁB; to the south-west lay *Pokialang* or BAGHLÁN. How is it possible to reconcile these indications with the position of Ghori? Yet they are mutually in perfect consistence, and point as so many compass-bearings to the vicinity of KUNDUZ.

The same name that is here given as *Hwo* appears to be rendered in one of Rémusat's extracts as *Ahwan*. The place so called was, in the vain-glorious organization of those western regions by the Thang Emperors of China, about A.D. 660, constituted the chief seat of the government of

Mr. Wathen's paper on Kokan in vol. iii. of the *Journ. Asiat. Soc., Bengal*, p. 373. This paper, compiled in 1834 from the information afforded by a Wazír of Kokan, states that on the death of the last prince of Karategín (claiming, like so many others of the old dynasties of Tokháristán, to be descended from Alexander), his sons having fought for the succession, the kingdom fell a prey to the Prince of Darwáz, and was still under his rule. The same authority had given Badakhshán, Karategín, and Darwáz, as the boundaries of Kokan on the south-east. Putting these things together, it seems easy to account for the continued existence of Darwáz authority so far north of the Oxus as Abdul Mejíd puts it, without the necessity of supposing that there is another Darwáz besides that on the Oxus.

¹ *Vie et Voyages de H. T.*, p. 268. It is there called *Kouo* (or *Kwo*).

Tukhára, under the official name of *Yueichi-fu*, with 24 or 26 *chéu* under it, which no doubt answered to Hwen Thsang's 27 principalities.¹ But where was it?

Kunduz itself does not appear in the older Arab geographies. The place of note nearest to it in those older writers is *Warwálin* or WAWÁLIN. Under the latter form the name has been read by Mr. Edward Thomas as that of the Mint-city on several coins of Mahmúd of Ghazni and his successors.² Its exact position cannot be assigned, for no modern trace of the name has yet been discovered. But the indication that it lay equidistant between Khulm and Táyiḡán³ (or Tálíkán) brings its position within tolerably narrow limits, pointing again to the vicinity of Kunduz. It is possible that the first part of the name *Wa-wálin* may be represented by *Hwo*; but however that may be, I have little doubt that *Hwo* stands for the ancient province corresponding to Kunduz, and probably also to Wawálin.

We have no information indeed that enables us to explain the statement that it stood on the eastern bank of the river, if by that expression the Oxus be meant. But the Oxus has no *eastern* bank in this vicinity, and if the original language may admit of the word *river* here being indefinite, this might refer to the position of Kunduz on the eastern bank of the Surkháb. In all other respects the position of Kunduz answers; the soil is flat, moist, and rank in vegetation; the mountains which rise to the eastward of the plain have no interruption till they sink into the plains of Yarkand; Khost and Andaráb lie to the south-east, Baghlán to the south-west; and the State described as lying nearly to the north of *Hwo* admits of satisfactory identification.⁴

(13). South-west of *Hwo* was *Pokialang*, or BAGHLÁN (*Cunningham*); a small kingdom extending only 200 *li* or

¹ The very name applied to the seat of government shows that the Chinese considered Yueichi=Tukhára. Both *Ahwan* and *Hwo* recall the *Choana* of Ptolemy in the same region. Compare the analogous name of *Artakoana*, capital of Aria.

² See *Journ. R.A.S.* xvii., p. 184.

³ See *Sprenger*, p. 44. In *Edrisi* (i., pp. 474-5) Khulm is omitted, and Warwálin becomes only two days from *Balkh*.

⁴ See under No. 25.

two marches from north to south, and half a march from east to west; dimensions which (as M. de St.-Martin notices) point to the valley of the (southern) Surkháb, in which Baghlán stands.

(14). Southward, Baghlán touched upon *He-lu-si-min-kian*, Hrosminkan, which had a circuit of ten days' journey (1000 *li*). The last part of the name M. de St.-Martin is certainly right in identifying with the SAMANJÁN of the Arab geographers, mentioned also in the History of Taimur, and which in Persian legend was the residence of the lady loved by Rustam and the birthplace of her son Sohrab. This we learn from Moorcroft to be identical with Haibak in the valley of the Khulm River.¹ The *Helu*, or Hro, may probably stand for RÚÍ in the upper part of the same valley, and we shall then have in the entire designation one of those copulate names so popular in Asia, RÚÍ-SAMANGÁN.² This too would account for the southerly direction assigned to the territory in question; for Haibak itself lies nearly due west of Baghlán.

(15). Northward of *Helu-siminkian* was *Ho-lin*, or KHULM (*Vivien de St.-Martin*). The circuit was about ten marches (1000 *li*).

(16). West of *Holin* was *Poho* or *Poholo*, BALKH (*Cunningham*), the extent of which was eight marches (800 *li*) from east to west, and four days (400 *li*) from north to south.³

(17). To the S.W. of Balkh was *Jui-mo-tho*, Jumadha, a small State only 50 *li* by 100, which Cunningham suggests to be Maimunah or Yahúdiah. But Yahúdiah is reckoned by the Geographers to be the chief city of the next State; and can scarcely be described as "lying among the spurs of the snowy mountains." A position somewhere near Sir-i-pul

¹ *Travels*, ii., 402.

² *Rúi* is mentioned by an early Arabian geographer, Moḳaddasi (see *Sprenger*, p. 37). At least I presume that رُوب *Rúb*, which appears between Samangán and Baghlán, is an error for رُوي *Rúi*.

³ In *Sprenger's Map*, No. 5, after Birúni, attached to Balkh is the remark, "The old name is باهي." If this be *Báki* or *Báka*, it might explain the form *Poho*.

seems indicated; to the south of which, near BÚDHI, Ferrier found ruins, sculptures, and inscriptions.¹

(18). Beyond this little State was *Hu-shi-kian*, Hujkan, GÚZGÁNA or Júzgána (*V. de St.-Martin*), of which the capital was Yahúdiah. Its extent was five days' journey by ten days (500 *li* by 1000).

(19). N.W. of the last was *Ta-la-kian*, TÁLIKÁN (*Cunningham*); *i.e.*, the more westerly of the two places on the Khorasan frontier so called. This kingdom extended 500 *li* by 50 or 60, no doubt in the valley of the Murgháb. It has recently been suggested that the name of this place is a memorial of the *Haiáthalah* or Ephthalites. During the original Arab conquest of Khorasan it is stated that the Persians and Haiáthalah defending themselves at Tálíkán were succoured by the Turks and the *Saghánián* (or Chaghánian).² This illustrates the probable origin of numerous local names on that frontier ending in *-án*, as originally gentile plurals.

(20). Returning to Balkh, the Traveller goes about 100 *li* (one day's journey) south, and arrives at the hilly and somewhat barren kingdom of *Kia-chi*, Gachi. This I apprehend to be the Darah or Valley of GAZ. Darah-Gaz will be found in Macartney's Map to Elphinstone, in the Map to Ferrier's Travels, etc., about one march south of Balkh. Ibn Haukal also states that the hill-country south of Balkh is called *Gaz*. Darah Gaz is mentioned in Taimur's Institutes, and it was the scene of a rout of Humayún's little army by the Uzbeks in 1549.³

South-east of this the Traveller enters a country of lofty and rugged mountains, of frost and snow. Such mountains find no indication on any map known to me, not even on that attached to General Ferrier's journey. Yet that officer, the only modern traveller who has passed athwart the hill-country between the Khulm and Balkh Rivers, describes his crossing, immediately west of Kurram, lofty mountains, the

¹ *Caravan Journeys*, pp. 229-230.

² See *M. Garrez in Journ. As.*, ser. vi., tom. xiii., pp. 175-179.

³ *J. A. S. Bengal*, xxii., p. 164; *Timoor's Institutes*, p. 59; *Erskine's Baber and Humayun*, ii., pp. 373-6.

summits covered with snow in July, and with the cold of January at that season.¹

(21). After travelling six days (600 *li*), Hwen Thsang quits Tokháristán, and reaches the kingdom of *Fanyanna* or BAMIÁN (*Landresse*). This kingdom extends twenty days' journey from east to west, and three from north to south (2000 *li* and 300 *li*), the latter estimate being probably from Saighán to the Hajjiyak Pass. The capital rested on the flanks of two opposite mountains, and extended across the intervening valley. Hence it would seem to have occupied much the same position as the modern village of Bamian, and not that of the ruined city on the hill-top south of the valley which is called in Wood's map *Ghulgula*.

From Bamian the Traveller departed eastward, entered the defiles of the Snowy Mountains (the Hindu Kúsh), which he crossed most probably by the Shibr Kotal, so often mentioned by Baber, and which seems to lie about due east of Bamian.² He then traverses the "Black Mountains," here probably a part of the Paghmán Range, and reaches *Kia-pi-she*, Kapiça. M. de St.-Martin has shown good reason for supposing that this kingdom lay east of the Panjshir or Bárán River, and as the large circuit of forty days' journey is assigned to it, it probably embraced the valleys of Nijrao and Tagao, with some considerable part of Kafiristán; but this is beyond the territory with which these notes are dealing.³

The pilgrim on his return journey, some fourteen years later, travels in five marches (500 *li*) from *Hosina* or Ghazni

¹ *Caravan Journeys*, p 217. The statement is a little vague, but the height implied can scarcely be less than 11,000 feet.

² Baber calls it *Shibertú*, but it is not to be confounded with a high-level valley of that name to the west of Bamian, which was passed by Arthur Conolly on his journey from Kabul to Khorasan in 1840. I made this mistake in *Cathay*, p. 592.

³ One is tempted to seek some connexion with the name *Kapisha* in that of the Pashais, whose especial country this is. General Cunningham quotes the capital of Kapiça as being 600 *li* from Bamian; but there is no such datum in either of the two works on Hwen Thsang's journey. He also makes *Hupina* or Hupián identical with this capital of Kapiça, and I do not think that one could discover from his discussion of the question that Hwen Thsang represents *Hupina* as the capital of a distinct kingdom, governed by a king of a different race. (See *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 18 et seqq.)

to *Hu-pi-na* or *HUPIÁN*, capital of *Fo-li-shi-si-tang-na*,¹ and thence, starting eastward, immediately enters *Kapiça*, proceeds north-east through a city called *Kiu-lu-sa-pang*,² and passing a number of other small towns on the borders of *Kapiça*, reaches a very lofty pass over a part of the great Snowy Mountains, called *Po-lo-se-na*.³

There are several passes across the Hindu Kúsh from the Panjshir Valley, and this might be almost any one of them. But if the time is given correctly in the *Life*,⁴ as fourteen days from *Kapiça*, the Pass traversed must have been the most remote, *i.e.* the Pass of *Khawák* at the very head of the valley.

(22). After three days' descent from the Pass the Traveller reaches *An-ta-lo-po*, *Antarava*, or *ANDARÁB* (*Lassen*). This State was thirty days' journey (3000 *li*) in circuit, consisting of narrow valleys amid mountain chains, with a cold climate and bitter winds, but productive in corn, fruit, and flowers. Though it is not possible to give the province all the extent of circuit ascribed to it, there is no room for question as to its identity.

(23). Passing out of *Andaráb* to the north-west the Traveller enters a valley, crosses a mountain pass, passes through some villages, and after about 400 *li* (four days' travelling) he reaches the kingdom of *Kuosito* or *KHOST* (*V. de St.-Martin*); a region of mountains and narrow valleys, subject to icy winds, but like *Andaráb* productive in crops of grain and fruit. A circuit of thirty days' journey (3000 *li*) is ascribed

¹ M. V. de St.-Martin makes this *Vardasthána*, which would be convincing if it answered better to the Chinese phonetics. The *Paráchis* whom Baber mentions among the races of Kabul suggest the possibility of *Paráchisthána* (see *Baber*, p. 140).

² *Vie et Voyages*, p. 266. The position where the Traveller halts in *Kapiça* is too uncertain to guide us to this city. We find a resemblance to the first part of the name in *Gul-bahár* at the mouth of the Panjshir Valley, a favourite hunting-ground of Baber's. The term *bahár* seems also to point to Buddhist antiquity (*vihāra*).

³ The *Parsiána* of Ptolemy, a name very like *Polosena* certainly, is somewhere in this direction; all that one can venture to say of Ptolemy's localities with all their elaborate statements of co-ordinates, unless they are determined by other indications. *Panshir* itself may be formed from *Parasena*, by a like metathesis to that which in the same region has made *Laghman* and *Paghmán* out of *Lamghan* and *Pamghán*.

⁴ *Vie et Voyages*, p. 266.

to this State. It is not clear whether the name of Khost is still used, for I have not seen it in any recent documents, though at the time of Elphinstone's journey it was apparently in some degree still current. Its general position is not doubtful, and is quite in accordance with Hwen Thsang's indications. But no modern traveller has been in the district, and it does not afford the name of a single town to our maps, unless Nárín may have belonged to it. From Khost he travels again north-west, and after a journey of 300 *li* (three marches) reaches *Hwo*, already spoken of.

(24). Thence he goes 100 *li*¹ eastward, and reaches the kingdom of *Munghien*, *Munkan*. This State was about forty days' journey (4000 *li*) in circuit, and as regarded products and character it closely resembled *Hwo*. It was therefore, at least in the part visited by the Traveller, a fertile plain. But no region in this quarter, of anything like forty days' journey round, could be *all* of that character.

Cunningham, having located *Hwo* at Khulm, places *Munkan* at *Yanghárik* a few miles east of Khulm, at which there are (he says) the ruins of an ancient town. M. V. de St.-Martin identifies it with MUNGÁN or MUNJÁN, a place which appears in Macartney's map,² and which we know from Pandit Manphúl's Report to be still a feudatory province under Badakhshán, on the slopes of the Hindu Kúsh.

The names are so absolutely identical that I think in some manner the provinces must be identified. But the locality described by Hwen Thsang, both from its characteristics and from its position in regard to the States which precede and follow it in the Itinerary, must have lain in the vicinity of the modern Khánabád or Tálíkán rather than of the present Munján. My map shows how I propose to reconcile this. I imagine the Mungán of our Traveller to have embraced not only the present Munján, the position of which

¹ It is in apparent contradiction to my view above stated of the meaning of this expression that in the *Life and Travels* (vol. i. of Julien, p. 268) Hwen Thsang is stated to have been *two* days on the journey from Hwo to Munkan, along with a party of merchants and an escort of soldiers. There are, however, many discrepancies between the *Life* and the *Memoirs on the Western Countries*.

² See also *Wood*, p. 294.

we can only indicate very approximately, but the whole valley of the Bangi River down to the plains of Tálíkán and Khánabád.¹ This is not only conformable to the customary coincidence of the political divisions of that country with the *darahs* or valleys, but it is also the only way in which we can easily conceive of the introduction of a State of anything like forty days' compass in the position assigned to this one, *i.e.*, with the capital of the preceding State only one march to the westward, and that of the following State (see No. 27) only three marches to the eastward.

(25). North of *Munkan* lay *O-li-ni*, Arni or Alni (say, rather Arini). This little State, which was only three days' journey in circuit, lay upon both sides of the Oxus, and as regarded products, etc., strongly resembled *Hwo*. It was therefore in all probability a watered plain, as indeed we might suppose from its position on the Great River.

Cunningham considers this to be undoubtedly *Wawálin*, or *Wálin* as he quotes the name from Ouseley. V. de St.-Martin doubts this, but considers that we have no data for determining the identification.

But if *Munkan* lay, as I have shown, near Khánabád and Tálíkán, the State north of this and astride upon the Oxus must have been close to Hazrat Imám. Now this place and its district formerly bore the name of AHRENG, or *Arheng*. I derive the fact from a brief but interesting article on Badakhshán published, long before Burnes's journey, in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine* of Calcutta, edited by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson.² The name is however also to be found in the History of Taimúr, written by Pétis de la Croix as *Arhenk*; and in Taimur's Institutes as *Arhang*.³ Here assuredly we have *Olini*.

(26). The next kingdom lay immediately to the eastward of *Olini*, and was called *Holohu*, Rohu or Roh according to

¹ Possibly the name of the *Bangi* may have some connexion with that of *Mungán*. Faiz Bakhsh calls the Mungán dialect *Mungi*.

² I am obliged however to quote from a French version in the *N. Ann. des Voyages*, vol. 26.

³ *H. de Timour*, vol. i. pp. 172, 175; *Institutes*, p. 91. It may also be the *Arhan* Ferry of the old geographers (in *Sprenger*, p. 45), but the data there are too obscure.

M. Julien's systematic transcription. This also in character resembled *Hwo*. Its northern boundary was on the Oxus; its circuit was but two days' journey (200 *li*). In spite of these very narrow limits, which are possibly erroneous, or were temporary, we may confidently identify this with RÁGH, still an important fief of Badakhshán, between the Kokcha and the Oxus. A learned critic in the *Edinburgh Review* for January of this year considers *Rágh* to be the *Ranga* of primitive Aryan tradition.

(27). The Traveller's expressions show that he had not visited the two last-mentioned principalities. His route from *Munkan*, which may be practically identified with TÁLIKÁN, led him about three days' journey (300 *li*) eastward, over high mountain passes and deep valleys, to the kingdom of *Ki-li-se-mo*; Kharism as transcribed by M. Julien, but which by his own systematic dictionary¹ might at least as well be read *Krishma*. It resembled *Munkan* in character of products; it was (1000 *li*) ten days' journey from east to west, and three from north to south.

Cunningham, whose point of departure on this line still keeps him, as it seems to me, too far west, identifies this with TÁLIKÁN. M. V. de St.-Martin, erring in the opposite direction, sees in it *ISH-KASHM*, at the lower end of the valley of Wakhán. I can only see in it the once well-known *KISHM* or *Káshm*, the Province of *Casem* of Marco Polo three days from TÁLIKÁN, which is still an important fief of Badakhshán, as we know from Pandit Manphúl. The long narrow form ascribed to the State indicates that it consisted of a long valley, or perhaps of two parallel valleys. These would be the valleys of the Mashhad or Varsach River, on which *Kishm* stands, and of the adjoining river *Náví*.

(28). North-east of *Krishma*, but not in the line of the Traveller's journey, lay a small kingdom called *Po-li-ho* or *Pi-li*, in character resembling the last, but only extending 100 *li* by 300. Cunningham thinks this may be the ruined city which Wood found near the Kokcha confluence, called by the people *Barbara*. De St.-Martin takes it for the somewhat mythical *Bolor*.

¹ See Nos. 546, 825, 1554, 1148.

The transcription is rendered by Julien doubtfully as *Priha*; but by his system it might be *Parika* or the like. From its relation to *Kishm* it must have lain either immediately on the south bank of the *Kokcha* or just beyond that river. In the latter case it would lie between *Rosták* and *Faizábád*, where now exists the province of *PASÁKÚ* or *SHAHR-I-BUZURG*.¹

(29). Leaving *Krishma* or *Kishm*, the Pilgrim crossed mountains and valleys, and after marching about 300 *li* (three days) towards the east reached the kingdom of *Hi-mo-ta-lo*, *Himatala* (possibly, however, *Himadara*). This had a circuit of 30 days' journey (3000 *li*); it was much cut up by mountains and valleys; the soil was rich, adapted to agriculture, and produced much late wheat. All plants thrived, and every kind of fruit was abundant. The climate was cold. There were a good many forts in the country, each with a chief of its own. The people were nomad, using tents of felt.

Considering that this principality lay immediately east of *Kishm*, and was immediately succeeded in the same direction by that of *Badakhshán* Proper, there is no great room for doubt as to its geographical identity. *Cunningham* guided by the latter reason points to the vicinity of *TESHKAN*. But this is too near *Kishm*. A little further east we shall, I believe, find a trace of the old name in that of one of the still existing feudatory provinces of *Badakhshán*, *DARÁIM*, or as *Faiz Bakhsh*² gives it *DARAH-I-AIM*. It seems to me in the highest degree probable that *Himatalo* or *Hima-darah*, *Darah-hím*, *DARÁIM*, are forms of the same name, which may possibly indicate that the valley had been settled by the *Hieumi* or *Hima* tribe of the *Yuechi*. *Daraim* proper *Wood* describes as "a valley scarce a bow-shot across, but watered as all the valleys in *Badakhshán* are, by a beautiful stream of purest water, and bordered wherever there is soil by soft velvet turf." But the province or *mír-ship* of *Daraim* is

¹ *Pasaku* may be a genuine relic of a name like *Parika*; compare *Samarkand*, *Samezkand*, *Kanerkes*, *Kanishka*, etc.

² *Faiz Bakhsh* is a very intelligent person, who travelled in 1870 from *Kabul* to *Kashgar*, under instructions from *Mr. Douglas Forsyth*, C.B.

stated by Pandit Manphúl to be one of the most populous and fertile of the 15 feudatory provinces which he details as acknowledging the supremacy of the Mír of Badakhshán residing at Faizábád. And the very circumstance that such a fief subsists is in itself a fact of weight, considering with what singular persistence the political divisions of that country seem to have retained their identity.

The position which Hwen Thsang indicates, probably as the chief place of the province, must however have been further east than the spot where the modern road to Faizábád passes the Kila' i-Daraim.

(30). The Traveller, after a further journey east of 200 *li* or two marches, reaches *Po-to-chwang-na* or BADA KHSHÁN (*Cunningham*). This is described as having a circuit of 20 days' journey (2000 *li*). The capital was built on the flank of a mountain.¹ This kingdom was much cut up by mountains and valleys, and also contained extensive deserts of sand. The soil was well suited to the culture of wheat and pulse, and there was a great harvest of grapes, walnuts, pears, plums, etc. The climate was cold.

We do not know the position of the capital of Badakhshán at that epoch. All that we do know is that the present capital, Faizábád, was founded or adopted as such in modern times. Previous to that event, according to Pandit Manphúl, the capital of Badakhshán was situated in the plain of Bahárák some 20 miles further east. But whether it stood there in the 7th century we cannot tell. Some things in the indications of our text would suit the position of Faizábád well,² and it is of course quite possible that the modern occupation of that site was the *re-occupation* of an old one. We seem, however, from other data, to require a position further east than Faizábád. The Traveller has made 900 *li*, or as I interpret it nine marches from *Hwo*. The old Arab itineraries also make nine marches from Wawálin (which I take

¹ M. V. de St.-Martin says (iii. 424), "sur une montagne escarpée," but I do not find this particular in the translation.

² Thus the old citadel of Faizábád, called *Zagharchi*, stood on a rock on the left bank, overlooking the town and commanding the defile up stream (Wood and Manphúl). See also the remarks under No. 31.

for *Hwo*) to Badakhshán city,¹ and seven from Tálíkán to the same. Marco Polo makes six from Tálíkán to Badakhshán. Wood and Faiz Baksh make only five from Kunduz (taking that as an approximate representative of Wawálin) to Faizábád. Their marches are long, but still the number of days assigned in the old itineraries points to a position more distant than Faizábád.

(31). The Traveller quitting Badakhshán crosses the mountains for 200 *li* (two days) and reaches the kingdom of *In-poküan*, *Invakan* according to M. Julien's transcription. This kingdom had a circuit of ten days (1000 *li*). The mountains were close together, and the valleys and cultivated lands were consequently restricted. The climate and the people resembled in a general way those of Badakhshán, but the language was a little different.

Cunningham locates this State at the *Yowall* of Wood, *Yomall* of later native travellers, on the Vardoj River. De St.-Martin identifies it with Wakhán, but, to do so, arbitrarily alters the orientation of the itinerary.

Direction and distance, however, antecedent and consequent, point not to Wakhán, but to YAMGÁN or HAMAKÁN, the old name of the valley of the Kokcha from Jerm upwards, as we learn from Manphúl, and incidentally from Faiz Baksh. The name occurs in a Persian work quoted by Quatremère,² but its position was, I believe, till very lately unknown.

Supposing *Jerm* to be the point of Yamgán intended, the two days' march, the south-easterly direction, and the journey over the hills, would suit better some site near Faizábád as the point of departure than that in the plain of Baharak.

(32). After proceeding further to the south-east for three marches (300 *li*) by narrow and dangerous paths, Hwen Thsang arrives at the kingdom of *Khiu-lang-na*, or *Kurána*. This had a circuit of some twenty days' journey (2000 *li*). In characteristics it resembled *Inpokian*. There were caverns (or mines) in the mountains, whence much pure gold was

¹ See Sprenger, p. 44.

² See *Notices et Extraits*, vol. xiv., part i., p. 490.

extracted. This was imbedded in the rock, which had to be crushed in order to get the gold.

Cunningham identifies the position and name with *Firganu* (which should, however, be *Firgamu*, see Wood, pp. 262, 266). V. de St.-Martin suggests the district of *Ghárán* (or "the Mines") on the Upper Oxus, where the Ruby-mines are, but refers doubtfully to *Kurána* as named by M. Reinaud from an Arabic work. Undoubtedly *Kurána* or *KURÁN* is the name. Wood had told us that this name is applied to the upper part of the Kokcha Valley (p. 262); and we learn from Manphúl that it is a recognized sub-division of the province of Jerm, lying among the spurs of the Hindu Kúsh. In fact, it includes the Lazuli Mines. It appears in Sprenger's Map 13 (from Bírúni) to the south-east of Badakhshán.

It is a striking illustration of the wide influence of China under the Thang dynasty that this little secluded state of *Kurána* should, in the middle of the eighth century, have sent tributary missions to the Court of the Emperor, indeed just before that influence was for many a century driven back from the Thsungling by the advance of the Mahomedan power.¹

(33). Leaving *Kurána* in a north-easterly direction, the Traveller crossed mountains and penetrated valleys, and after travelling five marches (500 *li*) by difficult and dangerous paths, reached the kingdom of *Ta-mo-si-t'ie-ti*, Tamasthiti.

This kingdom was situated between two mountain chains. It extended some fifteen or sixteen days' journey from east to west, and four or five from north to south. But the narrowest part was no more than a *li* in breadth. It stretched along the River Oxus, following all its windings. Hills and undulations of varying height occurred in it, and also plains covered with sand and stones. The winds were icy cold. Little wheat or pulse was grown, but fruit and flowers were plentiful. The ponies were excellent. The people were fierce, and squalid in aspect; they differed from all other nations in having, most of them, bluish green eyes. They

¹ See Ritter, vii. 582.

wore woollens. The country was also called *Chin-khan*, but the inhabitants called it *Humi*. The capital was called *Hoentho-ti*.

One cannot but see with Gen. Cunningham that this description can apply in the main only to the long valley of WAKHÁN. And the direction and length of the journey from Kurán applies equally well. M. de St.-Martin also sees the fitness of the identification, but is prevented from fully accepting it by his having already identified *Inpokian* with Wakhán. He appears therefore (for his opinion is not very distinctly expressed) to identify *Tamosit'ieti* with the upper part of Wakhán, especially that southern branch valley which Wood calls the *Darah-i-Mastoj* or Darah-i-Chitrál (and which forms the subdivision of Wakhán called *Sárigħ Chaupán*). De St.-Martin also recognizes in the Chinese form *Tamosit'ieti* the name of MASTOJ, and in that of the capital *Hoenthoto* the KUNDUT of Wood, called KHANDÚD by Faiz Bakhsh, and which gives its name to the central district of Wakhán, *Sad-i-Khandúd*. These are certainly very happy suggestions. I may observe, however, that the term *Darah-Mastoj* is only applied to the valley of Sárigħ Chaupán because that valley leads in the *direction* of Mastoj. Mastoj itself is the chief place of Upper Chitrál.

It is not impossible that the *Tamosit'ieti* of Hwen Thsang included both the valley of Wakhán and the upper part of the Chitrál Valley, a circumstance which would account for the width of four or five days' journey ascribed to it, for such an extent would not apparently apply anywhere to Wakhán alone. The passes between the higher parts of the two valleys are stated to be very easy. We have a parallel case in the present day, for Yasín and Payál, districts on the upper waters of the Gilghit River, and separated by a high watershed from Mastoj, are included with the latter under the common term of *Upper Chitrál* or *Upper Káshkár*. And quite recently we have learned, from the Report of Major Montgomerie's Mirza, that an annual tribute of slaves is paid by the Chief of Mastoj to Badakhshán.

With reference to the alternative name *Chin-khan* applied

to the country, it may be worth while to call attention to the fact that, according to the notes of Rájah Khán of Kábul, translated by Major Leech in vol. xiv. of the *Journal of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal* (pp. 815-817), Upper Káshkár is also called SHIGHNÁN, in fact by a name not distinguishable as there written from that of the province which adjoins Wakhán on the north-west (No. 34 of our list). I must leave the matter on this solitary authority. The same is indeed said in Major Raverty's "*Account of Upper Káshkár*," in the 33rd volume of the same *Journal*, p. 131. But I cannot regard this as a corroboration, for a comparison of the two papers shows that they have been derived from the same original notes, though no indication of this is suggested in the later paper.

The name *Humi* has already been referred to under No. 11 as appearing in Abel Rémusat's extracts relating to the countries on the Oxus that sent tribute to the Thang dynasty in China. Cunningham takes it for an indication that Wakhán was occupied by the *Hieumi* tribe of the Yuechi.

(34). Northward across high mountains from *Tamosit'ieti* or Wakhán was *Shikhini*, having a circuit of twenty days' journey (2000 *li*). It consisted of a succession of mountains, valleys, and steppes covered with sand and stones. Much pulse and corn were grown, but little rice. The climate was very cold, and the people brutal, etc. Their written character resembled that of Tukhára, but their spoken language was different.

Cunningham identifies this with SHIGHNÁN (or Shagnán), and there can be no doubt about it. The form *Shighnan* is no doubt a plural; the gentile adjective is *Shighni*, with which the Chinese form is identical.

(35). The last kingdom was not visited by the Traveller, nor apparently was the next of which he tells us. This is met with on leaving *Tamosit'ieti* and travelling to the south of the great mountains. It is called *Shang-mi*, and has a circuit of 25 to 26 days' journey (2500 to 2600 *li*). It is much cut up by mountains and valleys, with hills and undu-

lations of varying height. All sorts of grain are cultivated; abundance of pulse and wheat; and grapes in plenty. From this country also is obtained *Tse-hwang* or laminary orpiment, which is got by cutting stones from the mountains, and splitting them, etc.

The writing is the same as that of Tukhára, though the language differs. The king is of the race of Sakya.

Cunningham and De St.-Martin agree that this is Chitrál. I may quote in corroboration the fact mentioned by Pandit Manphúl, that *Hartál* or Orpiment is still an export from Chitrál.¹ The name of *Shangmi* has not been elucidated, unless by a suggestion of Gen. Cunningham's, in one of his early numismatic papers, that it is taken from the name (*Shwangmo* or *Shangmi*) of one of the five great tribes of the Yuechi, and may have been occupied by them.² A brief notice of *Shangmi* also occurs in the annals of the Thang Dynasty, where it is mentioned along with *Kurana* (No. 32), and some other small States not easily identified, as having so late as the years A.D. 742-755, sent complimentary embassies to the Chinese Court. The position of *Shangmi* is there described as north of the Snowy Mountains and of the River *Poliu* (or Bolor, *i.e.* the Indus). It is stated to have had the alternative name of *Khiu-wei*, whilst its capital was called *A-she-yu-sse-to*.³ I cannot interpret the latter name, but *Khiu-wei* transliterated by M. Julien's system becomes *Kuvi* or *Kubi*, and exactly represents the name *Kobi*, which Elphinstone tells us is the distinctive name of the people of Káshkár or Chitrál.⁴

I learn from Manphúl's already-quoted paper that the *terra incognita* of Dard tribes occupying the triangle of mountainous country between Gilghit and Yasín on the one side and Chitrál on the other, and comprising the States of Hodar, Dodshal, Gibriál, Darail, Tangir, Kohli, Palás, etc., is locally known as SHANAKI, a term in which it is possible

¹ Paper printed by Punjab Government on "Relations between Gilghit, Chitrál and Kashmir"; see also Major Montgomerie's Exploration Report of 1870.

² *Journ. As. Soc., Bengal*, xiv, 433.

³ See the passage quoted in *Ritter*, vii. 582.

⁴ *Caubul*, ed. 1839, vol. ii., p. 389.

that *Shangmi* survives, as the state so called by the Traveller may have embraced these, or at least a part of them.¹

(36). The traveller, starting from *Tamosit'ieti*, or Wakhán, proceeds north-east by mountains, valleys, and precipices, till, after accomplishing seven days' journey (700 *li*), he arrives at the valley of *Pomilo* or PAMIR (*Landresse*). This valley was about ten days' journey in extent from east to west, and one day from north to south, in the narrowest part indeed not more than 10 *li*. It lay between two snowy mountains, and hence was constantly subject to violent winds and icy cold. Snow fell in spring and in summer; day and night the wind blew in furious gusts. The soil was impregnated with salt, and covered with small stones. Fruits and corn could not grow, trees and plants of all kinds were rare and sparse. The traveller soon arrived at desert tracts where was no trace of habitation. In the middle of the valley there was a great Dragon-Lake, which was about three days' journey (300 *li*) from east to west, and five days (500 *li*) from north to south. This lies in the heart of the Thsungling mountains and at the centre of Jambodwipa. At the west end of the Lake issued a broad stream which, passing the eastern frontier of *Tamosit'ieti*, joined the Oxus and flowed westward. At the east end of the Lake issued another broad stream, which passed north-east across the western frontier of *Kiesha* or Kashgar, joined the *Sítá*, and so flowed eastward.

Nothing is difficult in this account except the size ascribed to the Lake. That is an extravagant exaggeration in regard to all the Lakes on Pamir except the *Kará Kúl*. But the whole of the description, and of the distance and directions, apart from that one point, is in precise accordance with the facts, if we identify this Valley of *Pomilo* with that which commences at the confluence above Panja and extends past the small lake of *Pamir Khurd* or Barkat Yasín to the descent into *Tásh Kurghán*, as recently travelled by Major Montgomerie's Mirza. The direction is from west to east; the length may fairly be stated at ten days' journey, and the

¹ *Shanaki* may however be connected with the name of the *Shiná* Race of Dardistán.

breadth from a mile or two (or even less) up to one day's journey; the Lake stands almost in the middle of the length; it is alleged to have an outlet at either end, an allegation which, whether it be true or not, shows that the circumstances suggest such a belief; the western outflow passes the eastern frontier of Wakhán and forms a main contributory to the stream of the Oxus; the alleged eastern outflow goes north-east, and joins the *Sítá* or River of Yarkand; the salt nature of the soil, in some parts at least, is mentioned by Faiz Bakhsh and is attested by the name of *A'b-i-Shor* applied to one of the tributaries; all the other circumstances exactly agree with the Mirza's account. Immediately across the mountains bounding the valley on the south is the true BOLOR, in accordance with what is stated in the next section.

Hwen Thsang makes 1200 *li*, or twelve marches from his point of departure in Wakhán, to his arrival in *Khiapwanto*. Assuming the former point to have been somewhere about Kandút, and the latter to have been Tásh Kurghán, we shall have again a close agreement with the Itinerary of the Mirza, for he made $12\frac{1}{2}$ marches between Kandút and Tásh Kurghán.

Hwen Thsang's account under No. 33 apparently makes him leave the valley somewhere near the lake, and strike to the south-east. This would seem to indicate that he did not follow the Mirza's route down the stream flowing from the lake north-eastward, but took the pass called *Karáchunkur*, which, according to the map which I had compiled before entering on the details of this ancient journey, does take an almost south-easterly direction from that vicinity.

A deviation to *Kará Kúl* would necessarily have extended the twelve marches into something like twenty-four. The whole of the ground round the little lake of Pamir Khurd is very flat and somewhat swampy.¹ Is it possible that this lake had once a much larger extent? Otherwise we must believe that in this instance, in spite of his generally admirable accuracy, Hwen Thsang was mixing what he had seen with what he had heard.

¹ See *Ibrahim Khan* in Proc. R. G. S., xv. p. 391.

(37). South of the valley of Pamir, and beyond a mountain range, is the Kingdom of *Po-lo-lo*, *Bolor*, where is got much gold and silver, and which had been visited by the Traveller on his zigzag route when first entering India. It was then reached by him in five marches from *Talilo* or *DARAIL* (*Cunningham*); it had a circuit of forty days journey (4000 *li*), being much longer from east to west than from north to south, etc. The particulars previously given, as well as the position now indicated, are in entire accordance with *Cunningham's* view, that the country intended is *BALTI*, which he states to be still called *Bolor* by the Dard tribes.¹ But doubtless, as he also remarks, the territory included Gilghit and Kanjút, the latter famous for its gold produce.

(38). The Traveller departing from the middle of the Valley of Pamir, *i.e.* from the Lake on Pamir Khurd, proceeds south-east for five days' journey, meeting with no village all the way, but encountering ice and snow and precipitous mountain paths. He then reaches the kingdom of *Khia-pwan-to*, *Khavandha*.

This kingdom was about twenty days' journey in circuit. The capital was built at a mountain pass cut through the rock; behind it, to the north, flowed the river *Sítá*. The mountains were almost uninterrupted, the valleys and plateaux very narrow. But little rice was harvested, though wheat and pulse were plentiful. Forest trees were very sparse, flowers and fruit rare. The plains were deserted, the towns and villages almost depopulated, etc. The origin of the royal family was the subject of a legend, in which we find a King of Persia wooing a Princess of China.

General *Cunningham* deserves credit for his identification of this State with *SIRIKOL*, for twenty-three years ago, when his earlier studies on *Hwen Thsang* were published, the ideas of geographers about *Sirikol* were very hazy, and the cramped longitudes of our maps till recently hardly afforded room for its existence. Within the last few years this

¹ *Ladak*, p. 45-46. In the *J.A.S.B.* xvii., Pt. 2, p. 56, he says that *Balti* is called *Palolo* by the Dards. At p. 34 of *Ladak* we are told that *Balti* "is called *Palolo* or *Bolor* by the Dards." Do they call it by both names?

ancient and perhaps sole relic of Tajik population beyond Imaus has come to an end.

The ancient fortress now known as Tásh Kurghán, and reputed to be the old capital, stands in an extensive open plain,—a circumstance, it must be admitted, which does not answer Hwen Thsang's description. The productions of Sirikol, as detailed by Manphúl, viz. wheat, pease, *bájra*, and a few apples and apricots, agree well with the pilgrim's account. It is worthy of note, in reference to the story which he recounts, that in Persian legendary history we find King Jamshid marrying a daughter of Máháng, King of China. The existing local tradition refers the building of the fortress to Afrasiáb.

No light has been thrown on the name *Khiapwanto* or Khavandha. According to one of Klaproth's extracts from the Chinese Geography, it was also called *Han-tho* (Kandha?). *Kho-kwan-than*, and *Kho-lo-to* (*Mag. Asiat.* I., 95).

(39). Proceeding three days' journey (300 *li*) to the south-east of the city, and then across a mountainous and rugged road two days to the north-east, Hwen Thsang arrived at a *hospice* called *Punjangshelo*, Punyasala, or the House of Beneficence, respecting the erection of which he relates a legend. After completing 800 *li* (or eight days' journey), he descended from the eastern ranges of Thsungling by precipitous and dangerous paths, and issuing from them reached the kingdom of *Usha*. This had a circuit of ten days' journey (1000 *li*), and on the south adjoined the River *Sitá*. The soil was fertile, forest trees flourished, fruits and flowers were abundant. Much Jade was gathered in this kingdom, white, black, and green. The language and writing of the people had some resemblance to those of Kashgar. For some centuries the royal line had been extinct, and the country was now dependent upon Khavandha. 200 *li* west of the city there was a great mountain, with a remarkable *stupa* on the summit, respecting which a legend is rehearsed.

Cunningham and De St.-Martin agree in identifying *Usha* with YANGHISSAR. Probably this is not far wrong, but I should gather from the distances, and the character of the

next stage, that the country in question was still within the hills. The Pilgrim, on leaving Tâsh Kurghán in order to visit the *Punyasala*, seems to have taken the road on the south of the Sirikol River, which crosses several rugged passes, and also traverses a valley called *U'chi* or *Vachhá*. The name may well be a relic of *Usha*, but in exact position it does not agree, for the valley is on the south of the Sirikol River, which we must here take as the *Sítá*.¹ The name of the hospice *Punyasala* perhaps survives in BRUNGSÁL. From this he must have gone three days north to regain the road to Kashgar, and the position of *Usha* may perhaps be assigned to CHIHIL-GUMBAZ ("The forty domes"), a ruin which is passed by travellers on that road.² Jade is mentioned by Manphúl, as well as by other writers, as a mineral found in the Yarkand River.³

(40). Five days more (500 *li*) across stony mountains and desert plains bring the traveller to the kingdom of *Kiesha*, or Kashgar (*Landresse*). The time corresponds well with that taken by the Mirza from Chihil Gumbaz to Kashgar (a little less than six marches) and by Faiz Bakhsh (4½, but one very long). The "desert plains" may seem inapplicable to the tract between Yanghissar and Kashgar, part of which is highly cultivated; but the stony mountains answer precisely to the Mirza's description of two passes crossed between Chihil Gumbaz and the plains.

(41). Leaving Kashgar he travels five days (500 *li*) to the south-east, passes the River *Sítá*, crosses a great mountain pass covered with sand, and arrives at *Cho-keu-kiá*, Chakuka. This kingdom had a circuit of ten days' journey; the population was large; the hills and mountains were in close contiguity; vast tracts were covered with stones and sand. The kingdom lay on the banks of two rivers. Its crops of corn were abundant, and fruit, especially grapes, pears, and

¹ The name of this State is written *Uchha* (*Ou-tchha*) in Klapproth's Extracts (*Magazin Asiatique*, i., 91, *seq.*). He follows his Chinese authorities in confounding it with Badakhshán; and Ritter does the like, as was natural in the absence of the information we now have. It is called *Yadscha* in Ritter's extract from P. Hyakinth (vii., 707, *seqq.*).

² See Mahomed Amín's Itinerary in Punjáb Report App. iv. B., and Faiz Bakhsh's Journey. The Mirza calls it *Chihil Situn* ("Forty Pillars").

³ App. to Panjáb Trade Report, p. cccxviii; The *Haft Iklím* quoted by Quatremère in *Not. et Extraits*, tom. xiv., pt. i., 475.

plums. Wind and cold prevailed at all seasons. The writing was like that of Khotan, but the spoken language differed.

This place is identified by Julien and the Chinese scholars generally with YARKAND. Yet as regards the city or centre of the kingdom there are some obvious difficulties. Thus the passage of a mountain and that of the River *Sitá* (a name previously applied to the Yarkand River, or to one of its chief tributaries, the Sirikol River), before reaching Yarkand, are not consistent with the position of that city. Neither is the hilly character ascribed to the environs, nor the high mountain passes said to be traversed in the next stage, between *Chakuka* and Khotan. These particulars would seem to point to a site among the hills south of Yarkand.¹ But on the other hand the distance from Kashgar (five marches) and the distance to Khotan (eight marches) agree exactly with modern itineraries. So I am unable to suggest a resolution of the difficulty.

Here our comment ends. The chief novel elucidations that have been offered are contained under Nos. 6 (Holumo), 8 (Kiahoyanna), 12 (Hwo), 14 (Helusiminkian), 20 (Gachi), 24 (Munkian), 25 (Olini), 26 (Rohu), 27 (Kilissemo), 28 (Polihó), 29 (Himatala), 31 (Inpokian), 35 (Shangmi), 36 (Pomilo), 39 (Ucha). The series of identifications as here modified requires, as it seems to me, less straining of the Traveller's indications than those given either by General Cunningham or by M. Vivien de St.-Martin.¹

[*Note.* Since this article has been in type, I learn that some of the new identifications proposed in the foregoing pages have been already suggested by Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his paper on the Oxus, which was read at the Liverpool meeting of the British Association in 1870, and which has been printed, though not published. Though the fact will add weight to the identifications themselves, I fear it will leave but little value to these notes. Not knowing however how far the coincidence goes, I let my paper remain unmodified. H.Y.—*Palermo, April 27th, 1872.*]

¹ *Chokcukia* appears to have been read by Klaproth *Chukiupho*, whilst in Mr. Beal's *Sung-yun* it appears as *Shihkupo*. There is a town of some consequence in one of the valleys south of Yarkand called ОШОКВАС, a name certainly bearing a considerable likeness to *Shihkupo*.

ART. VI.— *The Campaign of Ælius Gallus in Arabia.* By
A. SPRENGER.

In the year 18 B.C. Ælius Gallus, a Roman knight, then Governor of Egypt, undertook, by order of Augustus, a campaign into Arabia. Strabo, p. 780, says, "Observing that the Red Sea is extremely narrow, and forms an inconsiderable barrier between the Æthiopians and the Arabs, the Emperor ordered Gallus to 'explore' both countries, being determined either to make these nations his friends and allies, or to subdue them. As they had from time immemorial been selling the spices and precious stones of their countries for cash, and never imported goods from foreign parts, they were proverbial for their wealth; and this was the principal inducement for making an attempt to win them as friends, or to subdue them in case of resistance. The Emperor was, moreover, encouraged by the Nabatæans, who were allies of the Romans, and promised to further his views."

Pliny 6, 27, § 140, relates that previous to Tiberius's campaign into Armenia and Parthia, Augustus sent the geographer Dionysius Periegetes to explore these countries, and to report thereon; and it seems a similar measure was taken previous to the invasion of Arabia by Ælius Gallus. Juba II., King of Numidia, and son-in-law of the Triumvir Antonius, wrote for Augustus a work, *De Expeditione Arabica*, which, to judge from the extracts preserved by Pliny, contained the fullest description of the peninsula ever compiled by a foreigner. We have no direct proof to show that this report was written and submitted to the Emperor *previous* to Gallus's expedition:¹ but there is some circumstantial evidence; for instance, Pliny, 6, 28, § 160, says, that most of the towns which Gallus conquered had not been mentioned by authors who had written before him. As, besides Juba, there was, as far as we know, no detailed

¹ The words of Pliny are: in hac tamen parte arma Romana sequi placet nobis Jubamque regem, ad eundem Caium Caesarem scriptis voluminibus de eadem expeditione Arabica.

geography of Arabia extant, this remark seems to refer more particularly to the defects of Juba's report. But, putting the work, *De Expeditione Arabica*, out of the question, there were Roman officers and residents all over Syria, and nothing could have been more easy for the Emperor than to obtain information on the chances an invasion of Arabia was likely to have. The most superficial inquiry must have shown that the difficulties were insurmountable; and we can only ascribe it to the blind confidence in the invincibility of the Roman arms that Roman statesmen decided on so adventurous an enterprise. Pliny says, "Augustus tantum prospexit Arabiam," and the fancy of the Emperor seems to have overruled all objections, if any were raised, against so wild a scheme. It is, however, not the rashness of those who ordered the expedition on which I wish to pass any remarks, but rather on Strabo, the only author who has left something like a detailed account of it, because we shall find it impossible to follow him unless we know his bias.

Gallus failed, and there was no mincing matters. The Æthiopians on the other side of the Red Sea, encouraged by Gallus's defeat, rose in rebellion against the Romans, and the impression which these events made upon the populace of Rome cannot have been very cheerful. Everybody very naturally asked: What is the cause of this check of our invincible arms? It would have been both impolitic and unjust to impute any fault to Gallus. The honour of the Roman General was the honour of the nation, and it must be allowed he penetrated deeper into the interior of that sterile country than a military chief would in our days be able to advance, and he seems to have managed his retreat with consummate skill. The real cause of discomfiture—that the whole scheme was unsound and impracticable—neither Gallus nor the public dared to admit; for it had emanated from the Emperor himself, and the belief in the irresistibility of the Roman arms was so strong, that such an insinuation would have been considered high treason. Under these circumstances, a scapegoat was required to satisfy public opinion. Syllæus, the Wezeer of the King of the Naba-

tæans, had served Gallus as guide during the whole campaign, in which also Nabataean and Jewish auxiliaries were employed. Gallus thought it prudent to make poor Syllæus answerable for the failure; and in order that the public might become fully impressed with his guilt, he was dragged to Rome, and beheaded there. Strabo was a personal friend of Gallus, and what he aims at, in his narrative of the campaign, is to show that the General was from beginning to end misled by treacherous Syllæus, and in order to exonerate Gallus from any blame of having allowed himself to be duped, he represents Arabia as a complete *terra incognita*, where the General was in every measure he had to take dependent upon his guide. Strabo takes good care that the vast tract of land through which the Roman army marched should remain a *terra incognita*; his account, looked at from a geographical point of view, being contemptible, and wholly unworthy of the great geographer. In his desire to write an apology for his friend, he went so far as intentionally to render the geography of the country darker than it had been, and he succeeded so well that the attempts to follow the Roman army in its progress and retreat have hitherto been unsuccessful.

Our researches will be considerably facilitated if we first follow up the report of Gallus's retreat. The furthest town, says Strabo, p. 782, which the Romans reached was that of the Rhamanites, whose king was then Ilisaros. The Romans besieged it for six days, but want of water obliged them to raise the siege. It is clear that they were defeated, and thought it prudent to make the best of their way towards their homes. This, however, Strabo does not like to confess, but speaks emphatically of the treachery of Syllæus, and says that now, all on a sudden, Gallus discovered the latter's snares, and began to act for himself. He returned by a road different from the one by which he had advanced, and this shorter road it seems he found by himself. On the ninth day after he had commenced his retreat, he reached Negrana, where he had fought a battle; and eleven days after he had passed this town, he came to a place which,

as there are seven wells there, is called Seven Wells. Beginning from this village, the country was peaceful, and he passed the small town Chaala, and subsequently Malotha, which is situated on a river. The country through which the road leads after this place suffers from scarcity of spring water. Finally, however, he reached the town of Egra, which is situated on the sea-shore, in the territory of King Obodas. The whole march he completed in sixty days, whereas he had been six months on the road in advancing.

I shall show lower down that the town of the Rhamanites is the capital of Radmân, which, in Baron Von Maltzan's recent map, is in long. $45^{\circ} 44'$, lat. $14^{\circ} 33'$. The data furnished by Hamdâny induce me to place it a little further N.W., in long. $45^{\circ} 30'$, lat. $14^{\circ} 40'$. Negrana, *i.e.* Nejrân, may be situated in long. $44^{\circ} 35'$, lat. $17^{\circ} 25'$. The distance between these two towns is 180 geographical miles, and this is exactly the distance which a caravan usually marches in nine days—about 20 miles a day. The road to Nejrân leads through the Jôf, and the Romans passed the fourth and fifth days of their retreat the second time through this fertile and in ancient times highly cultivated valley.

Before following Ælius Gallus on his further progress to the place of embarkation, from which, as Strabo says, he shipped his men in eleven days over to Myos-Hormos on the African coast, it appears advisable to ascertain the position of this port and its distance from Nejrân. Strabo calls it Egra, and says that it belongs to the dominions of Obodas, King of the Nabatæans, who resided at Petra. Pliny and Ptolemy apply this name to a town in the interior of the country, which is called by the Arabs al-Hijr (الحجر), and formed in those days part of the kingdom of Aretas, a relation of Obodas. Ancient geography offers numerous instances in which seaports assumed the names of important towns in the interior: thus mariners gave to Mokhâ the name of Muza; to 'Oqayr, in Bahrayn, that of Gerrha; and the modern Mowayliḥa is called by Ptolemy Modiana, because here the goods destined for Madyan (مدين) were disembarked. The ancients knew the name of 'Aden; Philostorgus

writes *Ἀδανη*, and Pliny, 6, 32, § 159, Athene; yet it seems to have been the habit of Egyptian sailors who visited that seaport to say, "I am sailing to Arabia," and hence it was called by them *Arabia* (not *Arabie*) *emporium*. It is, therefore, clear that Strabo means by Egra on the coast, the seaport in which goods destined for al-Hijr were usually landed. Moqaddasy informs us that this seaport is 'Aunyd (عونيد), opposite the island Na'mân, and consequently situated in long. 35° 12', lat. 27° 5'. It is the sixteenth station of the Egyptian pilgrims, who now call it al-Azlam. In Ptolemy's map it has the name Rhaunathu, which, as the 'Ayn—the first consonant—is in some Schemitic dialects pronounced like Ghayn, or our Rh, may be a corruption of 'Aunyd.

From Nejrân, the ninth stage in Gallus's retreat, to Wâdiy Laymûn, a place one day within Mekka, there is only one road, and it is nineteen marches long. At Wâdiy Laymûn (anciently called Bostân Beny 'Âmir) Gallus had the choice: he might proceed to Mekka, 23 miles, and thence to al-Madyna, eleven marches; or he might leave Mekka on his left, and take the direct route to al-Madyna, which Burton travelled in nine days. From al-Madyna by Dzû-l-Marwa to 'Aunyd there are twelve marches. Consequently there are from Radmân to 'Aunyd 52 or 49 marches. The distance may be reduced to 44 heavy and fatiguing marches, by proceeding from Mekka by Badr to the seaport Yanbo', and following thence the coast to 'Aunyd. This is, and has been for 800 years, the road of the Egyptian pilgrims to Mekka; but in the time of Moḥammed caravans passed through it only if their regular route leading through al-Madyna was obstructed; and it is not likely that Gallus would have chosen it. Gallus completed the journey from Radmân to 'Aunyd in 60 days, and consequently he allowed his men eight or eleven days' rest.

Comparing this retreat with marches of regiments in India, we find that the stages along the Great Trunk Road are shorter, as they rarely exceed 17 miles, whereas in Arabia they average 20 or 21 miles. But we may assume that the Roman army was, like a caravan, well provided with

camels, and that every man had a chance of riding part of the way.

Though we know every stage along Gallus's line of march, neither in ancient nor in modern geographers do we find the three places mentioned by Strabo—the Seven Wells, Chaala, and Malotha. Strabo repeatedly expresses his contempt for barbarous names; and it appears that he not only disdained to disfigure his pages by mentioning more of them than he could help, but also refused to pay any attention to their spelling: this may be the main cause why we find it so difficult to identify his data with those of other authors. If the eleven days from Nejrân to the Seven Wells are marching days, they coincide with the station Tarj (ترج), and, if two days of rest are included in them, with Maçâma (المصامة); both these places are villages of some importance.

Much more instructive than the name of the place is Strabo's statement that Gallus at or soon after he had passed the Seven Wells reached a peaceful country. As far as Maçâma and Tarj, the Khath'amites, a Yemenic tribe, prevailed; and as it was his avowed object to subjugate that portion of Arabia which is opposite to Æthiopia, that is to say Yemen (the rest of Arabia was never worth possessing), they were naturally hostile to the invaders. At Tarj, and north of it, various sub-divisions of the Banû Çaç'a'a (the Banasæi of Pliny), a powerful Ma'additic tribe, were settled; as the Ma'addites would probably not have been sorry to see their southern neighbours punished, they had less reason for being hostile to the invaders.

It is very singular that Juba, Augustus's reporter on the condition of Arabia, is well acquainted with those Ma'additic tribes through whose territory Gallus had to pass, and with no others, though the Ma'addites in Eastern Arabia were by far the most powerful and important. He seems to have paid particular attention to the ways and means of the intended invasion, and it appears even likely that the Romans, or their confederates the Nabatæans, had come to an arrangement with the Ma'additic tribes in question, before entering on their adventure. Pliny recapitulates Juba's statement as

follows: Achoali, oppidum Phodac. Minæi a rege Cretæ Minœ, ut existimant, originem trahentes, quorum Charmæi oppidum XIV. mill. passuum, Mariaba Baramalacûm, et ipsum non spernendum, item Carnon. Rhadamæi, et horum origo Rhadamanthus putatur frater Minois. Homeritæ, Messala oppidum. Hamiræi, Gedranitæ, Ilisanitæ, Bachilitæ. I would observe, that what the author says of the Rhadamæi is a mythological digression, and that the other names are enumerated in geographical order from north to south.

The following is a periphrase of the passage: The Banû-'Owâl are in possession of the town of Fadak (compare Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, p. 67). The capital of the Minæans is Ḥarm, a town of fourteen miles in circumference. Mekka, the chief town of the Banû Mâlik, a place not to be despised, and Qarn-al-Manâzil, also belong to their dominions. East of Qarn are the Nomêrites with the town Mâsal; south of Qarn, the Banû 'Âmir; west of Qarn, and of the 'Âmirites, on the mountains, live the Jadara and the Banû Ilyâs; and south-west of the 'Âmirites the Banû Bâhila. I now follow up these clans in the order Gallus came into contact with them, which is the opposite of that observed by Pliny. The Bâhila (باهرة) are neither purely Yemenitic nor purely Ma'additic. Eight hundred years ago they were in exclusive possession of the province Washm, in Eastern Arabia—far from Gallus's line of retreat; but at the time of Moḥammed they inhabited Bysha-Yoqtân, a fertile valley about ten miles east of Tarj. Gallus met the Banû 'Âmir bin Çaç'a'a (عامر بن صعصعة) first at Maçâma (comp. Hamdâny, p. 150), which may be Strabo's Seven Wells. Here and at Tarj they shared the cultivated grounds with the Khath'amites (خشعم). They extended to the north, at the right-hand side of Gallus's line of march, as far as Qarn-al-Manâzil, and to the east far into Nejd. Ilyâs (الياس;—this is, according to Sohayly, the right pronunciation of the word, and not al-Yâs) is with Arabic genealogists the name of a patriarch, from whom the Mekkians and several other clans are descended. There occurs a verse in the Qorân, 2, 195, in which the prophet rebukes his countrymen for having altered the ceremonies of

pilgrimage, and orders them, if we adopt the reading of Sa'yd bin Jobayr, to return to the practice of Ilyâs.¹ It seems that Ilyâs was the name of an extinct clan, which had had its seats not far from Mekka, and that the genealogists employed the name after dissolution of the tribe, as it is their habit, to fill up their symbolic pedigree. The Jadara too were extinct at the time of Moḥammed, or nearly so; but their name was kept up in sacred history. It is related in a legend that the founder of this tribe rebuilt the *jadr* (wall) of the Ka'ba after it had been destroyed by an inundation. On the origin of this tribe the genealogists are not agreed. Some connect them with the Hodzaylites, others with the Azdites. In either case they must have lived on the hills south-west of Qarn-al-Manâzil. Ethnographical names are subject to great changes in every country: thus, the Elsacians have been Germans, became *les plus Français des Français*, and now share again the fate of the German nation; whilst the Austrians are excluded from it. Thus, it may have happened that the Jadara and Banû Ilyâs had been a great federation of families, and that these families subsequently entered other combinations, which received new names. Homeritæ is certainly a mistake for Nomeritæ. Nomayr (نمير; pronounced *Nomêr*) is represented by the genealogists as a subdivision of the 'Âmirites. They extended as far to the east as Yamâma, and their most western encampments which we are able to trace are about four days' journey north-east of Qarn-al-Manâzil. In reference to their town, Mâsal, also called Dâra Mâsal (دارة مأسل), Hamdâny, p. 285, says: There are two places of the name of Mâsal: one, Mâsal near Jâwa (جاود), belongs to the Bâhila; the other, Mâsal near al-Jomaḥ (الجماح), to the Dhabba, a subdivision of the Nomayr tribe. The latter town is situated north-east of Nejrân, and far

¹ We may reject the reading "Ilyâs," and adhere to the common reading, "return to the practice of the people" الناس. In this case we give up the authority of the Qorân for the existence of a tribe or person of the name of Ilyâs; but there remains the authority of Sa'yd bin Jobayr, which is quite as valuable as that of the Qorân.

from Gallus's line of retreat; but it was its mercantile importance which attracted the attention of the reporter. Pliny, 12, 16, § 69, enumerates the various sorts of myrrh, and says: "Sexta, quam Dusaritin vocant, est candida uno tantum loco, quæ in Messalum oppidum convehitur,"—that is to say, the myrrh which is grown in Wâdiy Dawâsir (the *Regio Myrrhifera interior* of Ptolemy) is brought to Mâsal, and thence we may suppose to Tobâla.

Where were the seats of the Minæans? This is the great question in the ancient geography of Arabia, and the answer is not without importance for our present purpose. With the view of preparing the reader for the results I have come to, I put another question, which every Arabist is able to answer with perfect certainty. Where were the Kindites in the year in which Moḥammed was born? One of their chiefs, surrounded by some of his clansmen, was ruler in Dûmat-al-Jandal; another in Baḥrayn, where he occupied the citadel Moshaggar; some Kindites were settled not far from Nejrân; but their main force was settled in Nejd. Here they formed a kingdom so powerful that the Byzantine Emperors sent ambassadors to their sovereigns. The most western settlement of this empire, and at a more remote period its capital, was Ghamr-dzy-Kinda, close to Qarn-al-Manâzil, and only two days east of Mekka.¹ In the very year of Moḥammed's birth they lost a battle in Nejd, retired in a body to Ḥadhramaut, where it seems they had settlements of old, and became masters of that fertile country. The ubiquitous Kindites had settlements in various parts of Arabia, most distant from each other; and where they had a settlement, they ruled over the neighbouring tribes. There have always been, and there are up to this day, tribes in Arabia which have a military organiza-

¹ It is important to establish the proximity of Qarn and Ghamr-dzy-Kinda (غمردزي كندة), it being one of the arguments for the identity of the Minæans of Greek authors, with the Kindites of Arabic and Byzantine historians. Qarn-al-Manâzil is, according to Hamdâny, 18+22=40 miles from Mekka; and Ghamr-dzy-Kinda, according to Ibn Khordâbah, p. 107, 41 miles. Both places lie either on the same road, or on parallel roads closely approaching to one another.

tion, and keep their neighbours in mild subjection. The Druses on Libanon and in Haurân are an instance of such a tribe accessible to tourists, and deserve the attention of men taking an interest in the institutions of semi-barbarous nations left to themselves. The Kindites were such a tribe on the greatest scale known, and there is reason to suppose that the Minæans, whom Ptolemy calls *gens magna*, are the predecessors of the Kindites. The first question is not where have there been ramifications of the Minæans? but where was their main force concentrated? Among the towns which Juba mentions, Carnon undoubtedly answers to Qarn, usually called Qarn-al-Manâzil (قرن المنازل), two days east of Mekka, on the road to Nejrân and Çan'â, and also to the Persian Gulf and Babylonia. Baramalacum may be a clerical error, or the Syriac form for Banû-Mâlik. This was at the time of Moḥammed the name of an insignificant tribe in the vicinity of Mekka. In genealogy Mâlik occurs twice: as the father of Qoraysh, from whom the Mekkians derived their origin; and as the grand-uncle of Qoraysh. The meaning of the latter symbol is that the Mâlikites were a separate tribe, but more ancient and closely related to the Mekkians; and the former symbol expresses the opinion of those who considered the Mekkians as a branch of the nomadic Mâlikites. At the time of Ptolemy the latter view seems to have been prevalent; for if the name Malichæ, as he calls them, had been applied merely to a few roaming families, it would have escaped his notice. If Mariaba is the correct reading, Mariaba Baramalacum means capital of the Banû-Mâlik, *i.e.* Mekka. But Ptolemy writes Macoraba, and this may also originally have been the spelling in Pliny. The import is the same—the Mekka of the Banû-Mâlik.

There remains the site of Charamæi to be identified, which, if it were only four miles in circumference, must have been a vast city. Ptolemy calls the capital of the Minæans *Carman regia*, and places it three marches south of Tobâla. In Arabic itineraries we find, at the same distance from Tobâla, "a large village," called Benât-Harm. Yâqût, 2, 233, calls this place Harb or Benât-Harb, putting *b* for *m*, just as in

Qorân, 3, 90, Mekka is called Bekka; as Ptolemy spells Mariama instead of Mariaba; as Pliny writes Tomala for Tobala; and as Maumâh was also pronounced Baubâh (Mu'jam 1, 755). At the time of Juba and Ptolemy Benât-Ḥarm was the capital of the Minæans. Two hundred years earlier, at the time of Eratosthenes, Carna (Qarn-al-Manâzil) enjoyed this distinction, and hence we conclude that the kingdom of the Minæans extended from Mekka to the east and to the south. Looking closer at its geography, we perceive that Ḥarm has the same latitude as Maçâma (about 19°), and the distance between the two places cannot be more than 20 miles; but Ḥarm lies on the road to Çan'â, and Maçâma (Seven Wells?) on the road to Nejrân. Between Ḥarm and Mekka are eleven marches, and I have shown that the Hamiræi, Gedranitæ, Ilisanitæ, and Bachilitæ commanded the road within this space. Taking these facts into consideration, we come to the conclusion that these tribes formed a confederation, which was headed by the Minæans. How far this confederation or Minæan kingdom extended to the east into Nejd, we do not know; but we may assert that most of the Nomeritæ belonged to it, and its eastern limit may have been beyond Dharyya. At a later period Dharyya was the capital of those regions, owing to its geographical position. But at an earlier time the kings of the confederation resided in a town on the great mercantile road from southern Arabia to Syria and Egypt, *viz.* at Qarn, Benât-Ḥarm, Ghamr-dzy-Kinda, because in those days the great object of the confederation was to secure the monopoly of transport for part of the road. This monopoly, which yielded great profits, and even a share in the commerce itself, the Minæans enjoyed for ages. Pliny, 12, 14, § 53, says of them: "Hi primi commercium thuris fecere maximeque exercent, a quibus et Minæum dictum est." The assertion "primi fecere" is not to be taken literally, for the importation of frankincense into Egypt and Syria began more than a thousand years previous to the time from which Pliny's information may have dated. There is no doubt the Minæans had colonies near the frankincense region, and perhaps elsewhere—just like the Kindites;

but their main force was between Mekka and Benât-Harm and in Western Nejd. The remark which Ælius Gallus made on them *apud* Pliny, § 63, "Minæis fertiles agros palmetis arbustoque, inpecore divitias," suits extremely well Western Nejd and the neighbourhood of Tobâla and of Benât-Harm. When the Minæans are described as "gens magna" (Ptolemy), or as one of the four great nations of Arabia (Eratosthenes), the whole confederation is meant. Arabic authors, who are always guided by genealogy, never take the Kindites in so extensive a sense.

Pliny, 12, 14, § 63, explains how the frankincense commerce was carried on at Sabota, in Ḥadhramaut, and says: "Ibi decimas Deo, quem Sabin vocant, mensura, non pondere, sacerdotes capiunt, nec ante mercari licet; inde impensæ publicæ tolerantur. Nam et benigne certo itinerum numero Deus hospites pascit." In Sabis the *b* stands for *m*, the original word being *shams*, the Sun. In another passage this God is called Assabinus, with the article. Not only at Sabota, but also in their further progress, the caravans placed themselves under the protection of religion, and Pliny says, lower down, in speaking of the expenses of transport: "Sunt et quæ sacerdotibus dantur portiones." This observation applies to the Minæans and other tribes, through whose territories the *latyma* (لطيمة; caravan carrying perfumes) passed. We have observed that a legend connects the name of the Gedranitæ with the Ka'ba; and that the Ilisanitæ are praised for their orthodoxy in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. There are passages in Azraqy which bring the Kindites—who, in my opinion, are the successors of the Minæans—into connexion with the sacred months and with the pilgrimage. The most important is p. 125. The Arabs counted by lunar months, but the Ḥajj, pilgrimage, which answered to our Easter, was to be held as near as possible to the vernal equinox. In order to bring their Ḥajj year into unison with the lunar year, they intercalated every three or two years one month; and after the completion of the ceremonies of the Ḥajj, a man who had the title Qalammas proclaimed whether a month was to be intercalated or not,—that

is to say, whether the next Ḥajj was to take place after twelve or thirteen lunations. This was the most important office in their ecclesiastical institutions, because all religious ceremonies had no other object than to procure safety for commerce; and for this purpose it was law that, during the three Ḥajj months (March and April, and parts of February and of May), as well as during the month Rajab (September), all feuds should cease, and arms be laid aside. The Qalammas, it is to be supposed, was less guided in his decision by astronomical observations than by an understanding with the heads of similar neighbouring confederations that the same months should be kept sacred all along the caravan roads. We learn from Azraqy the important fact that this office was originally held by the Kindites: from them it lapsed to the Banû Mâlik, the same tribe of which I have spoken above; and they held it—notwithstanding their political insignificance, consequent on their separation from the Mekkians—until it was done away with by Moḥammed's changing the almanack. I have shown in my *Leben des Moh.*, vol. iii. p. 520, that Minâ was the spot in which the principal ceremonies of the Ḥajj were performed, and it appears to me likely that the Minæans derived their name from Minâ. The name Minæi occurs very frequently in ancient authors, and, errors excepted, is everywhere spelt alike; whereas other Arabic names assume the most diversified shapes. For instance: Adramytta (Theophr.), Chatramotitæ (Eratosth.), Atramitæ (Juba), Adramitæ (Ptol.) for *خزرموت* and its inhabitants. Among the ancients every one spelt barbarous proper names by the ear, without reference to the orthography of his predecessors. If Me'ûn or Ma'yn, or some such word, as has been proposed, was the root, it would be very singular if one and all expressed these strangely-sounding names by Minæans. But if Minâ is the root, their agreement is natural.

The probability of a previous understanding between the Romans and the Ma'additic tribes in reference to Gallus's movements, is greatly increased by the fact that these tribes were represented by one man, the King of the Minæans.

After having passed the Seven Wells, Gallus reached Chaala. Strabo can only mean Tobâla (تَبَالَة), the eighth stage south of Mekka, where the road divides, one branch running to Çan'â, the other to Nejrân. Pliny, 6, 28, § 154, follows an author who applies the name Sabæans to nearly all the mercantile nations of Arabia, including the Minæans; and, in enumerating the Sabæan towns, he says: "Carnus et quo merces odorum deferunt Tomala." Ptolemy writes Thumata for Thumala, or Thubala, by a clerical error. Malotha, the next town Gallus reached, must be a mistake for Nalotha, *i.e.* نَخْلَة Nakhlât, a place two days east of Mekka, on the brook al-Nakhlât alyemânyya, the southern Nakhla, so called in contradistinction to al-Nakhlât alschmâyya, the northern Nakhla, which it joins at Wâdiy Laymûn, whence they jointly continue their course through Wâdy Fâtima (Marr-Tzahrân) towards the sea. The southern Nakhla rises above Qarn-al-Manâzil, is fed by springs from the mountains north and east of Tâ'yif, and in some parts of its course has water for the greater part of the year. Gallus's road runs nearly a whole day's journey along this rivulet. In the village of Nakhlât was the sanctuary of al-'Ozzâ, one of the divinities mentioned in the Qorân. After the river Nakhla the country changes; it becomes more sterile, and, as Strabo observes, spring water is very rarely met with—probably only in five places all the way to 'Aunyd.

In our attempt to follow Gallus in his advance from the coast of the Red Sea to Radmân, we must be guided by the statement that he was six months on the road, whereas he required only two for his retreat, having chosen a different route. There are, besides the road by which he retreated, only two others leading from north-western Arabia to Nejrân. One runs along the coast as far as Dzahabân, and thence due east over the mountains to Ça'da and to Nejrân. This does not answer to Strabo's narrative, because, being closed in between mountains and the sea, it does not leave room for any detours. The other is very circuitous, and has the form of a horse-shoe. It first runs in a north-easterly direction into Nejd, as far as 'Onayza, for more than twenty

days' marches; then in the direction E.S.E. as far as Hâjr, the capital of Yamâma (near the modern Wahhâbite capital Riyâdh, which lies in lat. $24^{\circ} 38' 34''$, long. $46^{\circ} 41'$), ten marches; and thence in a south-westerly direction to Nejrân, twenty marches. A short cut is impossible, the cavity of the horse-shoe being filled with an impenetrable desert; but the horse-shoe may be prolonged by going further north-east than 'Onayza. This is the route by which Gallus advanced to Nejrân.

The Roman troops landed at Leucecome. The Arabic name is al-Haurâ, which means 'chalk,' and also, as Stephanus Byz. correctly observes, 'white.' It is situated in lat. $24^{\circ} 58'$, and was in those days, like 'Aunyd, annexed to the kingdom of the Nabatæans. The men suffered from scurvy, and Gallus was compelled to stay here the whole summer *and winter* to recruit their strength. As the text of Strabo is not very correct, it is allowable to suspect that he intended to say, *till the beginning* of winter. At length they started. The scarcity of water in the country through which they had to march was so great that they were obliged to carry this necessity on camels. All this was due to the perfidy of wicked Syllæus. After many days' journey, they reached the kingdom of Aretas, a relation of the Nabatæan King Obodas. He received them kindly, and made presents to them. We are at a loss to say where king Hârith (Aretas) resided. Haurâ, the landing-place, has nearly the same latitude as al-Madyna (which I place in lat. $24^{\circ} 30'$), and is considered by Arabic geographers as one of the seaports of this city. As Gallus was bound for the south, we should suppose he would have directed his steps towards al-Madyna. It is, however, extremely unlikely that this city belonged to the dominions of Hârith. He was probably King of Wâdiy al-Qorâ; and it seems that Gallus, after having passed the coast of Wâdiy al-Qorâ by sea, marched in a north-easterly direction back to this country. By various circuitous ways, says Strabo, Gallus traversed Aretas's dominions in thirty days. The country next to it into which he came is inhabited by nomads, and partly desert. Its name was Ararene, and the

name of its king Sabos. Here, too, he made many circuits, and in fifty days he reached the town Negrana. The king fled, and the city was taken by assault. In this report Strabo accounts only for eighty days. Add about ten days for the march from the coast to the residence of King Aretas, and, as he had to fight his way, a whole month from Nejrân to Radmân (a distance which he made on his retreat in nine days), and we have only four months for his advance. In the six months of which Strabo speaks in another passage, the time spent on the coast for restoring his troops must be included. Our great difficulty is to find room for the two vast kingdoms that stretch from Wâdiy al-Qorâ to Nejrân; that of Aretas with its thirty, the other of Sabos with its fifty marches in length. The former must have comprised a great portion of Nejd as far as 'Onayza, and the latter the whole of Yamâma and Wâdiy Dawâsir as far as Nejrân. Strabo's summary account is so carelessly drawn up, that it would be unsafe to draw inferences from it on the political condition of Arabia in those days. One thing, however, is certain, that the people of Ararene thought no more of opposing Gallus's progress than their neighbours, the subjects of King Aretas. The name Ararene I can only explain by making of it Agarene, the country of Ḥajr. Arabic geographers call this country Yamâma, and say that at a more remote period it had the name Jaww, and in a vague sense it is also called 'Arûdh. Ḥajr was for some time the capital of Yamâma, and it happens frequently that the name of the capital is applied to the country, and *vice versâ*; and therefore the hypothesis that Agarene is Yamâma appears to me plausible.¹

Gallus's military operations began at Nejrân. Six days after he had left this town he arrived at a river. Here the barbarians offered him battle, and lost 10,000 (!!) men and he only two men. Soon after this victory he reached the town

¹ This hypothesis receives some confirmation from a passage of Pliny. He sums up the intelligence brought back by Gallus regarding some Arabic tribes, and says: "Cæubanos (*var.* Cerbanos, Cæubanos) et Agræos armis præstare." The Agræi of this passage may be supposed to be the inhabitants of Agarene, and Cæubani the Banû ['Abd] al-Qays.

Asca. The king had fled, and Gallus captured the town. Thence he marched on Athrulla, which surrendered without fighting. He left there a garrison; and after he had taken in provisions, he proceeded to Marsyaba of the Rhamanites, from whence, as said above, he was obliged to retreat. Pliny, 6, 28, § 160, describes his exploits more amply: "Gallus oppida diruit non nominata ab auctoribus qui ante scripserunt, Negrānam, Nestum (*var.* Amnestrum), Nescam, Magusam (*var.* Masugam), Caminacum, Labeciam, et supra dictam Mariabam, circuitu VI. mill. pass., item Caripetam quo longissime processit." He does not mention the town of the Rhamanites, because, as the Romans were defeated under its walls, it did not suit his vainglorious bulletin. It will be observed that both authors agree that the fight and conquest began at Nejrân. This is important for us, because, save the variants *Ἀργαῶν* in Strabo and Negrām in Pliny, the name has been preserved unaltered, and it affords us an incontrovertible basis for our inquiries.

If we proceed from Nejrân in the direction of Mârib (S.S.E.), we enter on the third day the Jôf of the Hamdân (جوف همدان), a valley one and a half day's journey long, and in its lower (southern) part one day's journey wide. Its axis runs from N.N.W. to S.S.E. It is watered by four rivers, the greatest of which, and the only one that has water all the year, is al-Khârid; and this is the river on the banks of which the Arabs attempted to oppose Gallus's progress. Hamdâny, p. 144, gives a detailed description of al-Khârid. It enters the Jôf in its south-western angle, after having collected the water of the high table-land round Çan'â, and of al-Baun, and received a tributary, al-Sirr, coming from the south. The men opposed to the Romans belonged to the eastern Hamdân tribes, *viz.* Dalân, Yâm, Nihm, Nashq, 'Alyân, Shâkir. There may also have been some Murâd tribes engaged. Captain S. B. Miles has favoured me with a letter from a friend of his at 'Aden, in which two or three of the towns conquered by Gallus are mentioned, and I therefore insert the geographical portion of the letter in the original, with translation.

قد وصل اليينا رجل اسمه السلطان يحييي بن الحسين من اهالي الجوف وله معرفة المدن الماربية والجوفية وهذه اسماء المدن التي اخبرنا بها وهي البيضا والسودا والمصلوب وكمنا والهنش وهرم ومعين ولكبك ومقعم وسراقة وينبا والحزم وسعود والا ساحل وام القيس والعمدفن وفيه معدن فضة وبراقش واخبرني بمباني عظيمة كلها رخام وان بعض الاعمدة لا تقدر الالاف من الناس ان توقعها في الارض بل ولا تحركها ولم يكن بالقرب من هذه الاعمدة العظيمة جبال رخام بل كانوا ياتون بها من سفر ايام

“There has come to us a man of the name of Sultân Yaḥyâ bin al-Ḥosayn, one of the inhabitants of Jôf. He is acquainted with the towns of Mârib and Jôf, and the following is a list of the towns he mentioned to us: al-Baydhâ (*i.e.* the white), al-Sôdâ (the black, he means white Khariba خربة, which, in the days of Hamdâny, belonged to the Banû Dâlân and black Khariba, which belonged to the Shâkir), al-Maçlûb, Kamnâ (also mentioned by Hamdâny as situated in Jôf, is Pliny’s Caminacum), al-Haqash, Haram, Ma‘yn (a famous castle), Lakbak (Pliny’s Labecia), Maq‘am, Sorâqa, Yanabbâ, al-Ḥazm, Sa‘ûd, al-Asâḥil, Umm-al-Qays, al-Mundafin, where there is a silver mine, and Barâqish. He informed me that there are grand buildings entirely constructed of sandstone. Some pillars are so large that thousands of men could not have been able to put them into the ground or even to move them. Yet there are no mountains of sandstone in the vicinity of the pillars, and they had been brought from a distance of several days.”

There is another place which we are able to identify, and that is Nesca. Its Arabic name is ‘Omrân. It is the capital of the district held by the tribe Nashq (نشق), situated on the Khârid river; and it seems that, as frequently happens in Arabia, it was also known by the name of its inhabitants. Nesca was well known to the ancients. Pliny, § 155, mentions it on another authority under the name of Nascus;

and in some copies of Ptolemy Nascus is substituted for Maocosmus (*i.e.* Gaww-Khidhrima). ‘Omrân (عمران) occurs first in a document written by order of Moḥammed (see *Leben des Moh.* vol. iii., p. 455, where ‘Omrân al-Gauf, instead of ‘Omrân algorf, is to be read). Strabo’s Asca is hardly different from Nasca. The preceding word, *καλουμηνην*, ends with *n*, and the copyist seems to have thought it superfluous to write this letter twice. There remain three towns—Nestus, Magusa, and Strabo’s Athrulla—which I have not succeeded in identifying; but there is little doubt they were also situated in Jôf.

From Jôf, Gallus marched on the celebrated capital of the Sabæans, Mârîb. The distance from Barâqish, the last town of Jôf, is, according to Ibn Mojâwir, only eight (heavy) farsangs. We are at a loss to make the statements of Pliny and Strabo in reference to Gallus’s operations before this town agree. Pliny asserts he took Mârîb, proceeded thence to Caripeta, and there commenced his retreat. If we allow ourselves to be guided by the similarity of names, we identify Caripeta with one of the two Khariba (Baydhâ or Sôdâ); and assuming that this is the last place which Gallus has taken, we call the assertion that he succeeded in entering Mârîb into doubt. In this case Strabo’s Marsyaba of the Rhamanites, before which Gallus was defeated, would be the famous Mârîb. But resemblance of names by itself is an extremely unsafe guide. So many towns in Yemen have the same name that there may also be a Khariba or Kharibat (خرابة), which means ‘ruin,’ on the other side of Mârîb, or Gallus may have passed and sacked Khariba in Jôf in his retreat. Moreover, it would be contrary to everything we know of ancient geography if Mârîb was called the town of the Rhamanites; since the Greeks, the Romans, the Jews, and the Arabs agree in considering it as the capital of the Sabæans (Sheba). I think the text of Strabo has here, as in many other passages, been disfigured, and that he said: Gallus proceeded to the town Marsyaba (Mârîb), and thence to the town of the Rhamanites.

Strabo says, at the town of the Rhamanites Gallus was, as

he learned from prisoners of war, only two days' journey from the perfume region. The spot which we assign to the town of the Rhamanites must satisfy this condition, besides the two already known to us: that it be beyond Mârib, and not more than nine days' journey from Nejrân. Looking at Marib's geographical position, at the verge of the eastern desert, we find that Gallus had only two ways to pursue his thereto glorious career of conquest. He might attempt to push on to Ḥadhramaut, and thence to the far-distant frankincense region. His way would have led him towards E.N.E., and in a day or two he would have reached Tomna, the ancient capital of the Kattabeni (Qodhâ'a); from Tomna he would have had to march five days through a desert without water, varied merely by the salt-mines (جبل الملح) half-way between Mârib and the first town of Ḥadhramaut. The inhabitants of Tomna were also called Gebanites, and, for reasons which it would lead too far to explain, they might also be denominated Radmânites (Rhamanites). Moreover, the road from Tomna to Nejrân is less than nine marches; and, therefore, Tomna may answer to Strabo's town of the Rhamanites. But there is no perfume region beyond Tomna but a desert. The other road to new conquests leads from Mârib up the Wâdiy Âdzina, in a south-westerly direction, towards Bayḥân and Radmân. This is the shortest way from Mârib to Tzafâr (ظفار), for some time the capital of Yemen; and if Gallus had been successful, this route would have led him to the conquest of "that part of Arabia which is separated from Æthiopia only by a narrow barrier"—as were his instructions, it would appear. This is the route which Gallus took. Pliny mentions an Arab tribe of the name of Rhadamites, and, in another place, an Arab town of the name of Nagia. The two modes of spelling, Rhamanites and Rhadamites, converge to Radmânites. Genealogists consider Radmân (رمان) as a son of Nâjia (ناجية). Of the position of the district Radmân I have spoken above. Various branches of the tribe Nâjia live east and south of Radmân, and one of their cities is Pliny's Nagia. 'Perfume

region' (*ἄρωματοφόρος*) is a vague term, and properly applicable only to the frankincense country, which is far far off. It is clear Strabo means Ptolemy's *Regio Myrrhifera exterior*, which begins about two days south of Radmân. In Baron von Maltzan's map we find to three places of the corresponding country the note "coffee" appended, and it appears the inhabitants find it now more profitable to plant 'Moka' than to grow myrrh. The result of our inquiry is, that the Roman army penetrated into Arabia as far as Radmân, and that there it was driven back by the tribes whom the Arabs comprehend under the name Madzhij (مذحج), assisted perhaps by the Himyaritic tribes called 'Ans (عنس).

ART. VII.—*An Account of Jerusalem, translated for the late Sir H. M. ELLIOT, from the Persian text of Nāṣir ibn Khusrú's Safarnámah, by the late Major A. R. FULLER.*

On the 3rd of Ramazán, I left Ramlah, and went to a village called Khátún, and from thence to another, which they styled K̄ariatu-l-'Anab (Grape hamlet). On the road I observed plenty of wild rue growing spontaneously on hill and dale. I also noticed at this village a very delightful spring of water gushing out of a rock, where they had constructed reservoirs, and built edifices. From thence I proceeded up some rising ground, under the impression that I was ascending a hill, and that on going down the other side the city would lie before me. After I had climbed the ascent however for a short way, a vast wilderness lay in my front, partly stony, and partly showing merely the bare earth. At the summit of the hill stands the city of the "Baitu-l-Muḳaddas" (Sacred Tabernacle, *i.e.* Jerusalem), between which and Tarábulis, which is on the coast, are 56 *parasangs*, and from Balkh to Jerusalem 876.

On the 5th of Ramazán, 438, I entered Jerusalem, one solar year having elapsed since I quitted my home, during the whole of which period I had been prosecuting my travels, without enjoying rest or comfort anywhere. The people of Shám and that quarter call Jerusalem "K̄uds," and such of the inhabitants of those climes as are unable to go to Mecca at that season tarry at Jerusalem, and remain stationary there, till they have celebrated the 'Id-i-K̄urbán according to immemorial custom. Some years it happens that upwards of 20,000 souls are congregated together there in the early part of the month of Z̄í-l-ḥijjah, and they take their children there and circumcise them. Christians and Jews also flock there in great numbers from the countries of Rúm and other places, to visit the Church and Temple. A description of this superb Church shall be

duly inserted in its proper place. The environs and villages of Jerusalem are all among the hills, and all the crops, as well as olive and fig trees, etc., are raised without irrigation. The produce is nevertheless abundant and cheap. There are heads of families who collect as much as 50,000 *maunds* of olive-oil each. It is placed in cisterns and tanks, and is sent to all parts of the world. It is said, too, that famine has never prevailed in the land of Syria, and I myself have heard from credible authorities, that the Prophet (on whom be peace and blessings!) saw in a dream a certain great man addressing him thus: "O Prophet of God, assist me in obtaining my daily food." This latter replied: "Help yourself to the bread and olives of Syria."

I will now describe the city of Jerusalem. It is perched on the top of a hill, and possesses no supply of water except from rain; for although the neighbouring hamlets have springs, there are none within the town itself. It is encircled with solid ramparts of masonry and earth (*gaj*), and is fitted with iron gates. Not a single tree grows near the city, as it is founded on a rocky soil. The town is large, for at the time I saw it it contained 20,000 souls, as well as fine bazaars and splendid edifices. Its streets are paved with flagstones, and wherever there had been originally a rise, it had been cut away and levelled; so that whenever rain fell, the pavement was washed quite clean. There are numerous artificers in the town, each craft occupying a separate quarter. The *Jámi' Mesjid* is towards the east, and the eastern rampart of the city is strong. After passing *Sámirah* through the *Jámi'*, there is a level wilderness ahead of vast extent, which they denominate "*Sámirah*," and it is said that that is to be the plain of the day of judgment, where the resurrection of mankind will take place. For this reason hosts of people have come from all quarters of the globe to this spot, and taken up their residence in the city with the view of dying there, so that when the promise of Almighty God shall be fulfilled, they may be present at the appointed spot. O God! in that day be thou the help of thy servants, and thy clemency their safeguard, O Lord of

mankind! At the edge of that desert is a large cemetery, and several spacious places, in which people pray, and raise their hands in supplication; whilst in return the Almighty sanctions their requests.

O Allah! grant thou our desires, pardon our sins and iniquities, and have mercy on us with thy everlasting kindness, O most merciful! Between the Jámí' Mesjid and this wilderness of Sámirah, there is a valley of immense depth, and in this valley, which is just like a moat, are spacious edifices in the style of the ancients. I also saw a stone cupola surmounting a building, which it is the greatest wonder how it could have been raised up. The current report is, that this is Pharaoh's mansion. That valley is the Valley of Hell. I inquired who had bestowed this title on the place, and was told that in the time of 'Umar Khatáb's "Khalífat" (may the Lord be gracious unto him!) he pitched his camp in that wilderness of Sámirah, and on looking down on the valley, exclaimed: "This is the Valley of Death." The common people further assert, that every one who approaches the brink of the valley hears the cries of the inmates of hell issuing from it; but for my own part I heard nothing on going there. On going half a *parasang* out of the city in a southerly direction, and descending into a hollow, you find a spring gushing forth from the rock, which is called the "Fount of Salwán." Numerous buildings have been erected at the spring-head, and its waters flow in a village, where hosts of villas and gardens have been planted. It is said that whosoever bathes from head to foot in that stream, rids himself of pains and illnesses of the longest standing; and this spring has consequently been enriched with many pious endowments.

There is an excellent hospital at Jerusalem, which is also handsomely endowed for charitable purposes, and has numbers of patients. These are provided with medicines and cooling draughts, and the physicians belonging to this establishment draw their emoluments from the charitable funds. The Friday mosque is on the borders of the city towards the east: one of its walls lies adjacent to the

Valley of Death ; and when you look at this wall from the exterior of the building, you see it for 100 yards built up of huge blocks of stone, having no mortar or cement in their interstices. Inside the Mosque the top of the walls is all straight, and it is on account of the "ṣakhrah" stone that was there, that the Mosque has been erected on that very spot. This "ṣakhrah" stone is that which Almighty God commanded Moses (on whom be peace!) to make the "ḳiblah." As soon as this mandate was issued, and Moses had made it the "ḳiblah," he did not long survive, but met his death in a very short space of time. Both up to the days of Sulaiman (on whom be peace!), when as this "ṣakhrah" formed the "ḳiblah," they erected a Mosque round about it, insomuch that the stone stood in the centre of the said Mosque, and was the point to which all people turned ; as well as to the time of our Prophet Muhammad the Elect (may peace and blessings rest on him!), they had ever held that to be the "ḳiblah," and thither were they accustomed to turn their faces in prayer, till such time as the Almighty commanded that the "ka'bah" should be the site of the "ḳiblah." A description of this will follow in its proper place.

I wished to take measurements of this Mosque, but said to myself, I will first inspect its form and shape, so as thoroughly to understand them, after which I will commence measuring. I roamed about for a very long time in that Mosque, looking over it, and at length, on the northern side, which is contiguous to the dome of Ya'ḳúb (on whom be peace!), I observed an inscription on a tablet, to the effect that the Mosque was 704 yards long, and 455 yards broad by the "malak" measure, and the "malak" yard is what they call the "shaigán" yard in Khurásán, and that is either an ordinary one and a half or somewhat less. The floor is paved with flagstones, the joinings being stopped up with lead. The Mosque lies to the east of the city and bazaar, so that as you go from the bazaar to the Mosque, you proceed in an easterly direction. There is a fine large "dargáh," measuring 30 yards in height by 20 in breadth. There are two wings to the "dargáh," and the face of the

wings and hall of the “dargáh” are ornamented all over with pieces of particoloured glass, which they have set in cement according to any pattern they pleased; insomuch that the eye becomes dazzled on looking at it. In like manner, an inscription in variegated glass has been made on the “dargáh,” on which is written the title of the Sultán of Egypt, and when the sunshine lights upon it, the effect of its rays is so enchanting as to bewilder the intellect. This “dargáh” is surmounted by a dome of vast size formed of hewn stone, and provided with two doors constructed with great taste, which are studded with Damascene brass, looking as if it were pure gold. Numerous designs are also executed on them, each one 15 yards high by 8 broad. These they call the “Gate of David” (on whom be peace!); and after passing through the two doors, you find on the right a couple of large colonnades, consisting of 29 marble pillars, each with ornamental capitals and plinths, all the joinings of which are filled in with lead. On the top of the pillars rest arches of stone without any mortar or cement, each arch comprising not more than four or five blocks, and these colonnades extend nearly as far as the “mağşúrah.” After entering the door on the left-hand side, which is to the north, a very long colonnade extends, consisting of 64 arches resting on marble columns. There is another gate in this same wall, which they style the “Gate of Hell.” The length of the Mosque runs from north to south; so when the “mağşúrah” is cut off from it, there remains a square quadrangle, with the “kiblah” lying on the south, while on the north are two other doorways alongside of each other, measuring 7 yards by 12 each; and these they denominate the “Gate of the Tribes.” After passing through this gate, along the breadth of the Mosque, which runs towards the east, there is again another “dargáh” of immense size, in which are three doors alongside of one another, of the same dimensions as those of the “Gate of the Tribes.” They are tastefully bound with brass and iron, so much so that there are scarcely any handsomer ones; and they style these the “Gate of gates,” inasmuch as the rest are only double doors, but this

is a treble one. Midway between these two "dargáhs" that are on the north, and in this colonnade, whose arches are resting on pillars, there is a dome raised to a considerable height on lofty columns, and decorated with lamps and lustres, which they call the "Dome of Jacob" (on whom be peace!), and say that it used to be his oratory. Along the breadth of the Mosque runs a colonnade, in the wall of which there is a door, and outside the door two "darwízah" (cloisters?) belonging to the "Súfis," where they have built fine oratories and alcoves, in which a number of their persuasion dwell and offer up their prayers. On Fridays, however, they enter the Mosque, because the voice scarcely reaches them. At the northern corner of the Mosque is a fine colonnade, surmounted by a large and handsome cupola, on which is written: "This is the cloister of Zakaríá, the prophet, may peace be with him!" and it is said that on this spot he pursued his devotions without any intermission. By the eastern wall, towards the centre of the Mosque, stands a large "dargáh," elegantly built of hewn stone, and looking as if it had been cut out of a single block. It is 50 yards in height, and 30 in breadth, covered with painting and carving, and provided with ten doors, so closely placed that there is no more than a pillar between every two. The doors themselves are very elaborately bound with Damascene iron and brass, and studded with rings and nails. This "dargáh," they say, is the work of Solomon, the son of David (on whom be peace!), and that he built it for his father. On entering the "dargáh," with your face towards the east, of the two doors, that which is on your right hand is styled the "Gate of Mercy," and the other the "Gate of Penitence." The latter is said to be the one at which the Almighty accepted the contrition of David (may peace be on him!). By this "dargáh," too, is a handsome Mosque, which once upon a time was only a portico, but the portico was subsequently made into a Mosque. It is embellished with all sorts of carpets, and possesses an establishment of servants exclusively for its own use. Crowds of people flock thither to

offer up their supplications, and seek a spiritual intercourse with Almighty God; for inasmuch as David's repentance was accepted on that spot, everybody is inspired with fervent hope, and refrains from sin. They say that: "Scarcely had David (on whom be peace!) advanced a step inside from this threshold, when by divine inspiration came the glad tidings that the Most High had accepted his contrition. He then remained standing on the self-same spot, and occupied himself in humble adoration." I too, who am called Násir, offered up my prayers at that place, and besought Almighty and Gracious God to favour me with his grace, and purify me from all wickedness. And may the Almighty bestow his grace, or so much of it as may seem good to his will, on all his servants, and grant that they repent of their transgressions, through the honour of Muhammad and his immaculate descendants!

Going along the eastern wall, as soon as you reach the southern end of it, you find the "kiblah" occupying the southern angle; while before the northern wall is a Mosque with subterranean chambers, to reach which it is necessary to go down a long flight of steps. Its dimensions are 20 yards by 15, and it is covered with a masonry roof resting on marble columns. In this place is deposited the cradle of 'Isa' [Jesus Christ] (on whom be peace!), which is formed of stone, and so capacious that people say their prayers in it, and I myself performed my devotions there. It has also been so firmly planted in the ground that it does not move in the least, and this is the very cradle in which Jesus during his infancy lay and conversed with various persons. The cradle has been placed in this Mosque in lieu of a cloister, and the same building contains besides the cloister of Mariam [the Virgin Mary] (on whom be peace!) on the eastern side, and there is another, that of Zakaría [Zacharias] (may peace be on him!). Most of the texts of the Korán that have been revealed regarding Zakaría and Mariam are inscribed on those cloisters, and it is even said that this Mosque was the very birthplace of Jesus (on whom be peace!). A certain stone in one of the columns bears the

marks of a couple of fingers, just as if some one had squeezed it with his two fingers; and they say that Mariam, while in the very pangs of delivery, seized that pillar with her fingers. This Mosque is in fact celebrated for the cradle of Jesus (may peace be with him!), and numerous lamps of brass and silver are suspended inside it, which continue burning throughout the night.

After passing by the door of this Mosque also along the eastern wall, when you reach the corner of the great Mosque, there is yet another one of handsome size, larger than that of the cradle of Jesus, which is called *El mesjidul-akṣa'*. This is the one to which the Almighty brought *Mustafa'* (may the peace and blessing of God rest on him!) on the night of his ascension from Mecca, and from hence he went up to Heaven, according to the words contained in the *Kurán*: "Praised be he who transported his servant at night from the *Mesjidul-harám* (the sacred temple at Mecca) to the *Mesjidul-akṣa'*." They have consequently erected a splendid edifice there, which is provided with elegant carpets, and a separate establishment of servants to minister to its care.

On returning to the southern wall for 200 yards from that angle, there is no covering or curtain ("poshish"); it is an open space; the "poshish" of the great Mosque, of which the "*maḳṣúrah*" forms part, is on the southern wall. The western side of this "poshish" is 420 yards long by 150 broad, and it comprises 280 marble columns, with a stone arch thrown over them. All the capitals and shafts of these are highly sculptured, and the joinings are filled in with lead, so that they could not possibly be made stronger. There is an interval of six yards between every two columns, and the whole place is laid down with variegated marble pavement, the joinings being filled in with lead. The "*maḳṣúrah*" stands in the centre of the southern wall, and is of considerable size, insomuch that it comprises 16 pillars, as well as a huge dome embellished with coloured glass, as has been already described. The interior is spread with African mats, whilst lamps and lustres are suspended

every here and there by chains. A large alcove has also been constructed, all covered with designs in glass, and on both sides of the alcove are two marble pillars of a ruby-coloured hue. The wainscoting of the "maḡṣúrah" is entirely of variegated marble; and on the right hand is the cloister of Mu'áwiah, while on the left is that of 'Omar (may the Lord have mercy on him!). The roof of this Mosque is hidden by tastefully carved woodwork.

Having next advanced to the door and wall of the "maḡṣúrah," adjoining the side of the courtyard, you find 15 doorways fitted with beautifully-finished doors, each 10 yards high by 6 broad; ten of the number being in the wall, which is 420 yards long, and five on that which is 150 only. Out of the whole of these doors, there is one of brass, constructed with the most exquisite beauty and taste, insomuch that you would say it was made of gold. It was figured with frosted silver, and had the name of Mámún the Khalífah on it, who is said to have forwarded it from Baghdád. When they throw open all the doors, the interior of the Mosque becomes so bright that you would think it was an open area without a roof; but when there happens to be wind and rain prevalent, and they do not open the doors, light comes in through the windows. On the four sides of this "poshish" are chests belonging to every one of the cities of Shám and Irák, and devotees seated about, just as in the sacred temple at Mecca (may God Almighty honour it!).

Outside the "poshish," by the immense wall which has been previously mentioned, is a colonnade with 42 arches, all the pillars of which are of variegated marble, and this colonnade is connected with the western one. Inside the "poshish" there is a reservoir in the ground for holding water, which when full comes up level with the surface of the earth; so that whenever it rains the water flows into that place. In the southern wall is a door, where there is a place for purifying oneself; so that if any one wants to perform his ablutions, he goes there and does so; because if a person had to go outside the Mosque, he would not

arrive in time for prayers, and the service would be lost to him owing to the magnitude of the edifice. The tops of the roofs are all sheeted with lead, and in the floor of the Mosque are numerous reservoirs and cisterns cut out of the ground ; for the Mosque is founded altogether on rock, so that however much it may rain, not a drop of water can ooze out or be lost, but the whole runs into the cisterns, from whence people fetch it away. Aqueducts have also been made of lead, through which the water might descend ; and stone reservoirs have been fixed below the aqueducts, each of which has a hole in the bottom part of it, and through this hole the water passes into a pipe, and so reaches the reservoir without getting dirty, and free from every impurity.

Within three *parasangs* of the city, too, I saw a huge reservoir, in which the whole of the waters that flow down from the hills is collected ; and a canal has been made for it, which leads to the Jâmi' Mesjid of the town, and hence the Jâmi' possesses the most copious supply of water in the city. There are, however, reservoirs in all buildings for retaining rain-water ; for there is nothing else but rain-water to be had. Every one, too, catches the water of his own roof, and the hot baths, and whatever else there may be, are all supplied from the same source. These reservoirs that are in the Jâmi' never require building up, as they are made out of the hard rock ; and even if any hole or fissure should happen to be within, yet they are so substantial that they never go to ruin. It is said that they were constructed by Solomon (on whom be peace!), and the mouth of each cistern is so carefully closed with a grating, that nothing can possibly get into it but the water, which is certainly purer and sweeter in that city than anywhere else. If even but a slight shower falls, the aqueducts keep running for two or three days, insomuch that when the atmosphere clears up, and no signs of bad weather remain, drops of water still continue falling.

I mentioned that the city of Jerusalem was situated on the top of a hill, and that the ground was uneven ; but the floor of

the Mosque is a plain and level surface. Outside the Mosque, wherever, in comparison with other points, there is a hollow, its wall is built up higher, because the foundations are laid down in the low ground; and wherever there is a rise, the wall is lower. In that quarter, therefore, in which the town and streets are down in a hollow, the entrances to the Mosque are constructed just like subterranean passages cut through the soil, which lead out into the area of the building. Of those gates they call one the "Gate of the Prophet" (on whom be blessings and peace!), and this lies on the side of the "ḳiblah," that is to say, the south. It has been so constructed as to measure ten yards wide, and in one place five yards high as above the steps, that is to say, the roof of this passage is twenty yards high in some places. The curtain of the Mosque rests on its top; but the passage is so solid, that a building of that magnitude erected on its back had not the least effect upon it.

Such huge stones have been used in its construction that the mind cannot conceive how human strength could ever succeed in moving and transporting the blocks. It is said that Solomon, the son of David (on both of whom be peace!), erected the edifice, and that our Prophet (may blessings and peace rest on him!) entered by that passage the night of his ascension, for the gate is on the side of the road from Mecca. Near the gate there is an impression on the wall in the shape of a huge shield, and they say that Ḥamzah, the son of 'Abdu-l-muṭṭalib, uncle to the Prophet (on whom be peace!), sat down there once with a buckler strapped on his shoulders, and leant his back against the wall, and consequently that that is the image of his buckler. At this gate of the Mosque, where they have made this entrance passage, and fitted folding-doors to it, the wall of the building from outside rises to the height of fifty yards; and the object of making those doors has been to obviate the necessity of the people of that quarter, which adjoins this angle of the Mosque, passing through other quarters of the town when they want to enter its precincts. By the Mosque gate, too, is a stone let into the wall, eleven yards in height and four in length

and breadth; and throughout the building there is not a larger block to be met with than this, though there are plenty of four and five yards, which have been placed on the wall at an elevation of thirty or forty yards. Along the width of the Mosque you will find an eastern door called *Bábu-l-'ain* (Gate of the Eyes), on passing through which to the outside, and descending into a ravine, you come to the spring of *Salwán*. There is likewise another entrance passing in like manner under ground, which is styled *Bábu-l-Khatt* (Gate of the Letter), and this they say is the very door by which Almighty God commanded the Children of Israel to enter the Mosque, according to the word of the Lord: "Enter ye the gate with adoration, and repeat the prayer for the remission of sins; for we pardon you your iniquities, and will favour the righteous." There is likewise another door of the same description, which they call the *Bábu-s-sakínah* (Gate of the Shechinah or Tabernacle). At its threshold is a Mosque with numerous alcoves, and its first door is always kept shut, to prevent any one from entering it. It is said that the ark of the tabernacle, spoken of by Almighty God in the *Kurán* as carried by angels, is deposited there. The whole of the gates of the *Jámi'* at Jerusalem, both upper and lower, amount to nine, as has been already detailed.

Description of the shop, or shrine, which is situated within the area of the *Jámi'*, and in the middle of which is placed the "*şakhráh*" stone, that formed the "*ķiblah*" previous to the propagation of *Islám*.—The shrine has been built on this account, *viz.* because the "*şakhráh*" was so lofty that they were unable to put it under the "*poshish*." The foundation of the building covers an area of 330 yards by 300, and its height is 12 yards. The floor of it is level and elegantly paved with marble, and its walls are of the same material, their joinings being filled in with lead. All four sides of it, too, are formed of slabs of marble like the screenwork round a tomb. This shrine is so constructed that it is impossible to ascend to it at any point, except by the regular passages made for that purpose; and

when you have mounted up to it, you look down upon the roof of the Mosque. A reservoir has also been sunk under ground inside this shrine, into which runs all the rain-water that falls on the spot, and the water of this reservoir is purer and sweeter than all the rest in the Mosque. There are four domed buildings in this shrine, the largest of all being that containing the “*ṣakhrāh*,” which was formerly the “*ḳiblah*.”

Description of the domed building containing the “*ṣakhrāh*.”—The plan of the Mosque is such, that the shrine stands in the midst of the courtyard, the domed building of the “*ṣakhrāh*” in the middle of the shrine, and the “*ṣakhrāh*” itself in the centre of that building. The latter is of a regular octagonal shape, insomuch that every one of its eight sides measures 33 yards; and there are four doors on four sides of it, viz., to the east, west, north, and south, one side intervening between every two doors. The walls are made entirely of hewn stone raised to the height of 20 yards, while the “*ṣakhrāh*” is as much as 100 yards in girth, but has no regular figure; that is to say, it is neither round nor square, but a mis-shapen block of stone, just like the rough rocks on a hill. On the four sides of the “*ṣakhrāh*” four square pillars have been planted, of the same height as the wall of the aforesaid building, and between every two pillars, on all the four sides, marble columns have been erected, all as high as the other pillars. On the top of these twelve pillars and columns rests the base of the dome, beneath which the “*ṣakhrāh*” stands, and its circumference is 120 yards. Between the wall of the building and these pillars and columns;—that is to say, I designate all such as have been erected of a square figure pillars, and such as are hewn out of a solid block and made of a round form I style columns;—now between these said columns and the wall of the building six more pillars of hewn stone have been erected, between each two of which three supports of valuable variegated marble have been set up. Just as in the first row there was a pair of columns between every two pillars, here there

are three supports between every two pillars. The capitals of the pillars have been made with four branches, from each of which springs an arch, while those of the intermediate supports have only two branches; so that the extremities of two arches rest on each of the latter, and the ends of four on each of the former. At that time the appearance of this vast dome resting on its twelve pillars, which is close to the "şakhrāh," was such, that on viewing it from the distance of a full *parasang*, it seemed like the crest of a mountain; for from the base to the summit of the dome, is 30 yards, and it is raised on top of walls and pillars 20 yards high, which form the walls of the building. This building again is perched above the shrine, which has an elevation of 12 yards, and consequently from the level of the courtyard of the Mosque to the top of the dome is 62 yards. The roof and terrace of this building are hid beneath carved woodwork, and supported on the capitals of columns and pillars, as well as walls, exhibiting a style of workmanship the like of which is seldom met with. The "şakhrāh" stands above the ground as much as the stature of a man, and a marble screen has been placed around it, so that no hand may touch it. It is a stone of a dark blue hue, on which no man has ever dared to set foot; but on the side where the "kiblah" lies it has a hollow in one place of such a kind that you would say it had been walked over on that part and the foot had sunk into the stone, just as if it were soft clay in which the marks of the toes have been left. In this way the impression of seven steps are fixed upon it. I have heard that Abraham (on whom be peace!), and Isaac (on whom also be peace!) while yet a child, went there, and that these are the marks of their feet. In this building over the "şakhrāh" there are always numbers of people dwelling, consisting of holy and devout men; and the place itself is elegantly furnished with carpets of silk, etc. From the centre of the building, too, right above the "şakhrāh," is suspended a silver lamp by a chain of the same precious metal, and there are also numerous other silver lustres within the edifice, on each of which is written that its weight is so much; and all these

have been provided by the Sultán of Egypt. On calculating, therefore, I ascertained that there were a thousand *maunds* of silver ware in the place. I noticed a candle there, too, of gigantic proportions, insomuch that its length was seven yards and its girth three spans, which seemed made of perfumed camphor and ambergris ; and they say the Sultán of Egypt forwards numbers of candles there every year, one of which is large in comparison with that. The name of the Sultán, too, is inscribed on the place in characters of gold, and the building itself is, as it were, the third temple-house of Almighty God ; for it is an admitted fact among the sages of the faith, that every prayer offered up in Jerusalem is as acceptable as 25,000 others ; while every one uttered at Medina, the city of the Prophet (on whom be blessings and peace !), is accounted equal to 50,000, and every one offered up at Mecca (may the Lord honour her !) to 100,000. And may Almighty God bestow on all his servants the grace to enjoy that blessing !

I have already stated that the whole of the terraces and roofs of the domes were laid over with lead, and on the four sides of the building were fixed huge folding-doors made of wood and ebony, and these doors are always closed. After this building came a domed edifice, called the “Dome of the Chain,” which derives its title from the chain of David (on whom be peace !) that is hung up there ; and on that none save the lord of justice can lay his hand, for the arm of the tyrant and oppressor cannot reach it ; and this fact is universally acknowledged among learned divines. This dome is supported on eight marble columns and six stone pillars ; and all the sides of it are open except towards the “*ḳiblah*,” which is completely shut up. A fine alcove has also been made there. On this shrine is another dome, resting on four marble columns, which is likewise closed upon the side of the “*ḳiblah*,” and has a fine alcove constructed in it. This is styled the dome of Jibraíl [Gabriel] (may peace be on him !), but it is not paved ; for the ground itself consists of rock, which has been rendered level. They say that on the night of the ascension the “*burák*” was brought

to this spot, for our Prophet (on whom be blessings and peace!) to mount on. Behind this dome is another one, called the "Dome of the Apostle" (on whom be blessings and peace!), and the distance between it and that of Jibraíl is twenty yards. This dome likewise rests upon four pillars of marble, and it is said that the Prophet on the night of his ascension first performed his devotions in the domed edifice of the "šakhrāh," and placed his hand on the "šakhrāh" itself. When he went out, therefore, the "šakhrāh," out of respect to him, rose up; but the Prophet (on whom be peace!) once more laid his hand on it, so that it settled down again in its former position; and to the present day it is half suspended in the air. The Prophet then came from thence to this domed building, which is called after him, and took his seat on the "burák," and from this circumstance arises the sanctity of the spot. Underneath the "šakhrāh" is a huge cavern, so dark that candles are kept constantly burning there; and they say that this hollow appeared below the "šakhrāh" when it went through the motion of rising up, and remained so after the latter had settled down again.

Description of the flights of steps leading to the shrine, which stands in the courtyard of the Jámí'.—In six quarters there are roads up to the shrine, each of which has a different name. From the side of the "qiblah" are two roads, with steps leading upwards, and as you stand in the very centre of the shrine, one of these flights of steps is on your right hand, and the other on your left. The former is styled the "Place of the Prophet" (on whom be peace!), and the latter that of "'Aurí." The Place of the Prophet is so named, because, on the night of his ascension, he ascended those steps to the shrine, and from thence proceeded to the domed edifice of the "šakhrāh," and the road from Hejáz also passes over that spot. At present the width of these steps is 20 yards, the whole of them being formed of finely hewn stone, insomuch that each step consists of only one or two blocks cut square, and so regularly constructed, that if you wished it, a quadruped could walk up them. At the top of the flight of steps are

four pillars of green marble, exactly resembling emerald, with the exception that these slabs are covered all over with spots of every imaginable colour. The height of each of these pillars is ten yards, and the girth as much as two men can encompass in their arms. Over these four pillars three arches have been thrown, so that one faces the steps, and the other two look to either side. The upper parts of the arches are made straight, and are surmounted with niched battlements, so that the whole appears square. All these pillars and arches too are covered with enamelled designs, the most beautiful in existence. The parapet of the shrine is also entirely of spotted green marble, and looks just as if it were a parterre of blooming flowers. The Place of 'Aurí consists of three flights of steps leading up to the same quarter, one fronting the shop, and two on either side of it, so that people can ascend from three different points. Here likewise are planted the same sort of pillars at the top of the treble flight of steps, with an arch thrown over them, and crowned with battlements. The steps are also formed of hewn stone in the same fashion as I have already described, each one consisting of only two or three long blocks. On the façade of the portico the following inscription was beautifully written in letters of gold: "Founded by the Amír Laisu-d-daulah Toshtakín Ghúri,"—and they say this Laisu-d-daulah was a servant of the Sultán of Egypt; and that these roads and steps were made by him. On the western side too of the shop there are flights of steps in two places, and a road formed with elegance equal to that which I have described in the other instances. On the eastern side likewise a road has been made with similar good taste, and pillars have been erected, arches thrown over them, and battlements placed above all; and that they call the "Eastern Place." On the northern side is a road loftier and larger than all the rest, with pillars and arches of the same description, which they style the "Place of Ash-Shámí." I calculated that in the construction of these six roads, 100,000 *dinárs* must have been expended.

In the courtyard of the Mosque, not in the shrine, there is a spot where a diminutive Mosque of hewn stone stands on the northern side, which is built like the inclosure round a tomb. Its walls are not above the height of a man, and it is called the "Cloister of David." Close to the inclosure there is a stone as high as the stature of a human being, the top of which is such that a small blanket (*zítú*) can be spread upon it. It is of an irregular shape, and they say that it was Solomon's throne. They also told me that Solomon (on whom be peace!) sat down there while the Mosque was being built. I had observed the above in the *Jámi'* of Jerusalem, and after reflecting upon it, had entered it on the same day in the diary that I kept. Among other remarkable objects in the Mosque of Jerusalem, I saw the tree of the Huris (*Davakht Húr*).

I then set out from Jerusalem to visit the shrine of Abraham, the friend of the Most Merciful (on whom be blessings and peace!), on Wednesday, the 1st *Zí-l-ka'dah* 438. From Jerusalem to that spot where the tomb stands is six *parasangs*, and along this road, which goes towards the south, there are numerous villages, with plenty of cultivated fields, and gardens, and trees that require no water, such as the vine, fig, olive, and "*summák*," growing in endless profusion. At a couple of *parasangs* from the city are four villages, where there is a spring and an abundance of gardens, and groves, and they call the place *Farádes*, the fine place of the road. At the distance of a *parasang* from the city of Jerusalem, is a spot that is considered extremely sacred by the Christians, a party of whom are constantly resident there, while numbers of pilgrims also repair thither. They call it "*Baitu-l-lahm*" (House of Flesh), and the Christians perform the sacrifice there, and numbers of them come there from *Rúm*. The day I departed from the city I passed the night at that place.

Description of *Khalíl* (the friend, or Abraham, *i.e.* his shrine). (May the blessings of God be on him!)

This tomb they call *Khalíl* throughout Syria and Jerusalem, never mentioning the name of the village, which is (name

doubtful). The village is an endowment of the shrine, together with several other villages. At this place is a spring issuing out of the rock, the small supply of water from which is conveyed close to the village from a long distance in a hollow wooden pipe. Outside the village a reservoir, with a closed mouth, has been formed for receiving this water, so that none of it may be lost, and there may always be a sufficiency for the inhabitants of the place, as well as for the pilgrims visiting it. The sepulchre stands on the confines of the village towards the south, or rather the south-east. It is a quadrangle, built of hewn stone, measuring 80 yards long by 40 broad, the walls of which are 20 yards in height and 2 in breadth at the top. Along the breadth of this building an alcove and "maḳṣúrah" has been formed, and inside the latter many other fine alcoves have been constructed. The "maḳṣúrah" likewise contains two tombs, placed so as to have their heads in the direction of the "ḳiblah"; and both of these are built up of hewn stone to the height of a man. The one on the right-hand side is the grave of Isaac, the son of Abraham; the other that of his wife (on whom be peace!), and the interval of the tombs is as much as 10 yards. The floor and walls of this cemetery are adorned with valuable tapestry and African mats, which look handsomer even than brocade. I observed a mat there, used as a prayer-carpet, which was said to have been sent by "Amiru-l-juyúsh," a servant of the Sultán of Egypt. They declared that he had purchased this article in Egypt for 30 African *dinárs* of gold; a similar quantity of Rúmí brocade would not be worth that price, and I certainly never saw anything equal to it elsewhere. On going outside the "maḳṣúrah," you find two chambers in the area of the shrine, both facing the "ḳiblah." The one on the right contains the tomb of Abraham the faithful (may the blessings of God be on him!), and is of considerable size. There is a second chamber inside it, round which it is impossible to pass, but it has four wickets, through which pilgrims, while they circle round the outer chamber, can view the tomb as they pass each one in succession. Its

floor and walls are covered with brocaded tapestry and carpets, while the grave is built up as high as three yards of stone, and numerous silver lamps and lustres are suspended all about. The other chamber, which is on the left-hand side of the "kiblah," contains the grave of Sarah, the wife of Abraham (on whom be peace!). Between the two chambers runs a passage, over which stands the gate of either like a porch; and there likewise numbers of lamps and lustres are suspended. After passing both these chambers, you find two more sepulchres, near each other; on the right-hand side the tomb of the prophet Jacob (on whom be peace!), and on the left that of his wife. Beyond these again are some buildings which constituted the stage for resting place of Abraham (may the blessings of God rest on him!). In this shrine, therefore, there are altogether six graves, and outside the inclosure is a slope leading down to the sepulchre of Joseph, the son of Jacob (peace be on them both!), to which they have built a fine dome and a tomb of stone. On the side towards the desert, they have made a vast cemetery between Joseph's dome and the shrine, whither they have brought and buried numbers of people from various places. On the terrace of the "maḡşúrah" that is in the shrine, rooms have been made for guests arriving there, and many charitable endowments, consisting of villages and fruitful crops, have been bestowed on them.

In Jerusalem, as well as here, barley is most generally cultivated, while wheat is scarce, but of olives there is an abundance. To all guests, travellers, and pilgrims, therefore they give bread and olives, and numbers of mills, worked by mules and oxen, are constantly grinding flour, while plenty of female servants are engaged all day in baking bread, and every one of their loaves weighs a *maund*. To every one arriving at that spot they present a loaf of bread, and a measure of lentils cooked with olive-oil, daily, as well as some raisins, and this custom has continued in vogue from the time of Abraham, the friend of the Most Merciful (may peace be with him!), until the present moment. Sometimes it happens that 500 people come there of a day, and enter-

tainment of this description is provided for all of them. It is said that they made no door at all to this cemetery at first, and no one was able to enter it, so that people used to perform their pilgrimage to it outside the porch; but as soon as Mehdí was seated on the throne of Egypt, he ordered a door to be opened into it, which was accordingly done. It was also furnished throughout with several necessaries, such as carpets and hangings, and various additional buildings were made. The gate of the shrine is in the middle of the northern wall, and stands four yards high from the ground. Stone steps have been made on either side, by one of which you ascend, and come down by the other side; and a small iron door has also been fixed there.

From hence I returned to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem set out again on foot in company with a party, who were resolved on a journey to Hejáz. The guide was a very active man and an excellent walker, and they called him Abú Bekr Hamadání. It was the middle of Zi-l-ka'dah, 438, when I left Jerusalem, and in three days I came to a place called Az'ar, where there was a flowing stream and plenty of trees. [1 I then arrived at another halting-place, which they called "Wádiu-l-karí," from whence I reached Mecca in ten days. That year no caravans came from any quarter, and provisions were not procurable. I alighted at the Sakanatu-l-'atťárín, opposite the Gate of the Prophet (on whom be peace!), and on Tuesday I repaired to 'Arafát, where I found all the people in great terror of the Arabs. I stayed a couple of days at Mecca, and returned by way of Syria to Jerusalem, where I arrived on the 5th of Muħarram, 439. I will give no account of Mecca and the pilgrimage in this place, but reserve my description of it till my last visit there.

The Christian infidels have a church at Jerusalem, which they style "Beytu-l-maķámah," and consider extremely holy. Every year a vast multitude came there from Rúm on pilgrimage, and the King of Rúm himself even comes in disguise, so that no one may recognize him. At the period when "the Ruler by command of God was lord of Egypt,"

¹ The passage inclosed in brackets is wanting in the Museum copy.

the Kaisar of Rúm happened to come there, and the Ruler getting intelligence of this, despatched one of his officers with the following instructions. "There is a person seated on the Jámí' at Jerusalem of such and such an aspect and appearance: do you go up to him and say, that the Ruler has sent you to him to let him know that he need not suppose I am ignorant of his doings. Tell him, however, to rest perfectly happy, as I have no evil design against him." This Ruler likewise directed the church to be pillaged, desolated, and destroyed, and for a long time it lay in ruins; but subsequently the Kaisar of Rúm sent ambassadors with many choice gifts and kind attentions, to solicit peace and intercede with him; till at length he consented to its re-building, and the edifice was accordingly renovated. The church in question is a spacious place, so much so that it can hold 20,000 souls, and it is constructed in the most splendid style of coloured marble, adorned with sculpture and painting. The interior is embellished with brocade and pictures, and a vast deal of gold is used in its decorations. Portraits of Jesus, represented as sitting on an ass, are put up in several places, as well as those of the other prophets, such as Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and his children (on all of whom be peace!), and they are anointed with the oil of sindarús. Each picture, moreover, is covered with a large plate of transparent glass of the same size as itself, so that the portrait may not be at all hidden, and this they place there to prevent the dust from settling on the painting, the glasses being daily cleaned by servants. Besides this, there are many other parts constructed with the utmost elegance, insomuch that if a detailed description of them were to be written, it would lead to a great diffuseness. In this church, too, is a chamber of two kinds, made after the fashion of Heaven and Hell, one half of it being descriptive of Paradise and its blessed inmates, the other resembling Hell and its wretched victims.¹] Numerous priests and deacons, too, are stationed in this church, who

¹ See note on preceding page.

read out the Evangelists, offer up prayers, and are engaged day and night in pious devotion.

I next resolved upon setting out from Jerusalem and embarking by sea for Egypt; from whence I could repair again to Mecca; but the wind being contrary, the voyage was found to be impracticable. I consequently proceeded by land, and, after passing Ramlah, reached a city which they called 'Askalán (Ascalon). It is an extensive town on the sea-shore, with a fine market-place and public place of worship. I noticed an old archway that was there, which they said had belonged to a mosque; it was a stone arch of gigantic proportions, insomuch that if any one wished to destroy it, he would have to expend unlimited wealth in order to effect its demolition. Journeying onwards, I came to hosts of towns and hamlets on my way, a full description of which would occupy too much time and space, and will therefore be curtailed. At length I arrived at a place called Tíbiah, which was a seaport for ships, that used to sail from thence to Tínas.

[This translation was made from a MS. in the possession of the Nawab Ziaud-dín Khán of Loháru. Dr. C. Rieu kindly undertook to check and correct the translation by carefully collating the British Museum MS. Addit. 18418 of the same work.—ED.]

ART. VIII.—*The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, of Arragon.*
By the Right Hon. LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

(Continued from Vol. V. p. 337).

ISTORIA DE NUESTRO ANNABI MUHAMAD SALAM
CONTIENE CINCO CANTOS: TRATA DE SU NACIE-
MENTO.

Dame aliento, Rey divino,
Desata mi torpe lengua,
Mi cansada voz aclara
Que el trabajo rompa y venza;
Y pues me diste tu ayuda
Para emprender tal ¹ empresa,
Grande atrevimiento tuve; ²
Que si bien se considera,
Siendo materia tan alta
Mas condena mi torpeza;
Que un entendimiento rudo,
Criado en romper la tierra,
Tras el arado y las mieses,
Desnudo de artes y letras,
¿ Como puede, aunque mas vele,
Tener tan copiosa vena,
Que en un discurso tan largo,
Y en una sustancia mesma
Dexar de dar en vacio
Y dar al trabes sus velas?
Que al fin un hombre cansado
En tierra llana estropezaba:
Quanto y mas andando siempre
Por tantos lagos y breñas,
Por afrentosos desiertos, ³
Caidas, duelos y afrentas,
Diluvios, fuegos, prisiones,
Traiciones, guerras, cautelas:
Que desde el primero padre,
Y aquella infernal caterva,
He andado peregrinando
Por tantas playas desiertas
Y por los oteros ⁴ mas altos

Y mas encumbradas sierras;
Y siempre al hilo volviendo,
Sin interromper las hebras.
Y haber de tratar verdad,
Sin salir un punto de ella,
Siendo de si tan enxuta,
Solitaria, ruda y seca,
Amiga de andar desnuda,
Sin artificios ni arengas,
Que no puede congraciarse;
Sin ordimbre ⁵ verdadera
Que se ha de faltar al verso
En los pasos que se ofrescan,
Por no torcer de la historia
Su tan derecha carrera.
Pero ya es tiempo, Señor,
Que vuestra grandeza inmensa
Acabe tantos diluvios,
Y aclarezca estas tinieblas:
Deshaciendo tantas cismas
De esta gente torpe y ciega,
Y manifieste se al mundo
La luz de nuestro ⁶ profeta,
Que tuvo en aquel cristal,
Antes de formar á Edam,
Secretada tantos años:
Despues descendió á la tierra,
Y aunque en lugares cendrados
E visto tantos tormentos,
En termino de anegarse
Entre aquellas aguas fieras;
Despues en poder de Ybrahim
En tantos peligros puesta,

¹ Esta, P.

³ Destierros, P.

⁴ Actamos, P.

⁶ Vuestro, P.

² De nuevo agora la pido
Para su remate della, P.

⁵ Urdimbre, P.

Ya á las fieras arrojado
 Entre grillos y cadenas,
 Ya desnudo sobre el fuego
 Sobre las llamas espesas,
 Despues en el sacrificio
 A crudo puñal sujeta.
 ¡ Pues en lós de Abdulmunef,
 Mirad en quanta estrecheza,
 En poder de Jaibacanas! ¹
 Ya le matan, ya le apretan,
 Ya puesto en su amado hijo
 Amarrado en duras cuerdas,
 El cuchillo á la garganta ;
 Ya muere, ya le deguellan ;
 Ya en las manos el veneno
 Para que en comiendo muera.
 Ya le matan en el monte,
 Ya no hay quien librarle pueda ;
 Ya pensando estar seguro
 Su propia casa le cercan,
 Y alli acabarle pretenden
 De la manera que puedan ;
 Y otros trabajosos trances
 Que no hay numero ni cuenta.
 Asida á un delgado hilo
 Y á una sortija pequeña,
 Y siempre de todo endemne
 Ha salido su limpieza:
 Por que su verdad divina,
 Aunque adelgaza, no quiebra.
 Y pues hasta aqui no tuvo
 Lugar do estuviese queda,
 Por que si no fué asumida ²
 No es mucho que alli no quepa ;
 Ahora que está en su sello,
 Que en ancho y largo la allena,
 Cortado al modelo suyo
 Bien es que sosego tenga.
 Ya no hay pasar adelante,
 Aqui es donde reverbera,
 Volviendo al cielo sus ojos
 Con mas claror y mas fuerza.

Quedó Emina preñada,
 Viuda, hermosa, moza y tierna,
 Como la luna cumplida
 En su noche catorcena.

Ya tocaba el mes noveno,
 Y aun los dias de su espera,
 Y señal ³ de su preñado
 Ninguno la conociera.
 Llegó la esperada noche
 Del Lunes, clara y serena,
 El doceno de la luna
De rabiulaguel se cuenta.
 Estando Emina sola,
 Por que acertó á estar fuera
 Abdulmutalib de casa,
 Que aquella noche por fuerza
 En el Alcaba velaba,
 Cumpliendo cierta promesa ;
 Dixo Emina : “ yo estando
 Sola en mi casa, sin velas,
 Oy una voz alta y clara,
 Diciendo.” “ Dichosa Emina,
 Aparejate á parir,
 Que ya se ha dado licencia
 Que salga el especialado.
 Y yo como vi estas nuevas,
 Causaronme alteracion,
 Y al punto se me presenta
 Un brevaje el qual bebi,
 Y mi corazon sosiega
 De todo temor y enojo,
 Que nada me daba pena ;
 Y vi mi casa mas clara
 Que si el sol entrara en ella.
 Y mirando hacia una parte,
 Vi venir á mi presencia
 Tres mugeres relumbrantes,
 Claras, mas claras que estrellas,
 Herinosamente arreadas,
 Sobre sus manos derechas
 Preciosos aguamaniles,
 Con almizcadas especias
 En tazas de blanca plata.
 No hay quien semejarlas pueda :
 Toda mi casa clareaban ⁴
 Sus admirables presencias.
 Y quando ansi las vide,
 Imaginé por qué puerta
 Habian podido entrar,
 No estando la mia abierta.
 Dixeronme que bebiese

¹ Saybacanas, P.

³ Senas, P.

² Sumida.

⁴ Ocupaban, P.

De aquel agua, y hallé en ella
 Dulzor mas que dulce miel,
 No hay sabor que le parezca ;
 Y despues que hube bebido,
 Saludóme la primera,
 Diciendome : “habe albricias,
 Y buena ventura tengas
 Con el mas alto nacido
 Que estuvo¹ en cielos ni en tierras,
 Sello de los annabies,
 Caudillo de los Profetas.”
 Y tirandose á una parte,
 Luego la otra se allega
 Diciendo : “grande es tu honrra
 Y tu ventura tan buena,
 Pues sobre todas las gentes
 Te especialó su nobleza
 Y has merecido ser vaso
 De la mas limpia limpieza.
 Y en acabando su dicho,
 Se me allegó la tercera
 Diciendo : “nadi te iguala,
 Pues en tu vientre se encierra
 El amigo del Piadoso,
 Señor de la luz perfecta,
Amahador de las gentes
 El dia de las afrentas,
 Muhamad el escogido,
 Fin de todas las promesas.
 Entre tanto que me hablaban
 Estas alcherias² bellas,
 Vide de almalaques sin cuento
 Toda mi casa cubierta,
 Tendidas sus lindas alas
 Blancas, verdes y bermejas,
 Aves de lindas figuras,
 De colores tan diversas ;
 Los pies verdes, blancas alas,
 Ojos claros, corvas cejas ;
 Todos sus picos bermejos,
 Y con sus arpadas lenguas
 Loaban y *tasbihaban*
 Ad Alláh de mil maneras.
 Vi mas que se me allegaban
 Las mas encumbradas sierras,
 Los mas enpinados montes,
 Y mas ascondidas cuevas ;

Y todo puesto á la igual
 Quanto el mundo en si rodea,
 Y los rios escondidos,
 Quanto las mares encierran,
 Quanto las tierras producer
 De flores, plantas y yerbas,
 Hombres, aves y animales,
 Y todas las bestias fieras,
 Todo lo vi por mis ojos
 En solo mover las³ cejas ;
 Y todos en alabanzas
 Con amor y reverencia
 Me demandaron albricias
 Alegres y placenteras.
 Vi tres hermosos pendones
 Que en el aire se menean,
 En el oriente y poniente,
 Y el tercero y de mas cuenta
 Sobre la casa ensalzada
 Al alto zimborio llega.
 Vide mas en esta noche
 Una esquadra forastera
 De hombres fieros, denegridos,
 Ximios, sus caras muy feas,
 Que en su sangre revolcaban
 Como ponzoñosas bestias,
 Dando grandes apellidos
 Como el que la muerte espera.
 Yo codiciando saber
 Qué fantasmas eran estas,
 Oy una voz que decia :
 “Esto que saber deseas,
 Son de tu hijo enemigos,
 Los que de su luz se arriedran :
 Estos son los adevinos
 De la maldita linéa,
 Los que siempre abominaron
 El trance que ahora esperan ;
 Y como tienen noticia
 De su ruina tan cierta,
 Y que tu escogido hijo
 Tiene de acabar sus setas,
 Están como aqui los miras
 Que de corage revientan.
 Vi huir los axaitanes,
 Afeminadas sus fuerzas,
 Y que los aprisionaban

¹ Hubo, P.² الجارية douzellas.³ Mis, P.

En las mares mas secretas. ¹
 Vide mas en esta noche
 Las puertas del cielo abiertas,
 Y almalaques en los aires
 De sin numero ni cuenta ;
 Y quando me apretó el parto,
 Miré y vi mi casa llena
 De almalaques tasbihando,
 Como suelen las abejas,
 En su solícito oficio
 El subsurar de sus lenguas.
 Llegóme el tiempo asignado,
 La ora dichosa y buena ;
 Quando yo mas descuidada
 Y menos me daba pena,
 Quando yo estaba mirando
 Cosa de tanta grandeza,
 Abajé al suelo mis ojos
 Y vi á mi hijo en la tierra
 Azaxdado ¹ á su Señor,
 Y el indice de su diestra
 Aseñando á la Unidad
 De la soberana alteza : ²
 De cara la santa Alcaba,
 Cuya alquibla nos enseña,
 Y luego una blanca nube
 Descendió con gran presteza,
 Y lo llevó de mi vista, ³
 Que me causó gran tristeza ;
 Y tras esto una voz oía
 De la soberana alteza,
 En tono blando y sabroso
 Diciendo de esta manera :
 “ Rodead á mi escogido
 Todo quanto el sol clarea,
 De la una y otra parte
 Los llanos, montes y sierras, ⁴
 Las mares y sus honduras :
 Que lo conozcan y vean
 Las tierras y sus semillas,
 Por que se albricien entre ellos
 Quél ha de ser el que lave
 El que alimpie y abellezca
 Las tierras de corrupciones,
 De sus hezes y rudezas.”

Y no tardó en su jornada ⁵
 Quanto las cejas se muevan :
 Y quando me lo volvieron
 Embuelto con sotileza
 En paños de blanca lana
 Mas que nieve, y mas clarea ;
 Otro paño sobre aquellos
 De lucida y blanca seda,
 Con tres llaves bien cerradas
 De aljofar y blancas perlas,
 Y una voz que le decía
 “ Ya las llaves se te entregan
 Del señorío de Maca,
 De la ayuda y la defensa,
 Y las de la alta annabua
 Con quanto manda y deveda.”
 Y luego vino otra nube,
 Mas blanca que la primera,
 Y entre ellas voces zumbando
 De tasbihes y leylehas ; ⁶
 Y grande caballeria,
 Grande estruendo en ella suena
 De gente noble y preciada,
 Cortesana y muy discreta ;
 Y tomaron á mi hijo
 Y dijo la voz inmensa :
 “ Enseñalde ⁷ á mi escogido
 Todas las naturalezas
 De los justos annabies ;
 Por que todos le obedezcan,
 Y por que mas le conozcan,
 Dalde la figura de Edam
 Y la condicion de Ybráhim,
 De Noh la gran fortaleza :
 Dalde del justo Ismael
 La suavidad de lengua,
 Las albricias de Yácub,
 Y de Ayub la gran sufrenca ; ⁸
 De Yuçuf la hermosura,
 Su castidad y firmeza :
 Dalde la voz de David,
 Del justo Muse las fuerzas ;
 De Sulaimen el reismo,
 De Siz la gran conocencia ;
 El sosiego de Alhadir,

¹ Postrado.² Esencia, P.³ Lo arrebató de mi vista, P.⁴ Guertas, P.⁵ Tornada, P.⁶ لا اله⁷ Enseñadle, P.⁸ Sufriencia, P.

De Yshák la gran prudencia ;
 De Sálìh el ser ladino,
 Y de Yunez la obidencia ;
 De Daniel el amorio,
 De Yuhai ¹ la entremetencia ;
 La pureza de Yahìye,
 De Ìse su gran limpieza,
 Y todas las propiedades
 Que mas escogidas tengan
 Los profetas y annabies
 Quél es el dechado de ellas.
 Y mando que las naciones,
 Todo genero y especies,
 Condiciones y lenguaje,
 Lo reciban y obedescan.”
 Y quando me lo truxeron ²
 Con una rica livrea,
 En paños de seda verde,
 Y yo estando muy atenta,
 Mirando estas maravillas,
 Admirada y muy contenta,
 Vi venir tres almalaques
 Con gran sosiego y prudencia,
 De cuyas frentes salian
 Mas que el sol lucientes hebras.
 Un aguamanil trahia
 El uno, en muy rica pieza,
 Lleno de almizcadas aguas ;
 El otro una verde perla,
 Quadrada por todas partes,
 Y en cada quadra una piedra :
 Preciosa, blanca, muy rica,
 Cercada de muchas venas.
 Estaba en ella cifrada
 El addunia toda entera,
 Sus mares, tierras y rios,
 Fuentes, montes y riberas,
 Sin que faltase una cosa ³
 Que en ella venir debiera.
 El tercero era Rediguer,⁴
 Segun Abilhasan cuenta,
 Con un cendal en sus manos .
 De blanca y bruñida seda,
 De donde un sello pendia,
 Que la vista turba y leda ;
 Y asi como se allegaron,
 El de la preciosa perla

Se la presentó delante,
 Diciendo : “ escoge do quieras
 ; O Muhamad ! residir ;
 Mira, do mas te acontenta ;
 Presente tienes el mundo,
 Sin que le falte una hebra,
 Tiende la mano y señala.”
 Y vi que en el punto aceña,
 Y en medio del rico esmalte
 Su mano derecha asienta.
 Y dixo el que la tenia :
 “ Escogido has tu vivienda
 En la ensantecida Maca,
 Por alquibla de tu regla.”
 Luego el del aguamanil,
 Con muy grande sutileza,
 Tomó á mi hijo en sus brazos,
 Desnudas sus carnes bellas,
 Y con el agua olorosa
 Lo *taharó* siete vueltas.
 Y aquel que el sello tenia,
 En sus espaldas lo sella
 Solo una vez, y empañólo
 En sus pañales de seda,
 Y cubriólo con sus alas
 Y hácia sus pechos lo allega,
 Besandolo entre sus ojos
 Con mil regaladas señas,
 Diciendo tales palabras,
 Tan dulces y de amor llenas :
 “ Hábe albricias ! ó Muhamad !
 Quen ti se afirma y encierra
 Todo el saber de los sabios
 Todo el peso de la ciencia ;
 El prez de los annabies,
 De los caudillos las fuerzas,
 Y quantos oiran tu nombre
 Temerán tu fortaleza.”
 “ Con esto se despidieron,
 Y dixe ; O ! que estuviera
 Presente aquí Abdulmutálib,
 Que lo que yo veo viera ” !

Dice Alhasan que á la ora
 Que acabó de salir fuera
 Del vientre, vió Almutálib,
 Como en el Alcaba velan

¹ Yuxae, P. Josué.

³ Bizna, P.

² Tornaron, P.

⁴ Redguem, P.

Esta noche él y sus hijos ;
 Vieron la santa cubierta
 Del Alcaba que azaxdaba,
 Haciendo gran reverencia
 A todas las quatro quadras,
 Hasta llegar á la tierra
 Diciendo : “ agora soy limpia
 De todas las insolencias,
 Que siempre me han ocupado
 Pecados é inobediencias ;
 Ya se ha cumplido la rahma ¹
 Que estaba sobre mis cuestras,
 Pues ha nacido Muhamad,
 Y se ha cumplido su ausencia.”
 Quando vido Abdulmutálib
 Estas admirables señas, ²
 Lo que la casa hacia,
 Sus paredes y cubiertas,
 Y los ydolos romperse
 Todos en menudas piezas ;
 Azaxdóse en aquel punto,
 Viendo señales tan ciertas ;
 Y estaba entre si confuso,
 No sabe si duerme ó vela,
 Alimpiabase los ojos,
 Pensando que acaso sueña.
 Dijo : “ yo, como espantado,
 Salime á mirar las vegas,
 Y vi las torres de *Azaf* ³
 Que en el aire se menean,
 Y las torres de *Almarguat*,
 Y todos que me vozean :
 ¡ O caudillo de Curax !
 ¿ De que te espantas y alteras,
 Que todo este enalzamiento
 Se hace por la presencia
 De tu nieto el deseado ?
 Y luego con grande priesa
 Abdulmutálib camina
 A donde estaba su nuera,
 Y vió que estaba su casa
 Llena de tantas lumbreras,
 Todo el tejado cubierto
 De aves blancas y bermejas,
 Y de otros varios colores
 Quel nacimiento celebran.
 Pues, en entrando en la casa

Llegó á visitar á Emina,
 Hallóla tan sin pasion,
 Tan disimulada y leda,
 Que en su rostro se juzgaba
 Como si nunca pariera,
 Y viendola de tal suerte
 Dixole : “ que haces ? y ella
 Le respondió “ soy parida
 De un hijo de grandes señas.”
 Pues, á donde está mi nieto ?
 Muestramelo que lo vea.
 Dixo Emina : “ no puedo,
 No hay lugar que tú lo veas,
 Por que me ha sido mandado
 Y lo he de cumplir por fuerza.”
 Enojóse Abdulmutálib,
 Por que su nieto le niega,
 Y tirando de su espada,
 Colerico y sin paciencia,
 Diciendo : ⁴ “ darmelo tienes
 O’ me has de dar la cabeza.”
 Como le vió tan ayrado,
 Luego la parte le muestra
 A donde estaba su hijo.
 “ Pues asi quieres que sea,
 Dixo Emina, “ elo alli
 En esa casa frontera,
 Envuelto en un paño blanco,
 Allá te aben como puedas.”
 Fué Abdulmutálib y al tiempo
 Que quiso entrar por la puerta,
 Topó con un hombre armado,
 Desemejado en grandeza,
 Con una espada desnuda
 Que tremolaron sus venas,
 Sus lados y sus junturas,
 Y con voz horrible y fiera
 Le dijo : “ no pues ⁵ entrar,
 Que no podrás, aunque quieras,
 Visitar á tu buen nieto :
 Vuelve atras, y ten paciencia,”
 “ Pues ¿ que razon hay en esto
 Para que me lo defiendas ?
 Siendo yo su aguelo y padre,
 Que otro padre no le queda.
 ¿ Yo lo tengo de criar,
 Que á mi me quedó encomienda,

¹ El arrahma, P. gracia.

⁴ Le dixo, P.

² Nuevas, P.

⁶ Dó quies, P.

³ Açafe, P.

Y no lo tengo de ver?
 Dime ¿ por que me lo vedas? ”
 Dixo, “ por que estos tres días
 Manda el Señor que deciendan
 Todos quantos almalaques
 Ha criado su nobleza
 En las celestiales Cortes,
 Y lleguen con obidencia
 A visitar á Muhamad,
 Y quando cumplidas sean
 Las visitas de los cielos
 Que al dicho termino llegan,
 Lo verán los de este suelo,
 Sin que nadi los detenga.”
 Asi templo Abdulmutálib
 Aquella colera ciega,
 Y pasados los tres días
 De las visitas angelicas,
 Cesaron los almalaques,
 Y comenzaron las tierras
 Con sus cristalinas aguas,
 Haciendo sus reverencias;
 Los montes se le humillaban,
 Y todas las arboledas,
 Y en altas voces decian:
 “ Bienaventurada sea
 La muger que te criare,
 Y tal titulo meresca.”
 Usaban en aquel tiempo
 Las mugeres de alta cuenta
 El criar sus propios hijos
 Tener a grande baxeza,
 Y asi buscaban nodrizas
 En la ciudad y ¹ defuera,
 Y tambien estos nodricentes
 Buscaban las propias ² dueñas.

Pues sobre este buen ³ nacido
 Hubo una grande contienda,
 Por quien lo habia de criar
 Y darle leche primera;
 Por que las nubes pretenden
 Que abe ⁴ mas derecho en ellas
 Para criar á Muhamad
 Que quantos esto pretendan,
 Pareciendoles muy justo
 En las razones que allegan,
 Decian: “ Nos lo criaremos,

Si el Señor nos da licencia,
 Por que andamos en los aires
 Donde con mayor limpieza
 Lo tendremos, qual merece,
 Sin que ninguno ⁵ le empeça,
 Y nadi podrá llegarse
 A darle enojo, ni pena.
 Nos conocemos las frutas
 Dulces, y comerá dellas,
 Y le trairemos el agua
 De las mas preciosas venas,
 De las mares del *alaxe*
 Para que de aquellas beba.”
 Decian los almalaques:
 “ Nosotros somos mas cerca
 Para criar á Muhamad,
 Por que la suma grandeza
 Nos crió para guardalle
 Del daño que hacer le quieran.”
 Las aves lo pretendian,
 Diciendo, “ si nos lo dejan
 Nosotros lo criaremos
 Con mucho cuidado y veras,
 Que le diremos cantares
 Con nuestras arpadas lenguas,
 Y encima de nuestras alas
 Lo llevaremos do quiera,
 Por los jardines mas frescos
 Y mas deleitosas huertas.

Estando en este debate,
 Que cada qual de estos piensa
 Tener derecho en criarle,
 Segun que lo manifiestan,
 Una voz los atajaba
 Que desde los cielos suena,
 Diciendo: “ nadi se acuete,
 Que ya el Señor adereza
 Al ama que ha de criarlo,
 Hija de los hijos de Edam.
 Halima tiene por nombre,
 Que ha dias que su estrella
 Le concedió tanta honrra,
 Tanto provecho y riqueza.”
 En un lugar junto á Maca,
 A poco mas de dos leguas,
 Habitaba esta Halima,
 Blanca, limpia y muy honesta:

¹ O', P.² Pobres, P.³ Bien, P.⁴ Hay ó habia.⁵ Suciedad, P.

A' esta le fué entregado
 Muhamad, que es cosa cierta
 Que quando el Señor lo hizo,
 Lo merecieron sus prendas ;
 Y tomandolo en sus brazos
 Al pecho diestro lo allega,
 El qual tomó muy de grado.
 Mas quando el otro le prueba,
 Jamas lo quiso tomar,
 Por mas que le hicieron fuerza.
 Dijo Alambez : " quizo Alláh
 Que fuese enseñanza nuestra,
 Y nos mostrase el derecho
 De su regla verdadera,
 Que con el proximo usemos
 De aquella manera mesma,
 Que deseamos que haga
 En lo que a nos pertenezca ;
 Y nadi la mano alargue,
 Ni la codicia se mueva
 A' mas del derecho suyo,
 "Sin pretender cosa agena."
 Tenía Halima un hijo,
 De quien su sustento era
 El siniestro manantio,
 Y ansi el annabi lo deja,
 Por no quitarle á su hermano
 La leché que lo sustenta.
 Ni la gustó, ni la quiso
 Mas de la parte derecha.
 ¡ O' que doctrina tan justa
 Si nos valiesemos de ella !
 Que nunca lo ageno es nuestro,
 Por ningun cabo que venga.
 Quando fué el seteno dia
 De su dichosa nacia,ia,
 Hizo el buen Abdulmutálib
 Gran combite y grande fiesta
 A' todos quantos en Maca
 Quisieron ser á su mesa,
 En lo qual comieron carnes,
 Frutas de muchas maneras.¹
 Duró este gran combite
 En esta forma y manera
 Siete dias sin distancia,
 Que á mas de los de la tierra,
 Peregrinos y pasantes

¹ Y otras viandas muy buenas
 Guisadas de todas suertes, P.

Hubo huespedes sin cuenta.
 Hasta las aves gustaron
 Estas fadas y estas fiestas,²
 Que como á todos les toca,
 Asi todos lo celebran.
 Ansi lo crió y lo tuvo
 En Bani Saad do era
 El lugar de esta Halima,
 Dandole muy buena adreza,
 Hasta que ya se estendia,³
 Y por la casa y por fuera
 Andaba, aunque no jugaba,
 Ni aun á los juegos se allega.
 Dixole un dia a su ama,
 Con grande honor y verguenza :
 ¡ O' madre ! dime, si quieres,
 ¡ A' donde estan que no suenan
 Tus hijos, y mis hermanos,
 Que solamente á la cena
 Los veo que están en casa ?
 Dime por donde navegan ?
 " Ya habib,⁴ dijo Halima,
 Van á guardar las ovejas,
 Y estan allá todo el dia."
 Dijo " pues dame licencia
 Para que vaya con ellos,
 Y en el monte me entretenga "
 Dixo Halima " ymbiélo,
 Por complacer su querella;
 Alcoholéle su curpo,
 Y echéle una linchabera
 A' su cuello de Aliaman,
 Y dile provision buena,
 Y un cayado muy polido,
 Y pusélo en encomienda
 De mis hijos, y ansi fueron
 Muchos dias, de manera
 Que á la mañana salian
 Y á la tarde daban vuelta ;
 Hasta que un dia yo, estando
 Descuidada de tal nueva,
 Vi venir mi hijo Damar
 Corriendo á muy grande priesa
 En sudor y polvo envuelto,
 Llorando con grande priesa,⁵
 Gritando á voces, " ó madre !
 Ven presto, no te detengas,

² Y las fieras, P.

³ Entendia, P.

⁴ Querido.

⁵ Con rabia inmensa, P

A socorrer á mi hermano
 Muhamad, que si lo vieras,
 Como nosotros lo vimos,
 Alli á donde agora queda,
 Abiertos todos sus pechos,
 Y su corazon defuera ;
 Tres hombres lo arrebataron,
 Muy disformes en grandeza,
 Donde estabamos jugando
 Y á la cumbre de la sierra
 Lo subieron, donde han hecho
 Una tan grande crueza.
 Ven aprisa que por presto
 Que vamos, es cosa cierta
 Que ya lo hallaremos muerto,
 Segun he visto las señas.”
 Ansi fué Halima ansiosa,
 Y su marido con ella,
 Corriendo, los ojos turbados,
 Sin ver do los pies asientan,
 Y en llegando sobre el monte
 A do su hijo los lleva,
 Vieron sentado á Muhamad,
 Con cara alegre y serena,
 Sus ojos mirando al cielo,
 Que sus cejas no menea ;
 Y ansi como á él llegaron,
 Le abrazan, besan y tientan
 La herida, preguntando
 Qué siente ó que le dá pena.
 Dixo Muhamad ; “o madre !
 Sosiega, no te entristezcas,
 Que yo te diré la ystoria,
 Que gustaras de saberla.”

“Has de saber que yo, estando
 Jugando con mis hermanos,
 Con grandisimo contento,
 Apacentando el ganado,
 Quando vinieron á mi
 Tres hombres apresurados
 Lindos, hermosos y bellos,
 Grandes y muy bien tallados,
 Blancas y olorosas ropas
 Con que venian arreados,
 Que jamas mis ojos vieron
 Semblantes tan acendrados.
 El uno con gran sosiego
 Traia en su diestra mano
 Un aguamanil de plata,

El otro un bacin preciado
 De perla verde y muy rica,
 Y en vuelo me arrebataron
 Hasta subir-me do estoy,
 Aqui en la tierra me echaron,
 Reposado y blandamente,
 Sin hacerme ningun daño.
 Me desnudaron y abrieron
 Todo el pecho de alto abajo,
 Por dó sacaron mi vientre,
 Sin quedar nada encerrado.
 Y yo que me los miraba,
 Sin ningun temor ni espanto,
 Vi que mi vientre lavaban
 Con el agua que bajaron,
 Y taharado y muy limpio
 A su lugar lo tornaron.
 Todo esto hizo el primero ;
 Los otros quedos mirando,
 Y luego llegó el segundo
 Dixo : “pues has acabado
 Riedrate, dejame hacer,
 Lo que el Señor me ha mandado,
 Y acercandose á mi pecho
 Alargó y puso su mano,
 Y sacó mi corazon,
 De donde estaba sentado,
 Y partiendolo por medio,
 Vi que lo estaba limpiando,
 Y que sacó del tres gotas
 Negras, de color tiznado,
 Emvueltas en sangre negra ;
 Y en habiendolas quitado
 “Estas son, dice;ye amigo !
 La parte que te ha tocado
 Departe del axaitan,
 Raiz del primer rescalo.”
 Y volviendolo á juntar,
 Lo envolvió en un velo blanco,
 Y lo volvió a su lugar
 De donde lo hubo sacado.
 A esto volvió el primero
 Con un sello, y me ha sellado
 Sobre mis miembros y venas,
 Y despues que hubo acabado
 Vino el tercero y les dijo :
 “Pues habeis ya negociado
 Vosotros, dejadme hacer
 Aquello que esta á mi cargo,”
 Y amahando la herida

Por el uno y otro lado,
 La cerró muy sutilmente,
 Sin quedar señal ni rastro ;
 Y despues dijo á los otros :
 "Pesemoslo," y me pesaron
 Con diez de los de mi alumna ¹
 Y fué su peso liviano,
 Por que pesé yo mas que ellos,
 Y en la balanza asentaron
 Cien personas de los míos,
 Y nunca mi pezo alzaron.
 Despues llegaron a mil,
 Y siempre quedaron faltos ;
 Dixo el que me pesó :
 "No lo peseis mas, dexaldo
 Que aunque echeis en la balanza
 De su peso todos quantos
 De su alumna descendieren,
 Y aun de los demas estados,

No ygualaran a su peso."
 Y asiendome de la mano,
 Me probaron ad andar,
 Dexandome sano y salvo ;
 Y todos tres acudieron
 Con grande amor y regalo,
 Y besanme entre mis ojos,
 Y mi persona amaharon.
 Despidieronse de mi,
 Y vi que al cielo volaron,
 Yo los vide entrar por él
 Desde aqui do estoy sentado,
 Y esto ha sido, amada madre,
 Lo que sobre mi ha pasado."
 De alli lo llevó Halima,
 Y abrazandolo y besandolo.
 Se lo traen á su casa ²
 Contentos y descansados.

CANTO SEGUNDO DE LA DECLARACION DEL HONRRADO
 ALCORAN Y LAS PROPIEDADES DE NUESTRO
 ANNABI MUHAMAD SALAM.

Despues que su inocencia
 Y al principio de sus años
 Quedó nuestro annabi libre
 De los lazos del pecado
 Siendo ³ mas claro y mas limpio
 Que el sol quando está mas claro
 Que asi combino que fuese
 Para lo que fue inviado :
 Y luego su ama Halima
 Puso por obra llevarlo
 Á su madre y á su aguelo
 Por que se lo aconsejaron
 Viendo quen Bany saad
 Ya le andaban procurando
 La muerte aquellos traidores
 Y emvejecidos contrarios.
 Ansi lo llevó y le dieron
 Dones de precio muy alto,
 Y mas de que se aumentaron
 Sus bienes casa y familia,
 Multiplicó sus ganados
 Producian sus exidos
 Y florecian sus campos.

Al fin el bien de este mundo
 Todo lo tuvo á su mano,
 Y el del otro pues que tuvo
 Tal hijo por advogado.
 Murió Emina su madre
 Siendo de edad de seis años,
 Y lo recojio su aguelo
 Hasta los ocho contados
 Que se pasó de este mundo,
 Dejandolo encomendado
 Á su buen hijó Abitalib,
 De sus hijos mas honrrado.
 Y dixole amado hijo,
 Mira que queda á tu cargo
 Encomendado Muhamad,
 Hijo de tu propio hermano
 Que Alláh le quitó su padre
 Para que nos lo seamos,
 Y mucho mas que hijo nuestro
 Debemos acariciarlo
 Recibelo con amor
 Con paz honrra y amaho
 Que no será mas la suya ⁴

¹ Secta.

³ Quedando, P.

² Se lo traxo hacia su casa.

⁴ Tuya, P.

De lo que querras honrrarlo ;
 Tratalo con reverencia
 Con grande honor y recato
 Y sobre todos tus hijos
 Será siempre adelantado.
 Mira que quando te llame
 Respondas á su llamado
 No como su edad lo pide
 Sino como hombre anciano ;
 No te asientes á la mesa
 A solas ni acompañado
 Sin que primero Muhamad
 En ella fuese sentado ;
 Ni gustes de las viandas
 De ningun modo guisadas
 Sin que primero las guste
 Y en ellas ponga la mano.
 Y si lo haras ansi
 Permanecerán tus algos
 Y nunca verás tu arrizque
 Por ningun cabo menguado.
 O' hijo si acaso vives
 Hasta el tiempo deseado
 Que decienda su annabua
 Y el con ella sea embiado,
 Verás quantas maravillas
 Quantas gracias y milagros
 Que todos sus regidores¹
 Serán por el alumbrados.
 Servirle-has de compañero
 Si acaso tu feliz hado

Te concede que lo veas
 Su santa ley enseñando ;
 Ayudale en tus² razones
 Y obedece su mandado
 Y defiende sus preceptos
 Con las armas en la mano.”
 Asi se encargo Abitalib
 De cumplir lo encomendado
 Y aun sobrepuso su oferta
 Las obras de sus regalos.

³ (Y quando ya el annabi
 Llego á los veynte cinco años,
 Que ya la barba adornaba
 Aquel semblante acendrado,
 Mancebo de lindo talle
 Bien hecho y proporcionado,
 No muy grande de estatura,
 Pero de estado a mediado,
 Color natural perfecto
 De dos extremos cortado ;
 El cabello limpio onesto
 Mas moreno que castaño,
 Los ojos tiernos y alegres
 Cuya vista era descanso :
 Y en todo fue de los hombres
 Fino y natural dechado.
 Y sintiendose Abitalib
 Ya viexo y algo cansado
 Le llamó un dia y le dixó
 Lo que dira el nuevo canto.

CANTO TERCERO.

“ Sobrino mi mas amado
 Que jamas nadi lo ha sido
 De su padre y respectado,
 Onrrado y obedecido,
 Ya sabes que por la muerte
 De tu aguelo y padre mio
 Quedaste a mi encomendado,
 Y en estremo encarecido
 E cumplido su alguacia
 Quanto posible me ha sido

Y te he criado en mi casa
 Con mis hijos y tus primos.
 Yo soy viexo como ves
 Algo cansado y rendido,
 Que la carga de los años
 Pide descargo y refugio,
 Y antes que descargue y cumpla
 Con su deudo prometido
 Querria de mi acomanda
 Dar lo entero y muy cumplido.

¹ Seguidores, P.³ Estas lineas estan sacadas del MS. de Paris y han sido substituidas a otras ocho del MS. de Londres que son como siguen.

Y quando ya tuvo edad
 Puso por obra casarlo
 Con Hadicha viuda hermosa,
 Rica noble y de alto estado,

² Sus, P.

De su propia genealogia,
 De linaje especialado ;
 A la qual sirvio primero
 Algun tiempo de criado.

Deseo verte casado
 Como te veo nodrido
 Para que mi alma goce
 De terrenal parayso.
 Y tiene me acobardado
 El no poder conseguirlo
 Segun tu merecimiento,
 Por faltar me fuerça y brio.
 Han se menguado mis algos,
 Que como son del rocio
 De la tierra se marchitan
 Con el calor de su estio.
 Tengo pensado una traça
 De muy grande beneficio
 Y por no saber tu gusto
 Temo y dexo de decirlo.”
 Dixo Mohamad: “no temas
 Que me afrontas con tu dicho,
 Por que mi gusto se mide
 Con el nivel de tus hijos.”
 Dixo: “pues con tu licencia
 Dire mi traça y designio,
 Quedando el parecer tuyo
 Siempre al mio preferido.
 Ya conoces de Adicha
 El caudal tan grande y rico,
 Su facultad y potencia
 De los algos adquisitos;
 Es muy principal señora
 De nuestro linage y tribu
 Hija del buen Huguaylad¹
 Deudo nuestro y muy amigo;
 Tiene mozos mercaderes
 Y carece del su ministro
 Que le gobierne su hacienda,
 Por lo qual me ha parecido
 Si te placiese Mohamad,
 Ocupar tal exercicio,
 En poco tiempo podrias
 Con lo que te he departido
 Casar te segun tu estado,
 Si vido dello Allah servido.”
 “Placeme, dixo Mohamad,
 Ordenalo a tu albedrio,
 Dispone de mi persona.”
 Y asi por no ser prolijo
 Digo que surtio en efecto

Y fue en tal gracia admitido
 Que luego le dio aquel cargo
 Que en su casa habia tenido
 Mayçara² su gran factor.
 Y en aquel officio mismo
 En conformidad andaban
 Estos onrrados ministros.
 Dixo a Mayçara, Addicha;
 “Mohamad es deudo mio
 Y como a tal le respecta,
 Le obedece y sea tenido,
 No dispongas cosa alguna
 De mi hacienda casa y sitios
 Sin su consejo y aplaço
 Como de ti lo confio.”
 Asi Mayçara contento
 Acepto lo sobredicho
 Que ya el amor de Mohamad
 Hiço en él asiento y nido.
 Fueron los dos un viage,
 Y andando por su camino
 Hacia las tierras de Haxem
 O á Damasco fertil sitio,
 Hubieron de hacer su via
 Por una hermita o solicio
 Donde servia a su Dios
 Un rabidante algaribo,
 Que Yuheyar se llamaba
 Hombre sancto y sabio antiguo,
 Esperimentado en la sciencia,
 Discreto y muy prebenido.
 El qual de las profecias
 Tenia bastante juicio,
 De los hechos de Mohamad,
 De su gracia y sanctos ritos.
 Y estando en su açumua³
 En su servicio contino,
 Vio las requas que venian,
 Y mirando atento vio
 Una nube y blanca seña
 Que por misterio divino
 Les venia haciendo seña
 Y darles favor y abrigo.
 Dixo: sin duda alli viene
 El que en la ley prometio
 Está de tantos profectas
 Criado antes de abenicio.

¹ Khuweylid.² ميسرة³ الصومعة claustro.

Esta señal asigura
 Aquello que está ante dicho,
 Que solo sobre el vendria
 Este estandarte bendito.
 Pues como llego la requa,
 Baxo depresto al camino
 Y con muy grandes cariçias
 Les rogo fuesen servidos
 De recibir su ospedage
 Por que tenia prevenido
 La comida y adreçada,
 Lo qual le fue concedido.
 Dando de mano a las requas
 Fueron, y el buen guesped hiço
 A un criado que angostase
 La puerta con tal aviso
 Que no pudiesen entrar
 Dos juntos, sino sencillos.
 Y el se puso en su açumua.
 Entraron como está dicho
 Todos, y vio que la nube
 Estaba alla en el egido,
 Donde Mohamad quedaba
 Con la requa, que no quiso
 Yr a conbites jamas
 Por no ser dellos amigo.
 Mando Yuheyar llamarle
 Y el en alerta metido
 Vio que marchando Mohamad,
 Marcho la nube consigo.
 Certeficose a su gusto
 Y descendio á recibirlo,
 Virtiendo lagrimas vivas
 De contento enternecido;
 Asiendole de la mano,
 Con habla publica dixo:
 “Hago omenaxe y confieso
 Haxahedo¹ afirmo y digo
 Que no hay señor sino Allah,
 Unico solo infinito,
 Y que tu eres su annabi,
 Su mensagero escogido,
 Su profecta sancto y bueno,
 Su siervo y su mas amigo
 Asi como lo prefiere
 En la tahorat² claro y limpio

Por la boca de Moysen,
 Y afirmado y referido
 Por la del sancto almacido
 Y su evangelio sanctisimo.
 Y mirando a la compañia,
 Les dixo: “decid amigos,
 Qual de vosotros es deudo
 Deste mancebo:” y fue dicho
 Que Mayçara, y el entonces
 Le dixo, “dexa conmigo
 Este joven, no le lleves
 Donde estan sus enemigos
 Que le mataran sin duda.
 O vuelvelo do ha salido.”
 Y dixo, “no puedo hacerlo,
 Que los dos somos ministros
 De Addicha mi señora,
 Y llevo mandado y dicho
 Que de sus algos disponga
 A su consejo y juycio.”
 Dixo, “pues si eso es ansi
 Departe de Dios te digo
 Que le acompaños y guardes
 En el poblado y camino,
 Acostar-le has a tu lado,
 Duermase y coma contigo
 No le dexes de tu vista.
 Y tendras por advertido
 Que ha de ser aun este joven
 Profecta y sancto caudillo,
 Amado de su Señor
 Sobre quantos han venido.
 Con el Alchoram perfecto,
 Sello de lo descendido,
 Con el qual seran domados
 Y a su obediencia traydo
 Gente, angeles y alchines.³
 Sin ser de nadi ofendidor,
 Hara temblar las comarcas
 De todos sus enemigos,
 Y do llegara su nombre
 Sera guardado y tenido.
 Y le casara el Señor
 Segun que lo tiene escripto
 Con la muger mas honrada
 Que tiene el umano siglo,

¹ اَشْهَد atestiguo.

² تَوْرَات , la ley de Moyses.

³ جِنّ espritus.

De su propia casa y sangre
 Noble y de estado muy rico.”
 Dixole Mayçara entonces :
 “ No hay en todos los nacidos
 Muger mas honrada y noble
 Con todos los requisitos
 Que mi señora Addicha,
 A quien al presente sirvo,
 Esta es de su propia casta,
 De su linage escogido,
 Riquisima y facultada,
 Hermosa de talle y brio.
 De virtudes es dechado
 Todo y mucho mas que digo ;
 Mas buena sera su suerte
 Si le toma por marido.”
 Dixo el honrado hermitaño :
 “ Sobre quantas han nacido.”
 Con esto se despidieron,
 Y apercibio-le y pervino
 Que guardase aquel secreto
 Hasta su tiempo debido.
 Llegaron pues en Haxem
 Siendo el tiempo muy propicio
 Librando sus mercancías
 Cargando de nuevos lios.
 Dixo Mayçara a Mohamad :
 “ Yo he andado en este officio
 En casa de mi señora
 Bien quarenta años cumplidos,
 Y jamas ningun viaje
 Lo que en este tengo visto,
 De aumento de gracia y bien :
 Que parece es increydo
 Y toda nuestra ganancia
 Todo este arrisque adquerido
 Es de tu parte o Mohamad,
 A ti debo atribuyrlo,
 A ti despues del Señor
 Se debe la palma amigo,
 Y querria no cayese
 Tanta merced en vacio,
 Sino que te fuese grato
 Pues lo tienes merecido,
 Toma un camello ligero,
 Y alarga el paso corrido
 A demandar las albricias
 De nuestro bien sucedido,
 A Addicha mi señora,
 De cuya gratitud fio

Satisfara tu trabaxo,
 Que nada dexa en olbido.”
 Asi lo dixo y Mohamad
 Al tiempo que el sol marchito
 Esconde sus claros rayos
 Dexando el cielo vacio
 Descubrio los miradores
 Do lleva el senuelo y tino
 Y do la noble señora
 Hace centinela y viso.
 Solia muy de ordinario
 Tener Addicha consigo
 Muchas mugeres honradas,
 A quien de costa y vestido
 Sustentara y adornaba,
 Y con estas de continuo
 Puesta una cortina o paño
 En la ventana tendido
 Estaba todas las tardes,
 Mirando si en el camino
 Verian venir las reguas
 Que eran de Macca el auxilio.
 Estaban aquella tarde
 En esta forma que digo,
 Al tiempo que el aguardado
 Mas que la luz en el limbo
 Descendio del monte al valle
 Aquel perfecto narciso,
 Que quando el sumo Hacedor
 Quiere cumplir su Juycio
 Da la traça do no averta
 Ningun himagenativo.
 Asomo el gallardo joven
 Con aquel ser cristalino,
 Que le influyo su Hacedor
 Para hecho tan subido.
 Venia en su compañía
 Aquel serafin bendito,
 Que sobre quatro verdugos
 De resplandor diamantino,
 Trahia una alcoba hecha
 De color bermexo fino
 Taxonada de aljofar y oro
 Baxada del cielo inpiro
 A modo de palio triunfo
 Sobre su cuerpo pulido,
 Dos angeles a sus lados
 En trage humano vestidos
 A modo de dos soldados
 Del militar exercicio.

En este trage venia,
 Quando Addicha le vido,
 Que como absorta y turbada
 Baxo luego a recibirlo.
 Apeose y dio açalem
 Sobre ella y de su camino
 Le dio cuenta por entero,
 Como Mayçara le dixo.
 Ella tan agradecida
 Quanto el coraçon rendido
 A gualardonar la suerte
 De tan dichoso servicio,
 Le dixo "vuelve Mohamad
 Adonde Mayçara has dicho
 Que queda, y los dos mañana
 Entrareys juntos y unidos,
 Con la requa y la compañia
 Que a esta jornada haveys ido."
 Assi fue hecho y entraron,
 Y Mayçara apercebido
 Relató muy largamente
 El singular beneficio
 Que de Mohamad tenia;
 Y como le era debido
 Gualardon muy singular,
 Extraordinario y crecido;
 Y á mas desto muy de espacio
 Relató lo que eys oydo
 Del cuento de Yuheyar
 Muy a lo largo y tendido,
 Asi lo de la Annabua,
 Como dél ser su marido.
 De lo qual ella admirada
 En pago del buen aviso
 Le dio quatrocientas doblas
 De estrenas sin sus devidos:
 Y a Mohamad dixo aparte
 Ves con Mayçara al exido
 Donde apascientas mis vacas
 Y de todas escogidas
 Podras sacar tres terneros
 Y llevarlos a tu tio;
 Y sobre el sueldo asignado
 Otro camello te asigno.
 Dixole mas preguntando,
 Con termino entretenido
 Que haras con los tres terneros

Despues de haber los traydo,
 En que podras emplearlos?
 Dixo: "mi ami¹ me ha dicho
 Que quiere casar me aora
 Con la hija de un mi tio,
 Y el uno de los becerros
 El mexor y mas lucido
 Le dare por acidaque,
 El otro sera espendido
 En la boda y convidados,
 Y el otro para principio
 Del gasto, que estoy muy corto,
 Y Allah es el sobrado y rico."
 Dixole Addicha entonces:
 "Cierto que has destreydo
 Los terneros cuerdamente
 Y en sus lugares devidos;
 Y pues gustas de casarte
 Siguiendo ese mismo hilo
 Yo quiero amigo que seas
 Casado como tu has dicho
 Por mi mano, y escusarte
 Siendo todo el gasto mio.
 Y aliviarte de acidaque
 De las joyas y atabios.
 Todo quiero caulevarlo,
 Y darte asiento cumplido
 Con hija de tu linage
 Si a ti te acontenta digo,
 Hermosa graciosa y rica,
 Y a mas desto certifico
 Que te ama en sumo grado,
 Con coraçon casto y limpio."
 "¿Quien es, respondio Mohamad,
 De las hijas de mis tios
 La que das en su derecho
 Tantas partes que mi admiro."
 "Yo soy replico Addicha
 La que te suplico y pido
 Que me admitas por muger
 Si lo tengo merecido."
 Dice que abaxo Mohamad
 Aquel semblante bendito,
 De la amorosa demanda
 Afrentado y muy corrido,
 Puso los oxos en tierra
 Y asi respondiendo dixo.

¹ عم tío paterno.

“Yo soy pobre como sabes
 Mi caudal corto y mezquino
 Tu riquísima y potente :
 Y aunque en linage medidos
 Las sangres en higual grado,
 En los algos desdecimos.”
 “El algo que es perdurable
 Ese es el bueno y el rico.
 El qual en ti ye Mohamad
 Tengo tanteado y visto,”
 Dixo Addicha: “no dudes,
 Mi dicho habla a tu tío
 Para que luego mañana
 Siendo dello Allah servido
 Con diez de los de Curag
 De nuestros deudos y amigos
 Que os vengays en compañía,
 Donde sera concluydo
 Todo a tu gusto y contento.”
 Y asi Mohamad lo hizo
 Como lo ordeno Addicha,
 Y tuvo efecto cumplido.
 Caso con esta señora
 En quien tubo quatro hijos ¹
 Y tres hijas, y murieron
 Todos en tiempo florido.
 Solo Fatima la noble
 De las mugeres caudillo,
 La que caso con Ali
 Que fue de Mohamad primo ;
 Y de sus otras mugeres
 Tuvo solamente un hijo
 En Marien hija de Omar,
 Que tuvo por apellido
 Hibrahim, tambien murio
 En tierna edad, que ya quiso
 Allah que no los tuviese,
 Solo para el parayso

Y para contradecir
 Y esmentir aquel maldito
 De Abuchahil que decia
² Que era abetar conocido :
 Y por que pues era solo
 En la gracia y escogido,
 Fuese solo a todas manos
 Esentario y algaribo).³

Pues quando Alláh fué placiente
 Y llegó al tiempo asignado
 Quel alcoran descendiese
 Y sus mandamientos santos ;
 Andando un dia Muhamad
 Por el monte tronizando
 De Ohud junto de Maca,
 Descuidado de tal caso
 Le aparecio el fiel Chebril,
 Y saludóle en llegando,
 Y luego quando lo vido
 Vino á espantarse algun tanto
 Y allegolo hasta sus pechos
 El angel, y asi apretado
 Amahole su persona
 Con sus manos de alto abajo,
 Diciendo : no tengas miedo
 O’ Muhamad ó mi amado
 Que tu scrás mensajero
 Del Señor que te ha criado,
 Lé sin temor ninguno
 Estas cartas que te traigo
 De parte del alto Rey,
 En donde vienen cifrados
 Todos quantos alquitebes
 Fueron del cielo baxados,
 Para que los amonestes
 A’ todos en igual grado,
 Sin que de tu amonestanza

¹ Variante segun el MS. de Londres.

En esta tuvo ocho hijos
 Y hijas todos criados,
 Y se murieron infantes
 Que a mancebos no llegaron.
 Sola Fatima quedo
 De las mugeres el lauro,
 La que casó con Ali
 De su padre primo hermano,
 Y de las otras que tuvo
 Solo un hijo fué engendrado

En Mariem hija de Omar,
 A’ quien por nombre llamaron
 Ybrahim, tambien murio
 Mancebo tierno y lozano.
 Al fin aunque tuvo hijos
 Gozólos muy pocos años,
 Que ya el Señor fué servido
 Fuese sin hijos ni hermanos,
 Pues en la gracia fué solo
 Fuese solo á todas manos

² Es probable que aquí falte algo (que no podia tenellos), y que abetar, de بطر, insolente, mala lengua, se refiere á Abu Chahil.

³ Aquí acaba lo del MS. de Paris.

Ninguno quede esortado¹
 Dirás que este *alcalam*²
 Del juro del soberano,
 Y que no hay ninguna duda
 En sus dichos declarados,
 Guia para los creyentes
 Que quieren seguir su bando,
 Aquellos que sus preceptos
 Serán temientes y llanos.
 “O Chebril,³ dixó Muhamad,
 Yo obedezco tu mandado,
 Mas que puedo ser yo solo
 Contra un destino tan largo,
 Tan enduredo y tan fiero,
 Y un destierro tan pesado;
 Que á mas de ser ydolatras
 Son tan fuertes y obstinados,
 Y tan remotos que todos
 Se anteponen á lo malo.”
 Replicole el fiel Chebril:
 “No te de ningun cuidado
 Que despues de Alláh soy yo
 Quien siempre estará á tu lado.”
 Dixo mas el annabi:
 “Como há de ser publicado
 Este tan grande espandio,
 Como sabré declararlo?
 Ni se leer ni escribir,
 Soy lego, no soy letrado,
 Y no podré dar soltura
 De su decir encumbrado.”
 La ora fué por Chebril
 Segunda ves amahado
 Enfluyendole la ciencia
 Y el saber mas acertado⁴
 Y dijole, “ye mi amigo,
 Lee sin ningun empacho
Ygra bismi Rabica,
 Aquel que te ha criado;⁵
 Lee con el nombramiento
 De tu Señor el honrrado,
 El que por el alcalam,
 Siendo lego te ha enseñado
 Aquello que no sabias,

De su secreto encerrado.”
 Con esto se despidio
 Chebril, y quedó pensando
 Muhamad en su embaxada
 Y en aquel hecho tan raro,
 Quedandole en su memoria
 Sin quedar punto ni razgo
 Estampadas las alaias⁶
 Que el angel le iba enseñando,
 Como si en el mismo alloh⁷
 Las estuviera estudiando.
 Y por aquel mesmo tono
 Las iban acopilando
 Por manos del justo Usmen
 Tercero en los diez hermanos:
 Asi fueron descendidas
 En dias meses y años:
 Todas las santas alaias
 De nuestro Alcoram honrrado:
 No baxaron todas juntas
 Si no que iban deballando,
 Segun la ocasion venia
 Á lo que va⁸ amonestando,
 (Y para dar las solturas
 Á lo que iban preguntando)⁹
 Al anabi los escribas
 Ydolatras y Judaicos.
 Otras para las conquistas
 En las batallas y campos,
 Unas alayas baxaban
 Con su perital¹⁰ mandado,
 Otros con devedamientos
 De lo injusto y reprovado,
 Otros memorando historias
 De hombres justos y malos,
 Para exemplar á las gentes
 Con estos antepasados;
 Otras las mensagerias
 Que el Señor ha revelado.
 Otras denotan castigo,
 Otras van amenazando,
 Otras prometiendo gloria
 Á los sierbos sobelados:
 Y asi cada qual baxaba

¹ Esentado, P.² Alcoram, P.³ Gibril, P.⁴ Encumbrado, Variante. Acendrado, P.⁵ Halecado, P. *اقرأ باسم ربك الذى خلق*⁶ Aleas, P. *versos del Koran الآية*.⁷ Tabla *الوج*.⁸ Iba, P.⁹ Del MS. de, P.¹⁰ Preceptal, P.

A su tiempo sovelado,¹
 Y asi como Alláh tenia
 En su saber ordenado.
 Y siendo baxadas todas,
 El alquiteb ya formado
 Enseñado por el angel
 Por Muhamad publicado,
 Copilado por Usmen,
 Del annabi secretario,
 Para darle mas contento
 Le fué todo presentado
 De Chebril en una suna,
 Y quando fué cotejado
 Aquel que copiló Usmen
 En tiempo diverso y largo,
 Con el que trajo Chebril,
 Estaba tan sincerado
 Que punto no diferia,
 Como si una propia mano
 Y un alcalam² lo gravara.
 Digo en haber nada falto
 De alharfes xaddas³ ni puntos
 Ni en lo demas acetado⁴
 Que aquel que el angel le dió
⁵ Escribió su propia mano.
 Venia en diez y seis hojas
 De la grandeza y tamaño
 De una dobla damasquina,
 Y su alharfe tan delgado
 Como pelos de serpiente,
 La tinta en color morado,
 Y las cubiertas tenia
 Hechas de color castaño.
 Era ligible y visible
 Para todo alcafarado,⁶
 Y no lo podia leer
 Ninguno destaharado.
 Ni jamas hubo alcalam
 Que pudiese simularlo.
 Nunca lo dejó Muhamad
 Fuera de su diestro lado,
 Y luego como murió
 Fué muy de veras buscado
 Por Usmen y por Ali,

Y no pudieron hallarlo :
 Y creen que se volbió
 Por donde fué deballado.
 Luego como el annabi
 Fué por Chebril albriciado,
 Dió principio á su comanda
 Tratando y comunicando
 Entre sus deudos y amigos
 Con un singular recato
 Por temor de los Judios,
 Que ya lo andaban cercando
 De mucho antes que naciese,
 Sus contrarios⁷ adversarios.
 Por otra parte le anima
 El angel que de ordinario
 Le arrentaba⁸ y daba esfuerzo
 Sin un momento dejarlo ;
 Y ansi no se detallaba
 Por ningun adverso caso
 De su perfeto⁹ juicio,
 Ni en repentinos rebatos,
 Suspendió ninguna duda :
 Ni fué en el responder tarduo
 Por que Chebril le albriciaba
 Lo presente adveniciado
 Y todo le era visible
 En un momento¹⁰ abreviado.
 Comenzó su mansedumbre
 Su suavidad mostrando,
 Una ynbocacion tan alta,
 Sin ser nadi de su bando
 Sin Rey ni grande ninguno
 Que le quisiese hacer lado ;
 Solos tres de quien fiaba
 Su secreto y su cuidado.
 Era su habla tan dulce,
 Su decir tan tierno y blando,
 Que provocaba á seguirle
 En solo mover sus labios,
 Amonestó su anabua
 Entre los suyos y cstraños,
 Entre amigos y enemigos
 Sin dar atras ningun paso.
 Entre tanta ydolatria

¹ Señalado, P.² Pluma.³ شدة señal de duplicacion.⁴ Eceptado, P.⁵ Lo, P.⁶ كنفارة, expiados penitentes.⁷ Continuos, P.⁸ Alentaba, P.⁹ Profetico, P.¹⁰ Sumario, P.

Entre aquel pueblo judaico
 Fuera de su genealogia
 Y de su patria arredrado.
 Nunca tuvo su persona
 Oculta entre sus contrarios,
 Y no fué nocido de ellos
 Por mas que lo procuraron,
 Fué siempre con sus compañas,
 Que nunca quiso dejarlos,
 Asi enseñando su ley
 Como en las guerras lidiando.
 Era de animo fiero,
 Robusto furioso y bravo,
 Valiente con los valientes
 Y benigno con los flacos,
 Tuvo saña militante
 Soprimida no arrojado,
 Conocido en las peleas
 Muy diestro apie y acaballo.
 Varon de muy grande fuerza,¹
 Temido su fuerte brazo,
 Era recto² en la justicia,
 A la razon allegado,
 Perdonador de ignorancias,
 Sin ser de nadi rogado,
 Compasivo á los enfermos,
 Amahador de los flacos,
 Consolador de los tristes,
 Socorredor de cuitados,
 Nunca hizo mayorias
 Entre sus contemporanos,
 Ni quizo cetros ni pompas
 De Reyes ni Prebostados ;
 Ni de sus grandes vitorias
 Quizo ningun prez mundano,
 Ni mas que sus Compañeros
 Tomó para sí descanso :
 A nadi daba sospecha
 Por que estaba de su cabo
 Muchas veces en exordio
 En su Señor contemplando.
 Amahaba las heridas
 Solo con aceite blanco
 Con que curaba las llagas
 Con la gracia de su mano.

Desterro los azihberos,
 Y los sorteros falsarios,
 Los misticos calumniantes,
 Los fracidantes³ ingratos :
 En⁴ su traje á la usanza
 De los alabides santos,
 Por que siempre fué en sus obras
 Puro limpio justo y casto :
 No tuvo rudeza humana,
 Limpios sus miembros quedaron,
 Sin *ynéz*⁵ que lo incitase,
 A sueño hecho profano :
 Ni sueño que le adorneciese,
 En ningun pesado caso,
 Sin pernicioso accidente,
 De transgresos evitado.
 Bien es verdad que podia
 Que al fin era hombre humano
 Caer en cosas de genero,
 Por su natural pegaso
 Que fue adotibo del mundo,
 Pero como fué esentario
 No pudo nunca caer
 Sino á la derecha mano
 Por que la sogá humanal
 Ni el mundo con su reclamo
 No podian retraerlo
 Del prez del que fué dotado.
 Era *sobenible*⁶ estable,
 Siempre lo tuvo en un grado
 Su real magnificencia,
 De que fué muy abonado,
 Tuvo gracia especialada,
 En superlatibo grado
 Sobre quantos mensajeros
 Y annabies deballaron,
 Gracia que recluyó en ella
 Quantas gracias alcanzaron.
 Asi de juro deidoso
 Como de genero humano.
 Era de sueño ligero,
 Siempre estaba sobelado,
 Comia muy pocas veces
 Y de muy pocos guisados,
 Hambre sed calor y frio

¹ Grande esfuerzo, P.² Repto, P.³ Defraudantes, P.⁴ Era, P.⁵ انيس, indole.⁶ Su vinculo, P.

Tuvo segun nuestros sabios,
 Tuvo como los demas,
 Y no dicen que tuviese
 En ningun tiempo cansancio.
 Dice Alhasan tantas cosas
 De este bien aventurado,
 Que quando acabar pensamos
 Será no haber comenzado :
 Fueron como atras se dijo,
 Por las angelicas manos
 Taharadas sus entrañas
 Por que no fuese asentado
 El alcoram donde hubiese
 Muestra de ningun pecado :
 Rudeza especulatiba
 Señal sospecha ni rastro,
 Y ansi despues que en la tierra
 Sus editos comenzaron
 Cesaron los alcalames
 De los tronales alarxicos,
 Dando los allohadores
 Espandio á sus traslados :
 En las terrenas comarcas
 Su santa ley enseñando ¹
 Imitando á los del Cielo
 Con toda prisa y cuidado.
 Dice Alhasan que dejó
 Nuestro annabi en poco rato ²
 Florecido su alcoran,
 Y despues del fué granado.

No tuvo genealogia
 Por que como está contado
 Todos sus hijos murieron ;
 Y Abilhasan aprobando
 El secreto de esta causa,
 Dice y afirma este caso ³
 Que los de su dim serian
 Sus descendientes cercanos,
 El tronco de su linaje,
 Por que su ley heredaron.
 Ordenó la sunaleja ⁴
 Con acuerdo de hombres sabios
 De sus queridos hohabes,
 Y por el angel guiados,
 Atendiendo á las flaquezas
 De los compuestos humanos,
 Dando en partes libertad,
 Y en partes nos apretando.
 Quedó su gracia espancida
 Sobre su dim enxalzado,
 Y sobre los muzlimes,
 Por que el Señor soberano
 Lo firmó con la promesa
 De su juro seculado.
 Y por esto nuestra ley
 Y sus mandamientos santos
 No puede ser derogada
 Como los otros quedaron,
 Hasta que con ella acabe
 Todo quanto fué criado.

CANTO CUARTO DE LA ISTORIA DE NUESTRO ANNABI
 MUHAMAD ÇALAM, TRATA DEL SUBIMIENTO A LOS
 CIELOS Y ENZALZAMIENTO DE LOS CINCO ZALAES.

En la mas solida noche
 Obscura lobrega y negra
 Que despues que fué criada
 Causó la luz con su ausencia,
 En ella no cantan gallos,
 Ni campean bestias fieras,
 Ni aullan ni ladran perros,
 Ni aves nocturnas velan :
 Y no es mucho que los gallos
 De su cantar se suspendan,
 Ni que los perros no ladren,
 Mas es bien que se detengan

El susurrar de las aguas,
 Los cantos de las sirenas,
 El gemir de las serpientes,
 Los aullidos de las fieras,
 El retumbar de los montes,
 El eco de las cavernas,
 El sacudir de los vientos,
 El producir de la tierra,
 El brotar las tiernas plantas,
 El florecer de las yerbas,
 Y el navegar de los peces,
 Entre las aguas espesas.

¹ Ensanchando, P.² Espacio, P.³ Sabio, P.⁴ Çunna lege, P.

Ni que las demas criaturas
 Que sobre la tierra alientan
 Cesen de su acostumbrado
 Y esta noche se enmudescan.
 Enmudezcan que es muy justo
 Y presten atenta oreja
 Por que lo dicho ¹ conciba
 Lo que no podrán sus lenguas :
 Y aunque la mia pretende
 Decir algo, es cosa cierta
 Que será sola la sombra
 De lo que decir pretenda
 Por ser el mas grave hecho
 Que sobre los hijos de Edam
 Descendio por escriptura
 Ni se figuró por señas.
 Diré lo que yo pudiere,
 Que no es mucho que me atreva
 A decir, pues la palabra
 De nuestro annabi me esfuerza,
 Lo mismo que el dijo, digo,
 Lo que el alcoran aprueba,
 Lo que su alaya refiere
 Verdad pura limpia y neta,
 Lo que pasó en una noche,
 Y aun en menos de hora y media,
 Quen muchos millares de años
 Ninguno pasar pudiera,
 Y pues para quien lo hizo
 Fué cosa llana y ligera :
 Digamos lo que la istoria
 Por su discurso nos muestra
 Desde el alto cideratu ²
 Diciendo con gran presteza,
 Aquel Serafin mas bello
 Que crio naturaleza,
 Con un precioso mensaje,
 Y una tan alegre nueva
 Con la qual se alegra el suelo ;
 Y aun el cielo se hermosea,
 Y como el caso pedia
 Alegrias placenteras,
 Bajaba tan lindo y bello
 Quanto imaginar se pueda :
 Blanco que la niebe absconde,
 Su luz la del sol arriedra,
 Sus ropas con lazos de oro,

Y muchas flores en ellas,
 Con muchas alas tendidas,
 Llenas de preciosas piedras,
 Grande de grande estatura,
 De incomparable presencia,
 Y sobre su hermosa frente,
 Dos azatras se demuestran
 Escritas de claredad,
 Y mas quel sol rayos echan.
 Le yleha yle Alláh, decia
 En el azatra primera,
 Muhamad Rasul Allah,
 Publicaba la postrera.
 Dijo el annabi : “ yo estando
 Una noche oscura y fria,
 Entre Azafi y Almarguat
 Reposando al tiempo que era
 Mas sabroso y dulce el sueño,
 La noche en silencio puesta
 Quando del cansado dia
 La gente descansa y huelga,
 Me aparecio el fiel Chebril
 Muy hermoso, y como llega
 Me saludó y dice, amigo
 Despierta caudillo espierta,
 Despide el sabroso sueño,
 Que esta noche y hora mesma
 Hablarás con quien no duerme,
 Ni piensa, ni se trascuerda,
 Apercibete Muhamad
 Anda apriesa que te espera
 El Señor que te ha criado
 Para gracias tan inmensas ;
 Sube sobre este alborag, ³
 Que yo llevaré la rienda,
 Y lo guiaré al lugar
 A donde llevarte deba.
 Asi me apreté mis ropas
 Y sobre la hermosa bestia
 Cabalgué y Chebril guiando,
 Al marquediz ⁴ enderesa,
 Adelantose Chebril,
 Y sobre la santa puerta
 Del santificado templo
 Se puso y se me presenta
 Con tres brevajes diversos
 Sobre su mano derecha,

¹ El oydo, P.³ Alboraque, P.² Sideratu, P.⁴ Almaquediz, P. Jerusalem.

Que fue del hado indicio,
 Ordenatiba repreba
 Similitud propia y cierta
 De las tres leyes del mundo,
 (Mora Cristiana y Ebreá),¹
 Leche, miel y vino fueron :
 Y dice de esta manera,
 "Muhamad de estos especies
 Mira el que mas te acontenta
 Para beber, y el que fuere
 Toma y bebe lo que quieras."
 Muhamad sin defenese
 Alargó la mano diestra
 Al vaso que estaba enmedio
 Dó la leche estaba puesta,
 Bebió de ella y fué tan poco
 Lo que bebió, que si fuera
 Todo, fuera gran bien nuestro,
 Pero fué desdicha nuestra :
 Dijo el angel : ó Muhamad !
 "Si acabaras y bebieras
 Toda la leche, y tu aluma
 Libre de chahana fuera."
 Arrepiso² el annabi
 Dijo con ansia sedienta,
 "Dame Chebril, beberé
 Dese vaso lo que resta."
 "No hay lugar, dijo Chebril,
 Por que ya en la mente eterna
 Era juzgado este hecho,
 No te aflija ni de pena."
 Entramos en la mesquida
 En la qual halle por cuenta
 Trescientos y tres³ hermanos
 Mensajeros y Profetas,
 Y ansi como entrar me vieron,
 Me hicieron gran reverencia,
 Y todos me saludaron,
 Mostrando en si grande fiesta,
 Diciendo, "seas bien venido
 Sello y esperanza nuestra,
 Profetisado por todos
 Los que están en tu presencia,
 Albriciamoste Muhamad
 Que ante al Rey de la grandeza
 Eres el mas estimado

Que quantos pisaron tierra."
 Con esto me señalaron
 Poniendome en delantera
 Y ellos tras de mi en azaf⁴
 Y Chebril siendo almuedan,
 Celebramos dos aracas
 De azala y en siendo hechas,
 Todos me testificaron
 Por el ultimo profeta ;
 Y dando azalem sobre ellos,
 Salimos la puerta afuera,
 A donde estaba una escala
 No de rustica madera,
 Mas era de oro bermejo
 De plata y preciosas piedras,
 De corales y almarjen,
 Ambar alcanfor y perlas :
 Dijo el Angel : "ye Muhamad
 Sube por esta escalera,
 Que desde el lugar do estoy⁵
 Al cielo mas alto llega."
 Al pie de la escala atado
 El buen alboraque dejan,
 Y principiando á subir
 Por los escalones de ella
 Entrerrompense los cielos,
 Abrense⁶ clareantes puertas,
 Resplandecen sus entradas
 Sus alcazares y vegas,
 Gozanse los almalaques,
 Las potestades se huelgan,
 Las tronaciones se humillan,
 Y las alainas mas bellas
 Alaban á su Hacedor,
 Quen tal noche y tal belleza
 Les enseñó aquel por quien
 Todas cosas fueron hechas.
 Dixo el annabi, "subimos
 Yo y Chebril como el que vuela
 Llevandome de la mano
 Que momento no me deja,
 Vide estrellas rescolgadas⁷
 Como alumbrantes candelas
 Que del primer cielo penden,
 Y nuestro suelo gobiernan.
 Y en este primero cielo

¹ Del MS. de P.⁴ Azafes, P. lineas.⁷ Mas lucientes, P.² Arrepentido.⁵ Estas, P.³ Trece, P.⁶ Abren sus, P.

Halle á nuestro padre Edam,
 Al qual saludé y me dijo,
 “Hijo bien venido seas,
 Albriciote hijo bueno
 Con las mas honradas nuevas,
 Que oyeron quantos han sido
 Nacidos de mi linea.”
 Luego pregonó Chebril,
 Y el azalá nos presenta,
 Y con nuestro primer padre
 Celebramos dos añefilas,
 Con que nos acompañaron
 Quantos almalaques eran
 En este cielo, y despues
 Seguimos nuestra carrera,
 Y llegamos al segundo :
 Donde en muy hermosas tiendas,
 Estaban Ise y Yahíye,
 Con tanta gloria y riqueza,
 Y dando azalem sobre ellos,
 Dicenme enhorabuena,
 Seas bien venido Muhamad,
 Caudillo de los profetas. ¹
 Con ellos hice azalá,
 Y luego dimos la vuelta
 Para subir al tercero,
 Que no tardó larga pieza :
 Adonde estaba Yusuf,
 El que estuvo en la cisterna,
 Con el qual hice azalá,
 Y de la misma manera
 Que me albriciaron los otros,
 Me dio las albricias nuevas : ²
 Y subiendo al cielo quarto
 Mirando su gentileza
 Vide un almalaque grande
 Cuya admirable presencia
 Ni estaba triste ni alegre
 Sino como zahareña :
 No se alegró con mi vista,
 Ni aun me miró muy de veras,
 Ni se sonrió á mi cara,
 Como los demas lo hicieran,
 Aunque me dio el azalem
 Cumplido, y me dijo, “sepas
 O' Muhamad que tu eres
 El que á la naturaleza

Mandó Alláh que te dotase
 De quantas gracias se encierran.”
 Tenia un alloh delante,
 Una tabla grande y bella,
 Escrita de parte á parte
 De muy apretada letra,
 Á la qual tabla miraba
 Con la vista muy aspecta, ³
 Clavados alli sus ojos,
 Que sus cejas no menea.
 Y yo que atento miraba
 Vi hacia su mano izquierda
 Un arbol grande y hojoso
 Y en todas sus ojas letras,
 Y yo deseando saber
 Esta causa tan secreta,
 Se lo pregunté á Chebril,
 Y dijome en su repuesta :
 “Has de saber ye mi amigo
 Que este que saber deseas,
 Es el angel de la muerte
 Que nunca jamas se alegra,
 Y puedes creer Muhamad
 Que si alegrarse hubiera,
 Á ninguna criatura,
 A ti solo lo hiciera.
 Este alloh que está mirando
 Con tan grande diligencia
 Es al lauh almahfud, ⁴
 Digo la tabla que en ella
 Están los nombres escritos
 De quantos vida sustentan :
 Y aunque asi lo solicita
 En vigilancia perpetua
 En particular lo mira
 Cada día cinco vueltas
 Que son aquellas cinco horas
 Tan encumbradas y esentas,
 Que para hacer azalá
 El Señor las escogiera,
 Y al siervo que en aquel tiempo
 Lo vé con negligencia,
 Quando le quita su aroh
 Asienta sobrel la pena,
 Y si lo vé cuidadoso,
 Con nia ⁵ y con limpieza,
 Alivianese sobre el

¹ Las promesas, P.² Buenas, P.³ Esperta, P.⁴ اللوح المحفوظ⁵ Annia, P. نية

Y tratado con clemencia :
 Y para saber el tiempo
 Del morir quel plazo llega,
 Que se acaba el vital hilo,
 Y no tiene mas vivienda,
 Mira las ojas del arbol,
 Que tiene la misma cuenta
 De todos los halecados,
 Sus nombres puestos en ellas,
 Y quareinta dias antes
 Que su plazo se le acerca ¹
 Ponese triste la oja
 Y marchitanse sus letras,
 La ora sabe que acaba,
 Y que su plazo se acerca,
 Pues no tiene mas arizque,
 Y en cumpliendo los quareinta
 Dias caese la hoja,
 Y acude con gran presteza,
 A recibirle su arroh
 Que ya mas vida no queda.
 Dijo el annabi si acaso,
 O' por suerte fuese puesta
 En manos deste almalaque,
 Lo que hay en el cielo y tierra
 No haria alli mas bulto
 Que sobre la tierra mesma ²
 Un grano de esta mostasa
 Que es simiente mas pequeña.
 Pasamos mas adelante
 Y en una muy rica tienda
 Hallamos al justo Edrez ³
 Aquel de la vida eterna
 Haciendo azala con él
 Despues de nuestras ofertas
 Subimos al cielo quinto
 Y en entrando por la puerta
 Hallamos un viejo honrrado
 Blanca la barba y cabeza
 Rodeado de almalaques
 De sin numero ni cuenta
 Sobre un *alcazar* ⁴ muy rico
 Con gran sosiego y prudencia.
 Yo le pregunté á Chebril
 Por aquel viejo quien era :
 Y dijo, tu padre Ybrahim,

Saludale, y con prestesa
 Le saludé, y el á mi
 Como nuestro padre Edan
 Me saludó como hijo,
 Y yo le hice obediencia
 Despues hice dos aracas
 Con él y los que le cercan,
 De almalaques tanto açafe
 Que en este cielo gobiernan
 Y mirando á todas partes
 Llegamonos á una puerta
 Muy rica de alcanfor blanco
 Con cerraduras bermejas.
 Yo le pregunté á Chebril
 Por que puerta fuese aquella
 Tan rica y tan bien cerrada ;
 Y dixo llegate á ella
 Con le yleha yle Alláh
 Y al momento sera abierta.
 Asi lo hice y se abrio
 Y asomandome por ella
 Vi los mas bajos abismos
 De los centros de la tierra ;
 Vide la obscura chahana
 Con sus lobregas retretas,
 Con sus hedientes prisiones,
 Con sus grillos y cadenas,
 Con sus fuegos encendidos,
 Y vi como en ella penan
 Muchos de los de mi alumna :
 Alláh della nos defienda.
 Yo le pregunté á Chebril
 Que compañías son aquellas
 Tan lazradas y ennegridas.
 Y ãijo de esta manera,
 Has de saber ye Muhamad
 Que aquellos que asi se mesclan
 En el fuego son aquellos
 Que comieron las haciendas
 De los popildos ⁵ que fueron
 La cura de sus tutelas ;
 Aquellos desa otra parte
 Son los que el logro aumentan
 Sus algos mal caullebados
 Con la codicia sedienta ;
 Los otros son del fornicio

¹ Acelera, P.⁴ Alcorçi, P.² Tierra yerma, P.⁵ Popillos, P.³ Ydriz, P.

De la llaga torpe y fea
 Que sus simples apetitos
 Saciaron en parte agena.
 Dixo el anabi Muhamad
 Si esto que yo veo vieran
 Los halecados del mundo,
 Todos de espanto murieran.
 Subimos al sexto cielo
 Mirando sus estrañezas
 Y vide á mi hermano Muse
 Sobre un almimbar de perlas
 Saludamonos los dos
 Y diome las buenas nuevas
 Que los demas me habian dado
 Quen los otros cielos quedan.
 Aqui vide un almalaque
 Con setenta mil cabezas,
 Y en cada cabeza habia
 Setenta mil caras, y ellas
 Cada setenta mil bocas
 Y con setenta mil lenguas
 Cada boca tasbihaba
 A la divina potencia
 Con setenta mil lenguajes
 Que uno á otro no semeja.
 Despues que azalá hicimos
 Seguimos nuestra vereda
 Hasta llegar al seteno
 Del qual vi la gran belleza
 De aquel lugar do Chebril
 De ordinario se aposenta
 Cideratu almuntahe ¹
 La cosa mas alta y bella
 De quantas hay halecadas
 Celestiales ni terrenas.
 De aqui produce la fuente
 De zalzabil ² que por ella
 Corren aquellos dos rios
 Que el Paraiso rodean
 Donde me bañe y salieron
 Mis pecados de mis cuestras
 Los que habia adelantado
 Y aquellos que hacer me restan.
 Aqui se paro Chebril
 Por que su gran fortaleza

No bastaba á soportar
 Solo un paso mas que diera
 La claredad del Señor
 Por que de muy clara quema.
 Despedíme de Chebril,
 Y otro angel se me allega
 Muy hermoso y paladino,
 Y de grande fortaleza,
 Y muy cortezanamente
 Me dixo con faz muy leda
 Bien venido seas Muhamad
 Do tanto bien ³ te desean,
 Que yo dos mil años antes
 Que el Señor formase á Edam,
 Hizo azalá sobre ti,
 Que otra cosa no me emplea :
 Y pues Allah fué servido
 Que en esta noche te vea,
 Y se cumpla mi codicia,
 Esfuerzate amigo esfuerza
 Que yo te acompañaré
 En el viaje que llevas.
 Y asi en una tienda rica
 Entramos los dos en ella
 Y pasamos una mar
 De claredad, que si fuera
 En un caballo corriente ⁴
 Uno de los de la tierra
 No la pasara en cien años
 Por gran prisa que se diera
 Y yo la pasé mas presto
 Que el ojo se abre y se cierra.
 Otro mar despues pasamos
 Escura espantosa y fiera
 Que pidi ad Allah socorro
 De ver el espanto de ella.
 Aqui hallé un almalaque
 Que el agua mesura y peza
 La qual ⁵ las nubes distilan
 Para que las yerbas crezcan
 Cuyo nombre era Migueil
 Que con cara placentera
 Me saludó y me albricio
 Y cerca de alli me muestra
 La grandeza de Yzarafil.

¹ سدرة المنتهى nombre de un arbol.

⁴ Corriendo, P.

² سلسبيل

⁵ Lo que.

³ Ver, P.

O' soberana sapiencia
 Que has formado halecado
 Que tan sin medida y fuerza
 Que sustente sobre un hombro
 La maquina y la grandeza
 Del alarx del Piadoso,
 Donde asiste por esencia
 Y la bozina en su boca
 Que cielo y tierra penetra
 A donde están los arrohes
 Como en su pan las abejas.
 Vilo tan apercebido
 A soplar que en su presencia
 Pretendi hubiera soplado
 Y su cargo concluyera.
 Despues que nos saludamos
 Y vi toda su estrañesa
 Vide los quatro almalaques
 Aquellos quel alarx llevan.
 Vi despues otro almalaque
 Que le acompañan y cercan
 Setenta mil almalaques
 A quien manda que obedescan
 El señor todas las cosas¹
 En lo que le pertenezcan.
 Este me asio de mi brazo
 Llevando en compañía nuestra
 Todos los que le seguian
 Con mil generos de fiestas
 Y pasamos siete estajos
 Sus distancias y larguezas
 Que cada estajo tenia
 Quinientos años de leguas,
 Y su distancia así mismo
 No hay ojo que tal comprehenda.
 Oy la voz soberana
 Que desde su grande alteza
 Dixo, yá mis almalaques
 Levantad las antepuertas
 Esas que de mi anabi
 Su vista impiden y vedan
 Y los que el cargo tenian
 Luego alzaron las cubiertas;
 Vi levantar las emparas,
 Vide tanta gentileza
 De almalaques azaxdados

Sin levantar sus cabezas,
 Otros vide arraqueando
 Que sus cuestras no enderezan,
 Otros estaban sentados
 Que ni se alzan ni azachedan²
 Y todos en sus posturas
 Están sin mudarse de ellas;
 Hasta que al son de la trompa
 De yzarafil se estremezca.
 Vide el alarx de oro blanco
 En cuya fabrica puestas
 Vi setenta mil ciudades
 De hermosos angeles llenas.”
 O' quantas grandezas vido
 Esta noche el gran Profeta,
 Quantas admirables cosas,
 Quantas gracias tan secretas;
 Vio los cielos y su anchura
 Con quanto en ella se encierra,
 Vio todos los almalaques
 Sus ordenes y sus letras³
 Vio todos los mensajeros
 Quantos publicaron letras;
 Y hizo azala con todos
 En la casa reverenda.
 Despues de esto en cada cielo
 Prosiguio esta misma arenga,
 Que con todos se detuvo,
 Y á todos hizo obediencia,
 Vio á chahana y sus espantos,
 Vio el alchana y sus bellezas
 Vio sus rios vio sus fuentes,
 Sus alcazares y vegas,
 Vio mares claras y escuras,
 Tantos misterios en ellas,
 Traspasó aquellos estados⁴
 Y sus anchuras tan buenas⁵
 Cielos distancias y amparas
 Tantos millares de leguas
 Traspaso aquella noche
 Que tiempo no pirdio en ella.
 Pues lo que en millares de años
 Caminar no se pudiera
 No le hubiera hechado falta
 Quien la pestaña moviera.
 O' cosa jamas oida,

¹ Todos aquellos, P.⁴ Estallos, P.² Azaxdan, P.⁵ Luengas.³ Reglas, P.

O' gracia sin comprencendencia,
 O' merced unica y sola,
 Que nadi llegó á tenella !
 No la subida de Edriz,
 Ni de Noh la fortaleza,
 Ni la amistad de Ibrahim,
 Ni de Ayub la gran paciencia,
 Ni de Muse las razones
 En la ensantecida sierra,
 Que tuvo con su Señor
 Sus demandas y repuestas ;
 Ni el reyno de Sulaimen
 Sus tesoros y riquezas,
 Ni el enalzamiento de Yze
 Dentre la nacion hebrea
 No igualaron á esta sola.
 Ni aunque se ponga con ellas
 Quantas gracias poseyeron
 Todos los demas profetas.
 Mirando estaba Muhamad
 Al alarx y su lindeza,
 Tanto azafe de almalaques,
 Tanto tasbih y le yleha
 La resplandor que despide
 La divina y alta esencia,
 Que atemoriza el decirlo,
 Cosa tan grave é inmensa
 Que turba el entendimiento,
 Y se enmudecen las lenguas
 De haber de tratar de cosas
 Sin cosa que le semeja.
 Vio la claredad de Allah
 Ques quanto ver se desea,
 Fin de todos los contentos
 Remate de gloria nuestra.
 Esto estaba contemplando
 Quando vio que se sosiegan
 Todas las cosas criadas
 Que voz ni ruido no suena
 Y en medio de este silencio
 Oyó la suma grandeza

Que dijo : “ ye mi anabi
 Yo soy tu Señor allega
 (Acercate á mi Mohamad :) ¹
 Yo soy Allah el alto y grande,
 Allegate á mi no temas.”
 Y como oyese esta voz
 Le tremolaron sus venas
 Que semejantes palabras
 No es mucho que tiemble y tema.
 Dixo : “ atahietu lillebi, *
 Señor a ti es la obediencia,
 A ti las salutaciones,
 A ti la alleganza buena,
 A ti el azala perfeto
 A ti la suma limpieza.”
 Y dichas estas palabras
 Paró dando atenta oreja
 A ver lo que su Señor
 Le manda ó le dá licencia.
 Dixo Allah : “ azalemu aleicum *²
 Ye mi anabi, mi clemencia
 Y mi gracia te cobije,
 Y mi bendicion te venga.”
 Los cercanos almalaques
 Que á esto daban audiencia
 Viendo que las bendiciones
 Solo á Muhamad las echa
 “ Asalemu aleyne * dizen,
 La paz y salvacion sea
 Sobre nos y con los siervos
 Que hacen las obras buenas.”
 “ Axchedu dixo entonces
 Afirmando la creencia
 En le yleha yle Alláh
 Solo, sin quien le paresca.” *
 En diciendo esto Muhamad,
 Los almalaques apruevan
 Lo dicho, y dixeron mas
 Afirmando su encomienda
 “ Axahedu ana muhamad *
 Es su sierbo y su profeta.”

¹ P.² Alayco, P.

* التحيات لله والصلوة والطيبات السلام عليك ايها النبي ورحمة
 الله وبركاته والسلام علينا وعلى عباد الله الصالحين اشهد ان لا اله الا
 الله . حده لا شريك له واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله

Dixo Allah : “ ye mi anabi
 Ves mi cara ó mi presencia ? ”
 Dixo, “ Señor no te veo
 Que tu claridad me ciega,
 Veo tu claror divino
 Quanto mi vista penetra,
 Pero los ojos del alma
 Tracienden y á verte llegan.”
 Dixo Allah : “ ye mensajero
 Demanda por lo que quieras
 Que yo soy el Piadoso ¹
 Y grandes son mis grandezas.”
 Dixo Muhamad yo estaba
 Pensando que me ² dixera
 Y demandé á mi Señor
 Demandas justas y honestas.
 Dixe mas : “ Señor grandisimo
 Tienes hechas mil promesas.” ³
 Y como corriendo sangre
 Vi la espada de la guerra
 De su defensa y resguarda
 Fué la demanda primera.
 “ Demandote Señor mio
 Si acaso ha de haber peclas
 Sobre mi y los de mi alumna
 Sean las menos que puedan,
 Pidote que nos desvies
 Del daño que hacer nos quieran,
 Y á todo bien nos inclina
 Y de hacer mal nos defiendas.” ⁴
 Dixo mas, Señor grandisimo
 Tienes hechas mil promesas
 Á los que ante mi han sido ⁵
 Por sus obras y proezas :
 Ya fuiste amigo de Ibrahim,
 Y hablaste á Muse en la sierra,
 Y perdonaste á David
 Su grande desobediencia,
 Diste á Sulaimen el reismo
 Con esplendida franqueza,
 Y levantaste á tu cielo
 Á Edriz por su gran pureza :
 Pues que querras darme á mi
 Con tantas mercedes hechas.

Dixo Allah : “ si dí esas gracias
 Que dices, otras me quedan
 Muy mayores con que puedo
 Ourrar á quien lo merezca ;
 Que si fue mi amigo Ibrahim
 Que lo pidieron sus prendas,
 A ti tomé por amado
 Para que me arredoblecas ;
 Y si con Muse hablé
 En la montaña desierta,
 Á ti sobre mis amparas
 Do jamas ninguno llega ;
 Si he subido á Edriz al cielo
 Á ti á la mayor alteza
 Do nunca subio criatura
 Por muy perfeta que sea :
 Y si perdoné á David
 Despues de su apenidencia
 A ti ya te he perdonado
 Lo hecho y lo que hacer puedas :
 Y si á Zulaimen he dado
 Grande reismo y potencia,
 Á ti la zora de alhamdu
 Y la de alif lem mim delica.” ⁶
 Dite el mes de Romadam,
 Quel que su ayuno caulleba
 Vivirá perpetuamente
 En vida de gracia llena.
 Dite el dia de alchumua ⁷
 Que excede á todas las fiestas
 Y te di el rio de Alcauzar
 Con sus fuentes y riberas.
 Dite el sello de la gracia
 Ques todo de gracia llcna,
 Mira si pues contentarte,
 O’ dime que mas deseas.”
 Contentome Señor mio
 Pues tu quieres que merezca
 Alcanzar tantas mercedes
 Mediante tu gran clemencia.
 Dixo despues : “ yá Muhamad
 Yo quiero que me adeudesca
 Preceptos que aquellos guardes
 Tu y los que de tu ley sean.”

¹ Poderoso, P.² Le, P.³ Estas dos lineas faltan al MS. de Paris.⁴ Devieda, P.⁵ Seydo, P.⁶ الم ذَلِكَّ⁷ Aljumua, P. Dia de viernes.

Yo dixé : “ ye mi Señor
 Tú eres quien mandas y vedas
 Y yo soy el obediente.”
 Y él ques justo que obedezca
 Adeudecio sobre mi
 En día y noche cincueynta
 Azalaes¹ y con esto
 Descendi de su presencia.
 Llegué á donde estaba Musé,
 Y diome la enhorabuena
 De mi venida, y me dixo,
 “ Cuentame de que manera
 Te ha ido con tu Señor.”
 Y yo le di cuenta entera
 De lo que me adeudecio
 Que le guarde y le mantenga.
 Respondiome, “ ye Muhamad
 Muy pesada carga es esa,
 Vuelve á tu Señor y mio
 Y di que te alivianezca
 Por que es muy flaca tu uma²
 Y no podrán mantenerla.”
 Así rogué á mi Señor
 Y vino de vuelta en vuelta
 Por la persuacion de Musé
 Á resolverse mi deuda
 En solos cinco azalaes
 En el día y sus tinieblas :
 Y de todos la alfadila
 En estos cinco resuelta.
 De aqui me tomó Chebril
 De la mano, y por las guertas
 Del alchana paseamos,
 Viendo las fertiles vegas
 De Alcauzar y Zalzabil,
 Sus aguas dulces y buenas.³
 Y en saliendo del alchana

Baxamos por la escalera
 Donde hallamos labloraq
 Como quedó atado en ella ;
 Y cabalgando sobrel
 Á Maca dimos la vuelta,
 Estando la noche en calma
 Y en su mismo punto puesta.
 Quando vino el claro día
 Ya que á clarear comienza
 Vino Chebril á Muhamad
 Le dio la forma y manera
 De las arracas de azubhi⁴
 Como tenia de hazellas
 Puesto el anabi tras del,
 Y el angel en delantera.
 Hicieron las dos de azubhi
 Con todas sus continencias,
 Y al punto de medio día
 Volvio, y por la misma regla
 Hicieron las quatro racas
 Quen el dohar⁵ se celebran.
 Despues volvio por la tarde
 Ques en la ora tercera
 Del día, ques la de alaçar
 Y aquel azala le enseña.
 Hizose el magrib con tres
 Quando el sol absconde y cierra,
 Despues la ora de alatema
 Quando cierran sus tinieblas :
 Y dixole ye mi amigo
 Estas cerimonias hechas
 Son de los cinco azalaes
 Que has baxado en encomienda.
 Todo le fué asi enseñado
 Quanto la santa ley nuestra
 Manda por su decretanza,
 Y el alcoram nos lo muestra.⁶

CANTO DE LA DECLARACION DE LA ZORA⁷ DE ALHAMDU.

Tocan palmas y atabales
 Y otros varios instrumentos
 Los ydolatras de Maca,
 Muy alegres y contentos,
 Recibiendo siete requas
 Que cargadas de sustento

Entran á Maca aquel día
 Que de Damasco vinieron.
 Y el mensajero Muhamad
 Está aflijido y suspenso,
 Congoxado en su persona
 Con muy grande sentimiento ;

¹ Açalaes, P.² Aluma, P.³ Frescas, P.⁴ Açobhe, P.⁵ Adohar, P.⁶ Nos monesta, P.⁷ سورة

No por que el temor le aflija ¹
 Que jamas cupo en su pecho.
 Que donde hay perfeta fe
 El temor no tiene asiento,
 Ni por codiciosa embidia
 De ver sus contrarios fieros
 Alegres con sus viandas
 En tan apretados tiempos.
 Ymbidia rencor ni saña
 No cabe en su pensamiento,
 Que libre desto quedó
 Quando le abrieron el pecho.
 Afligese el ver los suyos
 Que habia tres dias enteros
 Que no han comido vianda
 Que fuese de algun sustento.
 Y aquel entrañable amor
 Que no lo dexa un momento
 Le atraviesa las entrañas
 Aunque lo tiene en secreto. ²
 Y con el dolor que siente
 Su pecho amoroso y tierno,
 Ad Allah esta peticion
 Dirije en su pensamiento.
 "Señor tú que te asomas
 Sobre lo oculto y secreto,
 Y sabes de tus criaturas
 Sus hechos malos y buenos,
 Tú que das sustento al malo,
 Y afliges con hambre al bueno,
 Tú que permites que sean
 Alimentados y ledos
 Estos fieros enemigos,
 Y deshambrientos tus sierbos; ³
 Das sustento á quien te ofende
 Y á quien te adora tormento,
 Das arrisque á quien te deja
 Sin ningun merecimiento,
 Y á quien te alaba y bendize,
 Reprebas cada momento.
 Mira Señor mis compañías
 Tan flacos y macilentos
 Quen sola tu piadad
 Tienen su vida y sustento,
 Mas cerca está tu socorro
 Quel ligero pensamiento,
 De continuo está tu gracia

Rescolgada á nuestros ruegos,
 Jamas negues tu piadad
 Á quien la pidio en estrecho,
 Á todos corre tu arrahma
 Á todos va dando aliento,
 Como estos sierbos aguardan
 De tu piadad el remedio."
 Estando el santo profeta
 En este apretado estremo
 Le aparecio el fiel Chebril,
 Estas palabras diciendo :
 " La salvacion sea eontigo
 O' flor de los mensajeros
 Sello de las profecias
 Principio de los primeros,
 Alegrate gran caudillo,
 Que solo á alegrarte vengo
 Con una graciosa nueva,
 De grande gloria y contento ;
 Tu Señor la paz te ymbia
 Y para que satisfecho
 Quedes de tu peticion,
 Te ymbia este gran consuelo,
 Que si dio á los de Curax
 Tan abundantes sustentos
 Que son para en este mundo
 Sustancia de solo el cuerpo :
 Si les dio siete requajes
 Cargados de bastimentos,
 Con los cuales se contentan
 Sin otro merecimiento ;
 Para ti y los de tu aluma
 Otros mayores contentos
 Al derredor de su alarx
 Guarda el Señor de los cielos.
 Quanto es en las siete tierras,
 Quantos viven en los eielos,
 Quantos viven en las mares,
 Quanto los quatro elementos
 Producen con sus especies,
 Hasta las nubes y vientos,
 Todos demandan perdon
 Para ti y tus compañeros
 Hasta el dia del juicio,
 Sin parar solo un momento
 Con mas setenta redobles
 Todos de encarecimiento ;

¹ Afligia, P.² Encubierto, P.³ Y desobedientes siervos, P.

Y mas que serán cerradas
 Las siete puertas del fuego
 A ti y á todos los tuyos
 Que seguiran tus preceptos.
 Mas te ha dado tu Señor
 En satisfacion de aquello
 Un dia de siete dias,
 Que es en la semana el sexto,
 De quien su grande alfadila
 Es mayor y de mas peso
 Que los firmamentos todos
 Que circunda el alto cielo.¹
 Mas te ha dado tu Señor
 Para el contrapeso destes
 Siete requajes que ha dado
 Á tus adversarios fieros:
 La zora de las loaciones
 Ques mejor que quantos fueron
 Decendidas en el mundo
 Á todos los mensajeros:
 Siete alayas hay en ella
 Siete encumbrados misterios,
 En los cuales se contiene
 Quanto pidir puede un siervo.
 Los ciento y quatro alquitebes
 Que sobre los mensajeros
 Han descendido hasta hoy,
 Y todo quanto hay en ellos,
 Todo está en el alcoram,
 Y aquel cifrado y compuesto
 En esta azora de *alhamdu*
 Sin faltar solo un momento.²
 Y para que mejor veas
 La semejanza de aquesto,
 Advierte y veras el modo
 De lo que te está propuesto.
 Quando un mercader muy rico
 Va camino y el dinero
 Lleva en plata y pesa mucho,
 Y para andar mas lijero
 Trueca la plata por oro
 Ques mejor y menos peso.
 Caminando en su jornada
 Parecele que aun con esto
 El oro le pesa mucho,

Como el camino es molesto.
 Para andar mas aliviado
 Y mas oculto el dinero,
 Troca el oro por aljofar
 Ques mejor y menos peso.
 Los ciento y quatro alquitebes
 Que antes de ti descendieron
 Son semblanza de la plata
 Ques su volumen mas grueso.
 El oro es la semejanza
 Del alcoram verdadero
 Ques mucho mas su valor
 Y el volumen mas ligero.
 Alhamdu es aljofar fino,
 En donde se resumieron
 De todos los alquitebes
 Sus encumbrados misterios.
 Y por que mas claro veas
 Desta azora el alto precio
 Has de saber que se asconde
 En ella este gran secreto,
 Que qualquiere que la dize
 Con limpieza te prometo
 Que habla con su Señor
 Sin otro algun instrumento.
 Y por que quiero que entiendas
 Que lo que te digo es cierto
 Oye su declaracion
 En estos siguientes versos.

Quando sobre el azala
 Se presienta el siervo bueno
 Y dice *alhamdu lillehi*³
 Pregunta el Señor, “¿ye siervo
 Á quien das esas loaciones?”⁴
 Y luego responde á esto
 Le yleha yle Allah
 Ques mi Señor sempiterno.
 Quien es Alláh ese que nombras?
 Pregunta el Señor y luego
 Dice: *rabi ylalamin*:⁵
 Que quiere decir en esto
 El señor de toda cosa,
 Ques sin par solo y sereno.⁶
 Prosigue el Señor y dice:

¹ Ancho suelo, P.² Acento, P.³ الحمد لله⁴ Loores, P.⁵ رب العالمين⁶ Señero, P. especial.

“Dime siervo verdadero
 Ese señor que apellidas
 Quien es? “y luego al momento
 Dice á *Rahman y Rahim*:¹
 Que denotan sus acentos
 Piadoso de piedad
 Que acoge á malos y buenos.
 “Quien es el Señor piadoso?”
 Pregunta Alláh, prosiguiendo:
 Responde el siervo: *maliqui*
Yaumi din,² y dice en esto,
 Rey del día del juicio,
 Que juzgará los secretos.
 Dice Alláh, “díme quien es
 Ese Rey tan justiciero?”
 Responde y *yeca nagbudu*,³
 A ti adoro y reverencio
 Y á ti demando socorro:
 Dice en el siguiente verso
 Con *gua yeca nastaymi*,⁴
 Y como ya satisfecho
 De las propuestas loores
 Quel siervo hastaqui ha propuesto,
 Dice Alláh: “siervo querido
 Estas loores que has hecho
 Hasta aqui son para mi,
 Y por tales las aceto;
 Pide agora si algo quieres
 Pase adelante tu ruego,
 Que yo daré á quien me pide
 Si me pide con derecho.”
*Yhedina*⁵ dice entonces
 El buen muzlim, pidiendo

Ad Alláh por que lo guie
 Al camino justo y recto,
 No á la carrera yerrada,
 Mas al camino de aquellos
 Sobre quien hiciste gracia⁶
 Con tus justos mandamientos,
 No al camino que trocaron⁷
 Los judios con sus yerros,
 Ni al que los torpes cristianos
 Con su ceguedad torcieron.
 Aqui concluye la ázora,
 Y quando acaba diciendo
Emin:⁸ “Alláh le responde:
 “Yo cumplire ye mi siervo
 Estas gracias sobre ti,
 Pues lo merece tu ruego.”
 Mira pues santo Muhamad
 Como el Señor verdadero
 Mediante esta *azora* habla
 Mano á mano con su siervo;
 Y si con tantas mercedes
 Puedes quedar satisfecho
 En pago de las viandas
 Que los requaxes traxeron.
 Dixo Muhamad entonces,
 “O señor yo te agradezco
 Estas mercedes tan grandes,
 Y quedo alegre y contento
 En que les des este mundo
 Con todos sus ornamentos,
 Y á mi y á los de mi alumna
 El otro ques ab eterno.”

CANTO DE LAS LUNAS DEL AÑO. CUENTANSE LOS
 AYUNOS Y DIAS BLANCOS Y AZALAES⁹ QUE SE HAN
 DE HAZER Y LAS RACAS¹⁰ DE CADA DIA.

Las doze lunas del año
 Segun el Arabe cuenta,
 Decendieron tantas gracias

A nuestro santo Profeta,
 Y á todos los seguidores
 De su regla santa y buena.

¹ الرحمان الرحيم

³ اياك نعبد

⁶ اهدنا الصراط المستقيم

⁷ غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

⁹ الصلاة plegaria.

² مالك يوم الدين

⁴ اياك نستعين

⁶ صراط الذين انعمت عليهم

⁸ آمين

¹⁰ ركعة inclinar el cuerpo.

Sin los que relataré
 Si Dios me da aliento y fuerça
 Que á su divina gracia
 Reciba y abonar pueda.
Almuharam; Safar son
Rabi al aguel, Rabi alehar
Chumed alule la quinta,
 La sesta *Chumedu alehar,*
Rachab, Xaüben la otaba
 Y *Ramadan* la novena,
Xaguel, Dulquieda, Dulhiche
 Que es la ultima y postrera.
 De la primera diremos
 Su alfadila¹ y su nobleza,
 Los ayunos que contiene
 Sus azalaes y añefilas²
 Que es toda esta santa Luna
 De mil bendiciones llena,
 Que Dios siempre en los prin-
 cipios
 Crió cosas muy perfetas.
 Si para los casos leves
 Para yntereses de haziendas,
 Para edificar cimientos,
 Plantar plantas, sembrar huertas,
 Aun para tallar las ropas,
 Para las compras y ventas,
 Siendo cosas transitorias
 Con que el cuerpo se alimenta,
 Tomemos buenos principios,
 Buenos dias y oras buenas;
 Quanto mas ó Muzlimes
 Debemos y con mas veras
 Alimentar nuestras almas,
 Que es gloria perpetua eterna;
 Y principiar buen principio
 Con obras de virtudes llenas
 Renovando nuestra nia,³
 Las costumbres y viviendas:
 Dando de mano á los vicios
 Procurando las viviendas
 Con sobelançia y cuidado:
 Por si en eso no cuenta
 Fenecieran nuestros dias.
 Pues es cosa clara y cierta
 Que un dia de los del año

Habemos de dar la cuenta.
 Y resistar nuestras obras
 Ante la suprema alteza
 Y aun si bien nos acordamos
 Tenemos mas cierta rienda,
 Que en seis dias hizo Allah
 Quanto en el mundo sustenta.
 Y en siete han de fenecer
 Todos quantos vida tengan.
 Pues si en estos siete dias
 Que en la semana se encierran
 Hemos de morir sin duda,
 Y uno dellos nos espera,
 Con quanto cuidado deben
 Los hombres entrar en ella.
 Repitiendo en la memoria
 Lo que el justo real Profeta,
 Digo, Señor cada ora
 Veo el dia de mi cuenta.
 ¡O dia de *Alhad!*⁴ y quando
 En ti comiençan quien piensa
 Ver cumplida la semana?
 Y en medio anegado queda.
 Pues para evitar el pasmo
 De los que tal consideran,
 Entren con buenos principios
 Y asistan de tal manera,
 Se empleen en el servicio
 Déel que todo lo gobierna.
 Demos pues al año nuevo
 Principio con nueva fiesta,
 Alegando cuerpo y alma,
 Por ser la Pasqua primera.
 El tercero de esta Luna
 De *Almuharam* se celebra
 Un dia de siete dias
 Que sobre nuestro Profeta
 Decendieron escojidos
 Para gloria y salud nuestra.
 Son dias de grand ayuno
 Segun se nos representa
 Por los grandes espondios
 Que su alfadila nos muestra.
 El dezeno es el segundo
 Destos siete y sus grandezas
 Enbotan nuestros sentidos.

¹ الفضلة² النوافل plegarias que no son de obligacion.³ intencion نية .⁴ احد

Y para que parte dellas
 Entiendan los Muzlimes
 Sera bien les demos cuenta.
 Este es el dia de *axora* ¹
 En el qual la Suma alteza
 Crió las cosas mas altas
 Señaladas y perfetas.
 El alarx el alcorci
 La luz relumbrante y bella :
 Levantó los siete cielos
 Y los adornó de estrellas
 Y los pobló de almalaques
 Y puso aquellas lumbreras
 Del sol y la blanca luna,
 Con los signos y planetas.
 Crió el Señor el alchana
 De gloria adornada y bella,
 Y la plantó con sus manos,
 Ymajinen que tal sea ;
 El alloh el alcalam
 Halecó, y les dió licencia
 Que escribiese el alcoram,
 Sello de toda grandeza.
 Escribió Allah el taurat
 Con la mano de su esencia,
 Este dia decendió
 La rahma á los hijos de Edam.
 Asentó los firmamentos
 Ygualó las siete tierras,
 Y adornóla con sus manos
 Con plantas, flores y yerbas
 Las mares dulces y amargas
 Y sus amparas entre ellas.
 Formó nuestro primer padre
 A nuestra madre primera,
 Levanto á Edriz al cielo
 Por su perfection sinzera.
 Fue Ibrahim libre del fuego,
 Y Yusuf de la cisterna.
 En el penó Faraon,
 Ayub sanó de la lepra,
 Daniel fué libre del fuego,
 Perdonó el Señor á Edam,
 Este dia paró el arca
 Sobre la mas alta sierra,
 En este dia traspasó Yçe

Dentre la nacion Hebrea,
 Naçio Yce, salió Yunez
 Del vientre de la ballena,
 Dió el Señor á Zacarias
 Por sus rogarias y ofertas
 El hijo que tantos justos ²
 Donde tomó su aspereza.
 Cobró su vista Tobias,
 Libró Dios la jente Hebrea,
 De poder de los Caldeos,
 Con otras gracias ynmensas
 Que el Señor en este dia
 Quizo hazer por su nobleza.
 Y para mas congraçarle
 Dos dias de Pascua y fiesta
 El noveno y el dezeno
 Y el onzeno, y se celebra
 Sus dias con azalaes
 De gracia y son quatro añefilas
 Con *alhamdu* una vegada
 Y *culuhuas* ³ cincueinta.
 En cada araca se digan,
 Y al tiempo que han de ser hechas
 Es en la ora de adohar ⁴
 Antes que alaçar ⁵ venga.
 Esta luna concluida
 Y la que viene tras esta
 Es de *Zafar*, y no tiene
 Ayuno que la suspenda.
 Pero el que quiera emplear
 Aun el trezeno della
 El catorzeno y quizenno,
 Y ganará tal empresa
 Para el dia del Juicio
 Que le aliviará su afrenta.
 Estos son en cada luna
 De grande quilate y cuenta
 Para quien fueron criados,
 Tambien de la parte angelica.
Rabi alaguel prosigue,
 Luego su noche dozena
 Nació nuestro gran caudillo
 Muhamed, y se celebra
 Su noche con alegria,
 Con claredad y limpieza,
 Loando al Señor que quizó

¹ عشورا⁴ Medio dia.² Aqui parece que falta algo.⁵ Entre medio dia y el anochecer.³ قل هو

Sacarnos de las tinieblas
 Del axaitan, y librarlos
 Con tal ley y tal Profeta.
 Clarearon esta noche
 Los cielos, mares y tierras,
 En cuya ynsignia su aluma
 Encienden lumbres y velas.
 Esto basta ó muzlimes
 Para que en tal dia pueda
 Memorar su santo nombre
 En azala ó como sepa.
 Quien habra de sus criaturas
 Que tan sin cuidado duerma?
 Consideren bien que tuvo
 Despues del arahma inmensa
 Pues esto santo anabi
 Y aun al que á tener espera.
Rabialeguai cumplida
 Luego entra *Rabialehar*
Chumed alule le sigue
 Tras esta *Chumedu alehar*,
 Que las pasamos en vuelo
 Por no saber que hazer en ellas,
 Solas las seis no nonbradas
 Que en todas las lunas quedan.
 Entra *Rachab* la famosa
 De mil alabanzas llena,
 Fuente de tanto descanso,
 De tantos provechos vena,
 Esta luna es dedicada
 A la soberana alteza
 Por sus abonadas rahmas
 Por sus gracias tan ymmensas;
 Dizese luna de Allah.
 Y aunque las otras lo sean
 Esta quisó para si,
 Especialar su nobleza.
 Solo este apellido basta
 Y quantos en ella crean
 Asobelar esta luna
 Con ayuno y con limpieza.
 Que mayor retumbo puede
 Sonar en cielo ni en tierra
 Que decir Luna de Allah?
 ¡O soberana grandeza!
 ¿Quien podrá, o Muzlimes!
 Mover los labios y lengua?

El terçero de esta Luna
 Es de los siete que quedan,
 De los demas relatados,
 Que en el la primera alea
 Decendió del Alcoram
 Honrado, y aun o'tro queda
 Destos siete, en esta luna,
 El veinte y seteno della,
 Y de los siete es el quarto.
 En esta Luna setena
 Hay de azala treynta racas
 De gracia desta manera.
 Las diez su primero dia,
 Las diez en el medio dellas,
 Y las diez al fin, y darse
 Quinze azalemes en ellas
 Y lea en cada araca
 Una vez *alhamdu* entera
 Y diez vezes *culiayuhe*
Alquefrina,¹ tras esta
Culuhua allahu ahadu ²
 Otras tres vezes se cuenta.
 Acabada esta santa luna,
 Y luego se representa
 Otra no menos copiosa
 De alfadila y de grandeza,
Xaban es la esclarecida
 Dedicada en su pureça
 A nuestro honrado Anabi.
 Mas de Muhamad se cuenta
 Lalfadila de su ayuno
 No hay tracendencia que pueda
 Significar su principio,
 Ni parte que sea entera
 Y bastale su apellido
 Sin buscar otras arengas
 Para conocer su precio.
 Lo que nos llama y enseña
 Su quinzeno dia es el quinto
 De los siete que se cuentan.
 Noche del tahor ³ se llama,
 Segun los alimes cuentan,
 Que se llama del tahor
 Por que sirve su limpieza
 Por todo un año sin duda.
 Digo ad aquellos que mueran
 Por causa sin tabararse

¹ قل يا ايها الكافرون² قل هو الله احد³ Purificacion.

O que bañar no se puedan,
 A estos sirve esta gracia
 Que es como si al punto fuera
Taharado por sus manos,
 O por los que vivos quedan.
 Y así los que á tahararse
 Esta noche se desvelan,
 Les cobijara la *rahma*
 Del Señor de la nobleza.
 En esta noche se hazen
 De voluntad cien añefilas
 Con sus cincuenta azalemes ;
 Y se ha de leer en ellas
Alhamdu solo una vez,
 Y once *culuhuas* por cuenta,
 Pidiendo despues perdon
 Al Señor de sus flaquezas.
 En esta luna adelante
 Su noche veintisetena
 Tambien azala de gracia
 Deben hazer quatro añefilas
 Con *alhamdu* una vegada,
 Y otra vegada tras esta
Yde zuzilat ilardo,¹
 Y veinticinco por cuenta
Culuhua alla hu ahadu
 Y a la ora que sean hechas
 Es entre *almagrib* y *alatema*.
 Y quando cumplidas sean
 Azachede² con la frente
 Digo sobre la alhaçera³
 Y *alhamdu* con *culuhua*
 Y los dos *culaudus*⁴ lea
 En cada azora tres vezes,
 Y en alçando la cabeça
 Dando al Señor alabaças,
 Diga : no hay poder ni fuerça
 Sino con Allah el grandissimo,
 Quanto el ojo se azacheda.
 Cumplida esta santa Luna,
 Sus estandartes desplega
 La preceptada á Muhamad
 Y a su aluma verdader.
Romadan la engrandecida
 De las doce la novena !

Secretos grandes de Allah
 Que no fuese la primera.
 Quien podrá ó Muzlimes
 Para poderos dar cuenta,
 Si quiere el menor simile,
 Tener junto con mi lengua
 La platica de Alhaçan,
 De Cabu alehaber la ciencia,
 El dezir de Catredata,
 De Algazel la eloquencia,
 De Ben arabi el discurso,
 Los similes de Avicena,
 De Omar Bei el buen estilo,
 De Almorabi la sentencia,
 De Aben Ruiz el ingenio,
 Y junto con todas estas
 La gracia y sabiduria
 De Zulaiman, y escribiera
 Con el alcalam de Uzmen
 Y su consejo y prudencia.
 Que do prudencia no asiste
 No sirve verdad entera :
 Como con todo esta *layda*⁵
 Y mi voluntad sinzera
 Relatada esta Luna
 Sus encumbradas grandezas :
 Pero admitan mis deseos
 Todos quantos esto lean.
 Y pues que todo me falta
 Diremos largas arengas
 Por dezir la obligacion
 Que este mes me representa.
 Primeramente la lengua,
 Los sentidos y potencias
 Muy unidos y conformes
 Dando de si tales muestras,
 Quen todo se eche de ver
 La contricion y limpieza,
 Que tiene el cuerpo y el alma,
 Conociendo su flaqueza.
 Y la merced que le hizo
 El Señor que lo sustenta
 Es guiarnos al camino
 Del adim por que pudiera⁶
 Son infieles descreidos

¹ اذا زلزلت الارض

² Postrarse.

³ الحصير la estera.

⁴ قُلْ آمَنُ

⁵ عيد fiesta.

⁶ Aquí parece que falta algo.

Ymagine que tal sea
 Pues porque nadi lo ignore ;
 Y lo que le obliga entienda
 Queste ayuno no consiste
 Solamente en abstinencia
 Del comer y del beber,
 Que tambien ha de haber rienda
 En detener los sentidos,
 Las manos, ojas, y lenguas,
 Los oidos y los pies,
 Que ande todo en la obidencia
 Del Señor que lo ha criado
 Para su servicio y cuenta.
 Hagan parada sus leyes,
 Atajense las malezas,
 Detenganse las codicias,
 De las hambrientas haciendas,
 Olvidense las quistiones,
 Los enojos y pependencias,
 Enemistades y bandos,
 Ambiciones y violencias.
 Gimán nuestros corazones,
 Conformense en avenencias
 De nuestras culpas y yerros,
 Y en lo venidero ymienda.
 Abrasese el axaitan
 En sus tormentos y penas,
 Alegrese el Muzlim
 Dando alabanzas immensas
 A quien le dió entendimiento
 Para conocer sus yerros.
 Pasemos pues adelante
 Su noche veintisetena
*Laylat ulcadri*¹ se llama,
 Noche de contento llena,
 Sobrepuja en alfadila
 A mil meses, porque en ella
 Decendio la mayor gracia
 Ques sobre los hijos de Edam :
 Deçendió despues que fueron
 Criados cielos y tierras
 Que fué el honrrado alcoran
 Sobre nuestro gran Profeta.
 Solenizan esta noche
 Con tazbihes y le ilehas

Y de açala quatro añefilas
 Con una vegada *alhamdu*,
*Yne anzalanehu*² lean
 Çien veces, y *culuhua*
 Otras veinte y cinco lean,
 Y para que concluyamos
 Esta luna, quando sea
 El tiempo del despidir
 Su noche veintinovená,
 Perfuma tu casa y ropas
 Con todas olores buenas
 Y renovando el tahor,
 Entrarás en la alhaçera
 Diciendo *zurban Allah*³
 Tres vegadas, y tras desta
 Dirás en salutacion
 Tres veces desta manera :
 “ Ayuda y salva Señor
 A Chebril por su nobleza,
 A Miqueil y á Yzarafil
 Y á Azarayel y á quien lleva
 La grandeza de tu alarxe,
 A Hagua tambien á Edan
 Y á todos los almalaques
 Que halecaste en el cielo.”
 Despues hareis dos arracas,
 Liendo *alhamdu* una dellas,
 La grandeza de su *alarx*
 Y *culiayuhe*⁴ y *yde chea*⁵
 Siete veces cada *alea*.
 Y acabando rogarás
 Al Señor que te dé fuerças
 Para aumentar en virtud
 Los servicios y obras buenas,
 Y que reciba tu ayuno
 De la suerte que deseas,
 Confiando que su *arahma*
 Un punto jamas se aleja,
 Siempre nos va dando aliento,
 Siempre la tenemos cerca,
 Y donde su *rahma* asiste
 No hay que temer cosa adversa.
 Cumplida esta Luna honrada
 La que detras della entra
 Es *Xaguel*, sus tres dias

¹ ليلة القدر

² انا انزلناه في ليلة القدر

³ سبحان الله

⁴ قل يا ايها

⁵ إذا جاء نصر الله والفتح

Primeros son pasqua y fiesta
 Por honra de Romadam,
 Que los Muzlimes se alegran
 Con los cantares divinos
 Del adim y su limpieza.
 Pasado el primero dia
 Desta pasqua, los que quedan
 Son dias de gran ventaja,
 Su ayuno y su grandeza
 Tiene un año cumplido
 De alfadila y de nobleza.
 No tiene mas que avisar
 Esta luna, mas la onzena
 Ques *Dulquieda* tiene un dia
 Su veintiñiqueno della,
 Y es el sexto de los siete
 De quien hemos de dar euenta.
 Entra la luna *Dulhiche*,
 Ques la dozena y postrera,
 Ultima fin y remate
 No menos que la primera.
 Su noveno es *arafa*¹
 De quien la escriptura euenta
 Tan yncomparables graeias
 Que á las de Axora se semejan:
 Es de los siete el seteno
 Y aquel que ayunarlos pueda
 Ganará de un año entera
 Toda su alfadila entera.
 Mas para que me detengo
 Tanto en dezir las proezas
 Destas alfadilas tantas,
 Pues mucho mas questo encierra
 La promesa del Señor
 Que nos ofrece por ella,
 Que nos ha de dar descanso
 Al questas obras sobela,
 Pues dice quel dará.
 ¿ Que alcalam habrá que pueda
 Llegar á lo que pretende
 Con mares, rios y arenas?
 ¿ Que gotas tiene la pluvia?
 ¿ Que plantas tiene la tierra?
 ¿ Que peso tienen los montes
 Y que numerosas yerbas?
 ¿ Que precio el sol y la luna?
 Y el cuento de las estrellas

Que comprenden y á los cielos
 Con mundos, y que comprendan
 Queso muevan ellaluma²
 Donde el peso y su promesa.
 Despiertese el Muzlím,
 Saque fuerças de flaqueza,
 No pierda tantos despojos,
 Como aqui nos representa
 Estos ayunos de gracia.
 Mira que nos amonesta
 Por nuestro honrado Alcoram
 Que en el dia de la afrenta,
 Nos serán estos preceptos
 Gran alivio á nuestras penas,
 Grande sombra al gran calor,
 Y á su espanto gran defensa.
 El dezeno desta luna
 Pasqua de los adaheas,³
 Por honra del saerifieio
 De Brahim y su deguella,
 Son quatro dias siguientes
 De contento gozo y fiesta,
 De donde el alma y el cuerpo
 Se descansan y se huelgan.
 Saerificio de sus reses,
 Sana gorda buena y neta
 A la hora de adoha
 Ques quando el sol se estienda.
 Atada de pies y manos
 Tome lalquibla derecha,
 Y al tiempo del degollar,
 Diga aquel que la deguella
Bizmi yllahi Allah hu aqbar
 Y tenga perfumes buenos
 En parte linpia y secreta.
 Esta ha de ser cada Pasqua
 Que de parte se celebra.
 Mate una res si puede,
 Y sino aquello que pueda,
 Que Dios recibe las obras
 Segun como las sobelan.
 En esto los alhijantes
 Visitan y reverencian
 La santa casa de Allah.
 Por ques preceptada deuda
 Una jornada en la vida
 A los que cunplirlo puedan.

¹ عرفات

² El mundo. Aqui parece que falta algo.

³ ضحية victima.

Y pues Allah fue servido
Y dió lugar questa tierra
Sojuzgasen los infieles,
Que nos reprimen y fuerçan
A seguir sus falsos ritos
Contra la santa ley nuestra,
Hasta nuestras propias casas
Sus sombras nos hazen guerra :
Esforçemos estos dias

Quanto en nuestro poder sea
A lo menos el de Arafa
No quede por negligencia
Y alcanzaremos el premio
Del que el alcaba rodea.
Quatro dias son festivos
Los que la pasqua enseña
Y cumplidas sus aracas
Pasan, que no hay mas en ellas.

LE HAULE GUA LE CAUGUATA ILE BILLAHI YLALI
YLADIMI ¹

لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم ¹

BIZMI YLLAHI Y RAHMENI Y RAHIM.

Dixo nuestro anabi Muhamad salam : ad Allah hay noventa y nueve nonbres sin los demas apellidos, con que su divina majestad se nonbra, que sin numero especialanse : con estos noventa y nueve nonbres quien los nonbrare y rogare ad Alla con ellos entrará en el alchana. Adviertese que se nonbran los nonbres en arabigo por la margen en derecho de aquellos su declaracion alchemiada á modo de rogatiba y peticion ad Allah taale.

Ye alla يا الله

Esencia divina y sola
Que desde tu inpirio asiento
Ziñes, comprendes, y abarcas
Cielos, tierras, mar y centro.

Ye rabi يا رب

Señor, que tu Señorio
Es sin limite ni cerco,
Pues con ninguno confina
Mas de con tu ser inmenso.

Ye rahmenu يا رحمن

Piadoso, que en este mundo
A quantos en el nacieron,
Con tu piádad los encubres
Qual si todos fueran buenos.

Ye rahimu يا رحيم

Piadosisimo en el otro
De los que te obedecieron,
Donde con sus obras flacas
Les apesgaron su peso.

Ye malicu يا ملك

Rey que reynas para siempre
Por que es sin igual tu reyno,
A cuyas leyes se humilla
Lo ques á la tierra y cielo.

Ye cuduçu يا قدوس

Santisimo ensantecido,
Santedad, santo, y bien nuestro,
Solo ensantecerte saben
Tus espíritus angelicos.

Ye zalemu يا سلام

Paçifico, paz perpetua,
Paz pura sin yndirectos,
Que á ninguno mueves guerra
Por sus faltas y defectos.

Ye muminu يا مومن

Creyente que tu creyencia
Fué antecendida á tus sierbos
Y como tu te conoçes
Fuiste el creyente primero.

Ye muhaiminu يا مهيمين

Purificado en tus obras,
Que no se hallará en tus hechos
Quanto mas y mas se mira,
Falta, quiebra, ni defecto.

Ye azizu يا عزيز

Honrado que á todos honras
Segun sus merecimientos,
A todas sus obras miras
Y a nadi con menosprecio.

Ye chaberu يا جبار

Poderoso sobre todos,
Pues quantos poder tuvieron
Con tu poder son forzados
Acabados y deshechos.

Ye mutacabiru يا متكبر

Mayor, que los mayoríos
Reduces a mas pequeños,
Y á los menores levantas
Al mayor de los asientos.

Ye cadimu يا قديم

Grandisimo engrandeçido,
Que no tiene abarcamiento
Tu grandeza do no llega
Ningun humano talento.

Ye alimu يا علم

Sabio que tu solo sabes
Lo oculto y mas encubierto,
Y por lo que es en tu ciencia
Diste el saber á los legos.

Ye halimu يا حلیم

Paciente que tanto sufres,
Tantas faltas y defectos,
Y á todos les das parcida
Hasta su conocimiento.

Ye taricu.¹

Morador que ante tus ojos
Los alarxes estan puestos,
Y tu vista los traspasa
Sin ningun ynpidimiento.

Ye baçiru يا بصير

Veedor que nos penetras
Lo oculto de nuestros pechos,
Y ves a donde camina
El fin de nuestros intentos.

Ye haqimu يا حكيم

Juzgador que has de juzgar
Lo bueno ó malo que obremos,
En particular juicio,
Y despues en universo.

Ye zamiu يا سمیع

Oydor de quien te llama
Todas oras y momentos,
Y quanto la voz mas flaca,
Haze ante ti mas estruendo.

Ye nuru يا نور

Claredad clara y perfeta
Que los antepuestos velos
Traciendes, y a quien te adora
Clarificas alma y cuerpo.

Ye hadiçn يا هادی

Guiador que nos enseñas
El camino limpio y neto,
De ancho corto y suave,
Si de nuestro no toreemos.

Ye muchidu يا مجید

O noble que ennobleciste
Tantos y tan ricos templos
Con tu divina palabra
Por los de tus mensajeros.

¹ Aqui parece que hay un error.

Ye chadidu يا شديد

O fuerte que tantos fuertes
A tus fuerzas se rindieron,
Y todas sus fortalezas
Fueron humo viento y sueño.

Ye aliyu يا على

Altissimo, ensantecido,
Soberano alto y supremo,
Que á los humildes levantas
Y abates á los soberbios.

Ye çadieu يا صادق

O verdadero quien duda
Tus dichos tan verdaderos,
Suma bondad, sumo bien,
A quien creo y reverencio.

Ye hacu يا حق

Averdaceiente á todo
Quanto en tu nombre dixeron
Tus honrrados alquitebes,
Y los que los escribieron.

Ye hamidu يا حميد

O loado! á quien alaban
El cielo y sus movimientos,
La tierra, yerbas y plantas,
Hombres, aves, fieras, vientos.

Ye zubuhu يا نسوح

Bendito á quien las tres voces
Bendizen á sus acentos,
Y tu bendicion ensanchas
La flor de nuestros sustentos.

Ye cabiru يا كبير

Mayor, que los mayorios
Tu te quedaste con ellos,
Y así los dos por tus manos
Por diferentes senderos.

Ye guadudu يا ودود

Amoroso, que tu amor
Los tienes a bando lleno,
Y amas á los que te aman
En particular estremo.

Ye muzilu يا مذل

Deballador de las plubias
Sobre los montes y yermos,
Con quien abebras y creçen
Todos los mantenimientos.

Ye beiçu يا باعث

Rebilcador de los ojos
Adormidos e yncurueños,
Y para tu residencia
Rebilcaras nuestros cuerpos.

Ye halicu يا خالط

Formador de lo formado
De todo quanto se ha hecho,
En seis días lo formaste
Sin tener ningun acuerdo.

Ye beiçu يا باعث

Criador, que tus criaturas
Que de los vientres salieron
Pequeños, y ya son grandes
Sin ver por donde crecieron.

Ye muçaguiru يا مصور

Figurador que figuras
Los rostros lindos y bellos,
Los cuerpos grandes y chicos,
Los tullidos y contrechos.

Ye guaiçu يا واسع

Abarcante que comprendes
Tu alcorçe y los firmamentos,
Sin darte enojo ni pena
Ninguna su guardamiento.

Ye hayu يا حي

Vivo que morir no puedes
Por no ser sujeto al tiempo,
Y todas las vidas mueren
Por tu plazo y querimiento.

Ye guafaru يا غفار

Perdonador de pecados
De los que se arrepintieron,
Y á los que sus culpas lloran
Con pecho sinzero y tierno.

Ye cayumu يا قيوم

Mantenedor que mantienes
Tu divino ofrecimiento,
Y no puede tu promesa
Ser trocada en ningun tiempo.

Ye muqçitu يا منقسط

Justiciero justo juez
Que á todos das su derecho,
Quanto en perdonar piadoso
Tanto en su justicia reto.

Ye niema al maule يا نعم المولى

O mejor de los mejores!
Que la mejora te dieron
Tus hechos altos y grandes,
Por donde te conocemos.

Ye nieme anaziru يا نعم النصير

El mejor de las defensas,
A cuyo amparo acudieron
Quantos fueron defendidos
Del Ibliz y sus enredos.

Ye ganiyu يا غنى

Rico que das las riquezas
De sin numero ni cuento,
A unos por su descanso,
Y a otros por su tormento.

Ye caribu يا قريب

Cercano que no dexas
Jamás tu acompañamiento,
Pues dentro de las entrañas
Te tenemos y queremos.

Ye zabibu يا صاحب

Compañero fiel y firme
Tan constante firme y fiero,
Que sino te despidimos
No nos dexas un momento.

Ye xarifu يا شريف

Gracioso que das tus gracias
Por tan diferentes medios,
Tantas y por tantas partes
Y nadi vive contento.

Ye muiçu يا معز

Honrador de los honrados
Que honraron tus mandamientos,
Y á tus justos anabies
Congraciaron y siguieron.

Ye mudilu يا مذل

Abatidor de los malos
Que negaron tus preceptos,
Y fueron desobedientes
A tus santos mandamientos.

Ye dulcuguati يا ذو القوة

El de la gran fortaleza
Con la qual todos tus sierbos
Sufrieron tantos martyrios
Tantas muertes y tormentos.

Ye muhiyi يا محى

El que da vida á los vivos
Mientras viven en el suelo,
Que no hay vida que mas viva
De lo que le das aliento.

Ye mumitu يا مميت

El que da á los vivos muerte
Sin dexar á nadi esento,
Que no sirve largo plazo
Pues todos han de ser muertos.

Ye muqtadiru يا مقتدر

Ordenador de los plazos
De las mejoras del tiempo,
De verano y primavera,
Del otoño y del ynbierno.

Ye mucadiru يا مقدر

Anticipante á tu amor
Antes que criados fuesemos,
Y sobrevino tu arahma
Tu perdon y tu remedio.

Ye muguahiru يا موخر

Tarduo en darnos castigo
Quanto mas lo merecemos,
Y tu justicia dilatas
Para que nos reparemos.

Ye muntaqimu يا منتقم

O tomador de venganza
De aquellos que no quisieron
Obedecer tus mandados,
Y tu ley escarnecieron.

Ye afuu يا عفو

Dador de parcida larga
Sobre los aflijimientos,
Como á tu querido Ibrahim
Diste parcida en el fuego.

Ye hemiu يا حامى

Aplegador que complegas
Tantos copiosos exercitos,
Y allegarás á juicio
A los que serán y fueron.

Ye mugniu يا مغنى

Conflexador que conflexas
Las fortunas y *albelees*,¹
Que sobre los halecados
Baxan por sus nocimientos.

Ye razecu يا رزاق

O dador de los arizques,
Que baxo los hondos pielagos
Das arizque á los gusanos
Y á las aves en los vientos.

Ye meniu يا مانع

Devedador de la saña
De tanto indignado pecho,
Y á los airados refrenas
De executar sus deseos.

Ye cabidu يا قابض

Recojedor, que recojes
Al yugo del salvamiento
A los que engaño este mundo
Con sus deleitosos ceños.

Ye beçitu يا باسط

Ensanchador, que ensanchece
Sobre quantos decendieron
La ley del santo Alcoram
A los demas proçedieron.

Ye rafu يا رافع

Enxalçador de los justos,
Que por sus justos meritos
Levantaste al justo Edris
A la gloria de tu cielo.

Ye chafidu يا خافض

O abaxador, que abaxaste
Los almalaques soberbios
De los mas altos estados
A los mas baxos asientos.

Ye nefu يا نافع

Aprovechante á los fieles
Creyentes justos y buenos
Que tu santa ley guardaron
Y por fé te conocieron.

Ye darru يا ضار

Dañador de los infieles,
Aquellos que descreyeron
Con los que por tu alcoram
Les dixo tu mensagero.

Ye mubdiu يا مبدى

Principiador sin principio,
Que tantos principios fueron,
En tu nombre principiaron
Y en el mismo fenecieron.

Ye muydu يا معيد

Estorbador, que estorbaste
Las maquinas y argumentos
De los que en tu ofensa hazian
Torres casas y cimientos.

¹ بلاء malos.

Ye faalu يا فاعال

Hacedor de lo que quieres
Sin parecer ni consejo,
Lo que quieres deshazer
Lo deshaces asi mesmo.

Ye muçciu يا محصى

Comprendedor, que comprendes
El numero de los cuentos
De todas tus criaturas
Y el conto de sus alientos.

Ye gualiu يا ولي

Procurador que procuras
Por lo que á tí se acorrieron,
Y demandarán tu auxilio
Y a tu amparo se acorrieron.

Ye taguebu ياتواب

Recibidor de repisos,
Repentidos verdaderos,
Y das las apenidencias
A quantos te la pidieron.

Ye rafu يا رؤوف

Arahmoso que tu arahma
Amahó el vientre caverno
Donde Yunez estuviese
Guardado sano y entero.

Ye qafu ياكافى

Bastante, que no hay quien baste
A dar un solo argumento
A cosa que tenga vida
Si cesa su bastimento.

Ye guariçu يوارث

Herederor de tu gloria
Que á tí serán los herencios
De todo lo que has criado,
Que al fin todos tuyos fucron.

Ye raxidu يارشىد

Adreçador, que adreçaste
A Musa en el mar bermejo,
Por donde libres pasaron
Sus prosapantes Hebreos.

Ye guachidu يا واجد

Trovador, que te trovaron
Los antiguos y primeros
Tan grande y tan poderoso
Como agora los modernos.

Ye xacuru يا شكور

Agradecido á lo poco
Quen tu serbizio hazemos,
Pues por tan miseras obras
Recibes nuestros deseos.

Ye guaçilu يا وكيل

Sostribançado sostribas
Todo nuestro atallamiento
Y quanto mas sostribamos
Mas seguridad tenemos.

Ye xahidu يا شهيد

Testigo de nuestras obras
Que á tu no hay trasponimiento
Que todo es en tu presencia
Por mas que nos ascondemos.

Ye raçibu يا رقيب

Considerado, espacioso,
No arojado ni soberbio,
No entristecido en tus obras
Tirano ni fraudulentor.

Ye muchibu يا محيب

Respondedor á las obras
De los acongoados ruegos,
Que á los tales das tu rahma
Mas presto quel pensamiento.

Ye haçibu يا حسيب

O tomador de la cuenta
Del dia solo y tremendo,
En el qual tus anabies
Daran cuenta con sus pueblos.

Ye habiru يا خمير

Avisado que no duermes,
Ni te alcança algun trascuerto,
Ni ignoras ni dudas cosa,
Ni piensas ni estas suspenso.

Ye latifu يا لطيف

Sutil en todas tus obras
Primo delicado y diestro,
Que á las obras de tu mano
No hay alcance ni maestro.

Ye maliq almulqi يا ملك الملوك

Rey del Reismo, que diste
A Zulaimen tal gobierno,
Y despues se lo quitaste
Para su mejoramiento.

Ye dulchulali gualierami

يا ذو الجلال والاکرام

El de la nobleza y honrra,
Quien honrran y ennoblecieron
Almalaques y annabies
Bien aventurados dellos.

Ye fatehu يا فتاح

O carpidor de la tierra
Con las yerbas en sus tiempos,
Y aquel que las nubes abre
Con relanpagos y truenos.

Ye mubinu يا مبین

Declarado quesclareces
A nuestros entendimientos,
Y en carta clara escreviste
Lo pasado y venidero.

Ye tahiru يا طاهر

Limpio, que alinpiarnos mandas
Por que á ti nos alleguemos
Con tu azala el apurado
Nuestros lados e ynstrumentos.

Ye hafidu يا حفيظ

O guardado que te guardas
En tu divino secreto,
En donde guardas las obras
De aquellos que te sirvieron.

Ye agualu يا اول

Primero, primer principio,
Que tu principio primero

No principio, pues no tienes
Quando, como, ni en que tiempo.

Ye ehiru يا اخر

Ultimo, que a ti no hay cabo,
Fin fincable y abeterno,
Que remueve toda cosa,
Despues de todos postrero.

Ye hadiru يا حاضر

Presente á todas las partes,
Que no hay traça ni concierto,
Que tu divina presencia
No esté de ordinario en medio.

Ye betinu يا باطن

Intrinseco que ascondiste
Tan encumbrados misterios
A la humana trascendencia,
Pues ninguno llegó a verlo.

Ye hadu يا احد

Unidad, unico y solo
Sin igual ni compañero,
Que no permite segundo,
Semejança ni tanteo.

Ye zamadu يا صمد

Obedecido de todos
A cuya obidenciã fueron
Venidos cielos y tierras
Con todo quanto hay en ello.

Ye man lam yulid يا من لم يولد

El que no enjendrô á ninguno
Ni tuvo hijo heredero,
Ni quiso ni pudo ser
Por que no pudo tenello.

Ye man lam yulad يا من لم يولد

El que no ha sido enjendrado
De nadi no pudo serlo,
Solo fue, y solo será,
Causa sin causa y sin çetro.

Señor por el alfadila
 Que en estos nonbres has puesto,
 Y por el grande expandio
 Que tiene cada uno dellos,
 Por el conto que le diste
 De noventa y nueve, siendo
 Sin cuento y fué tu querer
 Que no llegasen á ciento,
 Por el *alif* de tu gracia,
 Por el *lam* de tu consuelo,
 Por el *mim* de tu creéncia,
 Y el *ha* de su amahamiento,
 Por los veinte y nueve alharfes,
 Donde encerraste el secreto
 De tu ley santa y bendita,
 Y el prez de su enseñamiento :
 Por ciento y catorze *azoras*
 Que baxaron á este suelo ;
 Y por los embaxadores
 Que tus cartas expandieron ;
 Por el alinchil de Ibrahim,
 Por el azabur de Dend,
 Por el ataurad de Muçe,
 Y por el santo evangelio,
 Por la fuente y manantio
 Que proceden todos estos,
 Que fué tu onrrado Alcoram,
 Fin de todos los decretos.
 Señor por tu amigo Brahim,
 Por Muçe tu consejero,
 Por Almasih tu resollo,
 Y por Muhamad tu siervo,
 Por su escojida anubua,
 Por sus santos mandamientos,
 Por la luz de su sepulcro,
 Y por sus diez compañeros,
 Por todos los anabies,
 Questa luz entretuvieron,
 Y los demas que sin ella
 Pudieron entretenello ;¹
 Señor por todo lo dicho,
 Y mas lo que dezir puedo,
 De todos los almalaques
 Que adornan tus siete çielos,
 Por los que llevan tu alarx
 Sin darles pena su peso,
 Y por los quatro almalaques
 Que tienen mas nombramiento ;

Y por aquel grande amor
 Que anticipaste á tus siervos
 Por lo mucho que nos quieres,
 Y por el grande contento
 Que tienen los almalaques
 De nuestro aprovechamiento.
 Te demandamos tu ayuda,
 Tu perdon y tu remedio,
 Perdonanos Rey piadoso
 De aquello que te ofendemos,
 Mas á tí nada te ofende
 Que todo es en daño nuestro :
 Abe piedad de nosotros !
 Sacanos de tanto estrecho,
 Mira los grandes trabajos
 Que padecemos en estos reynos,
 Mira nuestra gran conduelma,
 Mira nuestro aflijimiento,
 Mira que no te serbimos
 Como serbirte debemos,
 Mira como nos persiguen,
 Mira quanto es nuestro miedo,
 Pues por temor de los hombres
 Tu servicio posponemos ;
 Y si nuestras grandes culpas
 Tal castigo merecieron,
 No lo paguen nuestros hijos
 Questan ygnorantes dellos :
 Mira Señor que se crian
 Sin luz ni conocimiento
 De tú que los has criado,
 Y les has de dar sustento :
 No permitas que se pierdan,
 Ten misericordia dellos,
 Y abe piedad de sus padres,
 Da pasada de sus yerros ;
 Y pues jamas se cerraron
 A ninguna ora ni tiempo
 De tu remedio las puertas,
 A los que abrirlas quisieron :
 No se cierren á nosotros
 En este tan grande extremo,
 Traspasen nuestros clamores
 La gordeza de tus çielos.
 Señor oye los clamores
 Los sospiros y lamentos
 De aquellos que por tu Ley
 Padeçen tantos tormentos ;

¹ Variante : publica: on tus preceptos.

Mira nuestra gran flaqueza,
 Nuestro poco sufrimiento ;
 Pues de tu ley nos deroga
 Un tormento tan pequeño.
 Si tu divina bondad
 No provee algun remedio,
 Nuestras fuerças desfallecen,
 Y son de poco momento.
 Señor como socorriste
 Los aflijidos Hebreos,
 Y les diste libertad
 Dentre sus contrarios fieros,
 Como les pasaste el mar,
 A vivir en el desierto
 Y los pusiste en la tierra
 De tu grande ofrecimiento :
 Como dentre los Asirios

Les quitaste el cautiverio,
 Y sacudieron el yugo
 De la servitud y apremio,
 Nos la concede á nosotros
 Que oigamos para consuelo,
 Otra voz de claredad
 Como la que estos oyeron.
 Y si yo en algo he faltado
 O me alargué á mas de aquello
 Que mi facultad me daba,
 Por congraçiar á mis versos ;
 Perdona mis ignorancias,
 Pues ya sabes mi deseo,
 Que dellas y de mis culpas
 A tu gran piedad me apelo.

EMIN.

TAMAT BIHAMDI YLAHI.¹

NOTE.

THE poem of Mohamed Rabadan, the Aragonese, has now been all published in the Journal. The Canto of the Death of Muhammad, and then the Canto of the Day of Judgment, which were published first in this Journal on account of their superior merit, have their proper place between the Canto of the Surat of Alhamdu or the Fatiha, and the Canto of the Months of the Year. The portion of Rabadan's poem now given is not equal in poetical merit to other portions which have preceded it, perhaps for the reason given by Rabadan himself of the difficulty of tying down the verse to historical exactness. The number of Arabic terms with which this portion of the poem is loaded have also made it less good in this respect than other parts of the poem. Some of these, such as *ydechea*, or "iza jâ," are rather difficult to recognize, and others, as *le ileha*, show the extent to which Arabic pronunciation had become modified amongst the Moriscoes. There was a misprint in the portion first published, which it may be as well to correct. In the account of the death of the Prophet, Rabadan says that just before his death, he repeated "that precious verse, Ikra bismi Rabika," and this was printed Y quera, bismi Rabica, Yquera or Ikra having been mistaken for the Spanish, "Y que era, and which was."

¹ Del MS. de Paris : Concluyó por la gracia de Dios.

The tradition as given by Rabadan represents the Prophet as ending his life uttering the same Surat of the Koran, with which he began to preach his mission.

In the Canto of the Months of the Year, our poet expresses a wish that he had, amongst other talents of famous authors and learned men, "The speech of Catredata." I have been unable to ascertain who is meant by this name, the only suggestion that I can think of is Ibn al Kathir, one of seven masters of the science of reading the Koran.

A rather large piece relating to the marriage of Muhammad and Khadija, and which is not in the London MS., has been extracted from the MS. of Paris; this is perhaps more generally interesting than any other part of the poem in this number. This portion, however, more than any of what has been already published, shows that the Moriscoes had preserved the tenacity of memory and tradition of the Arabs, for it is singular how exactly, even as to words and expressions, Rabadan follows the Arab authorities, since he himself says that he had no books, as the Inquisition had caused them to be lost; and had this not been so, his condition as a cultivator of the soil would have prevented his having any large access to books.

It is a cause of satisfaction that the publication of the entire poem of Rabadan has now been concluded, and that a work of such merit should have been rescued from oblivion. Whatever opinion may be formed of Rabadan's place amongst the poets, or of the philological value of a work written by one of the Moriscoes at the date of their expulsion from Spain, or of its value as a criterion of the intellectual status of the Moriscoes, it will be admitted that the publication of this poem has been a very fitting and suitable task for the Asiatic Society, on account of the ideas contained in it.

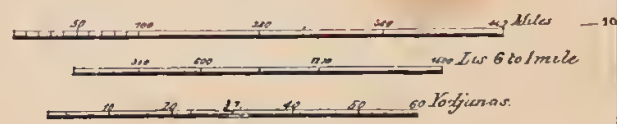
Fragments of Morisco Spanish translations of the Koran have for some time been known to exist in Spain, and quite recently a complete translation has been discovered.

If a copy of this translation can be obtained, and if the Council of the Society think fit, it may be published later in the pages of this Journal.



SOUTHERN PART OF INDIA
 Showing HIOUEN THSANG'S route from
 PATNA TO BALLABHI

SCALES.





JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. IX.—*On Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

IN his *Life of Gaudama*, Bishop Bigandet remarks that “the voyages of two Chinese travellers, undertaken in the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, have done more to elucidate the history and geography of Buddhism in India than all that has hitherto been found in the Sanskrit and Pali books of India and the neighbouring countries.”¹ Feeling strongly impressed with the truth of this observation, I attempted, in a paper published in a recent volume² of this Journal, to utilize the scanty materials afforded by the Chinese travellers to settle some of the disputed points of Mediæval Indian chronology; and I now propose to examine a portion of the much more copious materials their works afford for determining the geography of India at the period it was visited by them.

On the present occasion, at least, I shall not attempt to go over the whole subject. It would require a volume as thick as that which General Cunningham has lately devoted to it to do justice to such an extended research; and in order to bring what I have to say within the limits of an article, I propose selecting the middle portion of Hiouen-Thsang's travels, as not only sufficient to show whether the principles of criticism I

¹ *Life of Gaudama*, 1868, p. 291.

² Vol. IV. (N.S.), pp. 81-137.

adopt are correct, but as determining the position of a great many places of very considerable interest to the geography of our own provinces.

I may also mention, before going further, that in order to simplify what I have to say, I have not attempted to follow Fa-Hian¹ in his travels through part of this district, and have only mentioned him when he comes in contact with Hiouen-Thsang's route, and when his experiences serve to elucidate the travels which are the main object of this paper. As a rule his accuracy as a geographer is far inferior to that of Hiouen-Thsang; and especially when long distances are concerned, his measurements are untrustworthy to an extent never found in those of his successor. For short distances, however, or local descriptions, his determinations are sometimes quite equal to anything to be found in the works we are especially concerned with.

In order also to limit the extent of this paper as much as possible, I have confined myself strictly to geographical details, and these only,—omitting all historical and mythological allusions which did not bear directly on the main purpose of this investigation.

At first sight it may appear like a work of supererogation, going over the ground again, as the whole subject has already been investigated by two men so well qualified to the task as M. Vivien de St.-Martin and General Cunningham. The first named, who is well known and esteemed for his various works on geography, with the collaboration of M. Stanislas Julien, the translator, appended a "Mémoire Analytique" to Hiouen-Thsang's great work published in 1858,² in which he follows the traveller from the time he left China till his return home, and fixes many points with considerable precision.

General Cunningham's attention has long been directed to

¹ *Fo-koü-ki*. Translated by Abel Rémusat. 4to. Paris, 1836. *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun*. Translated by the Rev. S. Beal. London, 1869.

² *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales traduites du Sanscrit en Chinois* p'an 648, par Hiouen-Thsang, etc. This work in the text I propose to call by the Chinese name *Si-yu-ki*, in order to distinguish it from "La vie de Hiouen-Thsang par Hoëi-li," translated also by M. Stanislas Julien, and published in 1853.

the same subject, and during the four years 1861-64, in which he held the appointment of Archæological Surveyor of India, he travelled over the greater part of the countries traversed by Hiouen-Tsang, and visited most of the places mentioned by him in Northern India.¹ With such local knowledge and advantages, it might be supposed that so practised an archæologist as the General undoubtedly is, would leave few gleanings for those that came after him; but the results I have arrived at lead me to believe that the subject is by no means exhausted. The truth appearing to be, that we have followed two totally different systems in attempting to extract correct determinations from the brief descriptions of our traveller; and the question I really wish to put before the Society is, to determine which system leads to the most satisfactory results.

The mode of proceeding adopted by my predecessors may generally be described as trying to ascertain, by a careful and critical examination of existing maps, aided by local knowledge, where they suppose the place was which is mentioned by the traveller; and when that is found, neither of them hesitate to alter the text of their author, both as to direction and distance, in order that it may conform with this predetermined conclusion.

The system I have adopted is different from this. I have in all instances adhered literally to the statements in the Chinese works as presented to me.² I have not in a single instance found it necessary to alter the texts beyond certain well defined and easily understood limits presently to be pointed out. By following this course I have been led occasionally to determinations which are

¹ The results of these researches were first published in four annual reports which General Cunningham sent to the Government of India, and were printed as they came to hand. The results were afterwards embodied by him in a work on the Ancient Geography of India, published by Trübner & Co., in 1871, which, as his maturest and last work, is the one that will be principally quoted from in the following pages.

² In order that there may be no mistake whether I am quoting literally or merely giving the sense of a passage, I have in all instances where the former was intended quoted the original French of the text. By doing this, I have also, I hope, avoided any difficulty that might arise as to the correct interpretation of any passage in the original.

not sanctioned by the names now found in Indian maps, but the result on the whole is so consistent and complete, that my impression is that it is the only safe system to follow. As, however, the conclusions it leads to are so widely divergent from those of my predecessors, I propose, in the following pages, to place their determinations side by side with my own, in order to give others a fair opportunity of judging between us. If my system is found to work well, it will be easy to apply it to the two remaining portions of Hiouen-Thsang's travels. The first portion—namely, from the time of his entering the Caubul valley till he crosses the Ganges at Patna and enters Magadha—will, I fancy, be found easy, not only from his having traversed portions of it, both in coming and going, but also from the number of well-known places he visited, and the minute descriptions he gives of them. But if I am not very much mistaken, it requires re-examination quite as much as the middle portion, with which only we are at present concerned.

The latter portion, which extends from the time he left Ballabhi till he returned to Nalanda, is more difficult. The journeys are longer, the descriptions shorter and less distinct, and the number of known sites far fewer than in the first portion. Besides this, it seems clear that he did not visit himself all the places he mentions, or at least not in the sequence in which they are entered in the works we possess. Notwithstanding all this, I feel convinced that great light would be thrown on the geography of Central India were this portion of his travels carefully re-investigated.

Putting these two parts of his journeys aside for the present, I propose to follow Hiouen-Thsang stage by stage from Patna eastward to Kamarupa, and then southward to Kanchipuram, where he turned northward, and for the present shall part with him at Ballabhi. Such a journey, extending over upwards of 3000 miles, is quite sufficient to test his accuracy and the correctness of the principles on which we are proceeding, and traverses also so considerable a portion of the continent of India, that the results to be obtained from fixing its geographical features in the seventh century are so

important—if satisfactory—as well to reward any pains that may be bestowed upon them.

I cannot, of course, flatter myself that I have settled all the points in dispute, even in this limited portion of the travels of the Chinese pilgrims. I feel confident, however, that many that were before uncertain will not again be disturbed; but it is also only too apparent that many places will require personal examination and more local knowledge than is now available, before their position can be fixed with certainty. It is, however, a gain to geographical knowledge if we can limit the number of these, and point out to persons on the spot which those are that require this further investigation.

Before proceeding to details, it is necessary to say a few words with regard to the measures found in the text. That generally employed by Hiouen-Thsang is the *li*, which, according to the Père Gaubil, is equal to 1080 English feet,¹ and consequently 4.88 *li* are equal to one English mile—in round numbers say 5. As, however, owing to the sinuosities of the road and other circumstances, the traveller can hardly ever have gone mathematically straight, General Cunningham adopts 6 *li* as the average length of a mile as measured on the map. In this he is probably quite correct; but where, it appears to me, he makes a mistake, is, that he invariably uses 6 as a divisor, without reference to the nature of the country through which the traveller is passing. My impression is that where the country is perfectly open and cultivated, and where there is reason to believe a road may have existed between two points, it would be fair to use 5 as a divisor, thus making 100 *li* 20 miles, instead of $16\frac{2}{3}$ as he always does. Where, on the contrary, the Pilgrim describes the country as “difficile,” hilly or jungly, we may safely, I fancy, employ 7 or even more as a divisor when placing his route on the map.

Another source of error arises from Hiouen-Thsang in nine cases out of ten employing round numbers, 100, 500, 1000, 1500, and so on. While this is so, it is evident the

¹ 329 mètres, Si-yu-ki ii. 258.

first may be 90 and even less, or 110 and even more. It may be of course exactly correct, but that it should be so in some hundreds of cases is almost impossible, and we may safely, when necessary, allow a certain margin—say 10 per cent. either way—on this account.¹

The other measure employed by the Pilgrims is the *yôdjana*. It is very rarely used by Hiouen-Thsang, but generally adopted by Fa-Hian. We have no mathematical determination of its length, but our author himself states (ii. 59) that “according to the ancient tradition, a *yôdjana* is equal to 40 *li*, but that according to the custom of the Indian kingdom, it is equal to 30 *li*.” As there can be no doubt, after this statement, that he employed this last equivalent, we may assume that throughout his work he considers the *yôdjana* as equal to 32,400 feet (1080×30), or as 6 miles and 1 furlong nearly. As, however, no roads are quite straight, we may safely reject the fraction in all cases, and use 6 miles as the equivalent, of course with the same limitations as pointed out in speaking of *lis*, with this further reserve. When either of the Pilgrims states that a place is one *yôdjana* distant from another, it is extremely improbable that they should be exactly 6 miles apart, and as neither ever uses fractions, it only means that the distance is more than 3, and less than 9 miles. In like manner 2 *yôdjanas* means more than 9, and less than 15; and 3 may stand either for 15 or 21, or any intermediate number.

¹ In a paper on the Central Asian portion of Hiouen-Thsang's travels by Colonel Yule, which appeared in the last number of this *Journal* (pp. 92—120), I observe that the author considers the expression 100 *li* as meaning only “a day's journey.” Had Colonel Yule followed the traveller's route through Bengal with the same care he has shown in examining his routes in Central Asia, I feel convinced he would have modified this statement. He would there have found distances, which are quoted in the following pages, of 3, 4, 5, or 10, 20, 30 *li*; longer distances are quoted, as “1400 to 1500” (*Vie*, p. 185), or as “2400 to 2500” (*Vie*, p. 202); and frequently the word “environ” is used by the Pilgrim in speaking of distances he himself travelled over,—all clearly showing, I think, that he spoke of *lis* as we speak of miles. Besides this, 100 *li*, or 20 miles, in a country where there were no roads, must be more nearly two days' journey than one. Of course, when our traveller speaks of the boundaries of countries he never perambulated, and routes he never traversed, his measurements must be received with the utmost caution as mere hearsay statements; and Colonel Yule may probably be correct in this, if he intends to limit his valuations only to such vague estimates of untraversed distances. But this has, I conceive, no bearing whatever on his statements regarding routes he travelled over himself, on which alone reliance is placed in the following pages.

Another source of uncertainty, which it is always necessary to bear in mind, arises from the fact that the compass of the Chinese pilgrim has only 8 points. A place is either N., S., E., W. from another, or it is N.E., N.W., S.E., S.W. The points consequently are always 45 degrees apart; and even supposing the traveller knew with absolute precision that a place was 22 degrees N. or S. of E., he would be correct in describing it as E. If it were 23 degrees either way, it ought of course to be N.E. or S.E.; but as we have no reason to believe that they had any other means of ascertaining their direction than by the general appearance of the position of the heavenly bodies, it is impossible to expect any great degree of precision in this respect. This, however, is quite certain, that when they say E. or W., they never mean N. or S., or *vice versâ*; and if they do say so, it may be put down as an error in the text. On the whole, however, it is marvellous how accurate Hiouen-Thsang is in this respect, and extremely difficult to understand how he arrived at such precision without better means of observation or better maps than we have reason to believe then existed.

The great cause, however, of uncertainty or error in following the route of the Chinese travellers arises from the proper names of places which they employ. To a certain extent this is caused by Hiouen-Thsang, for instance, having to translate Sanskrit names into Chinese, and M. Stanislas Julien having to translate them back from the Chinese into their Sanskrit originals. This, however, he has done so successfully, that though it sometimes is a cause of uncertainty, it rarely, when grappled with, leads to error. A far more pregnant cause of difficulty arises from the fact that Indian cities, like Indian kings, frequently bore many aliases. As Sir Henry Maine well observes,¹ "Great deserted cities often in close proximity to one another"—and he might have added each bearing a different name—"are among the most inexplicable of Indian spectacles." What was the town or name of one century is not that of the next or of the preceding; and when from any cause a community

¹ Village Communities in the East and West, p. 119.

migrates from one site to another at some distance off, they sometimes—as we shall have to point out in the sequel—take the name of their original seat with them.

Another cause of uncertainty in the route we have chosen for our illustration arises from the ever-shifting nature of the land in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, and especially in Eastern Bengal. Even Rennell's maps, made in the end of the last century, are now perfectly useless for our purposes; and if such changes as they bring out could take place in 100 years, what may we not expect in the 1200 that have elapsed since the *Si-yu-ki* was compiled?

A third and still more obvious cause of difficulty in this respect arises from the fact that it is only in the rarest possible instances that our travellers mention the names of the capital cities they visited. In nine cases at least out of ten, the name given is that of the country or kingdom, while it by no means follows that this is that of the capital. Indeed, as a rule, it is only in small districts or townships that the name of the capital is the same as that of the country. In kingdoms or large countries this identity is exceptional. It is as if a Chinese traveller had visited and mentioned by name England, Scotland, and Ireland, and we were to strain our eyes to discover these names attached to cities in our maps. If he visited Northumberland, Durham, or Yorkshire, the name of the district might or might not suggest that of the capital; but in all instances, unless our author expressly mentions the name of the capital, or unless we have some reason for believing that the names of the capital and the country were the same, these nominal similarities are much more likely to lead us astray than to point out the localities our pilgrims visited.

From these causes it is very rarely that we find the names mentioned by Hiouen-Thsang on our present maps, or anything like them, even when, from the bearings and distance, we are able to fix the locality with almost absolute certainty. When we do find the names agreeing, it is of course a very satisfactory confirmation of our views; but in no instance can I conceive that a nominal discrepancy or

deficiency should be considered as decisive either for or against any particular locality being the one visited by our author.

Notwithstanding these apparent sources of error, I hope to be able to show in the following pages that there is not a single stage in the Pilgrim's progress that cannot be fixed with very considerable certainty. Except within the limits of deviation for bearings and distances pointed out above, and which are obviously inherent in the subject from its very nature, I have not found it necessary to suggest a single alteration in the text of my author. Not that I mean to say that the text is absolutely free from error. There are occasional discrepancies between the Si-yu-ki and the Hoei-li, which prove that one or other of them must be wrong; but as it happens—at least in the part of the journey which we have selected—that we are in all instances able to discover how the discrepancy arose, and to correct the one from the other, this is no cause of uncertainty for the present.

*Patna to Gaya.*¹

I shall dwell a little more in detail on the first journey on which we shall have to accompany the Pilgrim than it will be necessary to do in future, because it illustrates the above preliminary remarks to a greater extent than any subsequent stage in his progress. It ought to be one of the simplest and easiest. The termini are perfectly well known. The distance between them 62 miles in a direction slightly to the west of south. The country then, as now, a richly cultivated plain, and the road unobstructed by hills or large watercourses or forests.

General Cunningham's account of this journey is as follows:² "On leaving Pataliputra, the Chinese Pilgrim started from the S.W. corner of the city, and proceeded for 100 *li*, or 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ miles, to the south-west, to the Monastery *Ti-lo-shi-kia* or *Ti-lo-tse-kia* (Tiladaka), from whence he continued his route in the same direction for 90 *li*, or 15 miles, to a lofty

¹ Si-yu-ki, i., pp. 439–456. Hoei-li, p. 139.

² Ancient Geography of India, pp. 455, 456.

mountain, from the summit of which Buddha had contemplated the kingdom of Magadha. He then turned to the north-west, for 30 *li*, or 5 miles, to visit a large monastery on the slope of a hill where Gunamati had worsted a heretic in argument. Then resuming his S.W. route for 20 *li*, or 3½ miles, he visited an isolated hill, and the monastery of Silabhadra; and continuing in the same direction for 40 or 50 *li*, 7 or 8 miles, he crossed the river Nairanjan, and entered the town of Gaya.

“Before attempting,” he adds, “to identify any of the places noted on the route, I must observe that there are several errors, both in the bearings and distances, that require to be corrected. As the direction of Gaya is very nearly due south of Patna, the several S.W. bearings must certainly be altered to South. The several distances also, when added together, amount to 230 *li*, or 38 miles, while the actual distance between the cities of Patna and Gaya is 60 miles by the high road, and must have been about 70 by the road followed by Hwen-Thsang. The sum of his distances is therefore above 200 *li*, or 33 miles, short of the actual distance travelled. This amount I would divide into two even sums of 100 *li*, and add one to each of the first two distances recorded by the Pilgrim.”

The first remark I would make on this statement is that the General's distances, if added up, make 280 or 290 *li*, and consequently 46·6 or 48·3 miles, instead of 38, as he states; but even then, as this is short of what is required, there is evidently an error somewhere, for which he was justified in proposing a remedy: but it certainly is a very strong measure to suggest two equal errors of 100 *li* each, in two consecutive stages of so simple a journey. The motive of this is evident: by so doing he takes the Pilgrim to Tillâra, which sounds something like Tilaçaka, which he persists in calling this monastery, though M. Julien calls it Tilaçakya. And, again, to alter arbitrarily all the S.W. bearings to South could only be justified by the most manifest impossibilities of there being other modes of reconciling the facts. One thing at all events is evident, that if Hiouen-Thsang's text is so corrupt as to

require such manipulation in so short a distance, it is no use going further with it, for no satisfactory conclusion can possibly be arrived at from it.

We naturally turn therefore to the earlier commentator, to see how he reconciles these discrepancies. At page 373 of the *Mémoire Analytique* we find the following table:—

De Pataliputra à un Vihâra ruiné au sud-ouest	200 <i>li</i> .
De ce couvent au Vihâra Tilaçâkyâ au sud-ouest	100 „
A une grande montagne au sud-ouest	90 „
Au Couvent de Gounamati au nord-ouest	30 „
Au Couvent de Çilabhadra bati sur une montagne au S.O.	20 „
A la ville de Gaya, après avoir passé la rivière Nairanjana, au sud-ouest	40 à 50 <i>li</i> .

480 à 490

Or 80 to 82 miles.

And he proceeds to remark that the monasteries of Tilaçakya and Çilabhadra probably represent Thélari and Bhadéra of Rennell's map, which is possible if Hiouen-Thsang had been travelling S.E. instead of S.W., and if the distances had been correctly reported. The real difficulty is where M. de St.-Martin got the 200 *li* at the head of the table. Turning to the Si-yu-ki, we find the following words (p. 439), “A environ deux cents *pas* de l'angle sud-ouest de la ville, on voit les restes des fondements d'un couvent,” etc.; and then “au sud-ouest de l'ancien couvent il fit environ 100 *li*, et arriva au couvent de Tilaçâkyâ.”

At first sight one might be inclined to accept this explanation. It is possible that if we had the original Chinese before us, we might find *li* written instead of paces, were it not that when men are making a journey of 30 or 40 miles, they do not reckon from a particular angle of a city they are leaving, especially when they are quoting distances in round numbers; but when a building is close to the city, it is natural to state what angle or what gateway it may be near, in order that it may be recognized. The truth of the matter is, it is an oversight—a mislection on the part of M. de St.-Martin; and does not consequently help us in our difficulties. Though, as there evidently is an error somewhere in the account of this journey in the Si-yu-ki, we might

accept this provisionally till some better explanation were obtained, had there been no other means of solving the difficulty.

As, however, the last-named author, by a lucky accident, got over the chief difficulty of the passage in question, it is no wonder he did not look further; but it is remarkable that General Cunningham, being fully aware of the discrepancies, neither referred to his predecessor nor to the Hoeï-li to see if they could throw any light on the matter. Had he referred to the latter, he would have found the following passage (p. 139), "Après avoir adoré pendant sept jours tous ces monumens sacrés ("de Pâṭalipoutra poura"), il fit au sud-ouest sept *yôdjanas*, et arriva au couvent de Tilaçâkyâ." "De là, il fit cent *li* au sud, et arriva à l'endroit où s'élevait l'arbre de l'intelligence (Bôddhidrouma)."

The first distance mathematically is 43 miles, but with a slight allowance for the road not being straight, 40 miles, which is the exact distance on the map of the Barabar hills, in which the celebrated caves are situated, the oldest rock-cut Vihâras, so far as we know, in India. The direction is South 18° West, which, though not absolutely correct, is within the limits of deviation above stated; and, lastly, these hills are due north, and just 100 *li*, or 20 miles, from Buddh Gaya, where the tree is found. There is a third bearing which General Cunningham points out, but on which I do not place much reliance. Some seven years after this time, on his return to Nalanda, Hoeï-li relates his visit to the Convent of Tilaçaka (Ti-lo-tse-kia) (p. 211) instead of Ti-lo-chi-kia (p. 139). They may be the same, but I doubt it, and know no other instance of the same name being spelt differently in the same volume. Admitting, however, that they are identical, the hills are exactly 22 miles West by South from Nalanda, so that this, though stretching a little the three *yôdjanas* of the text, would rather be a confirmation than otherwise. Be this, however, as it may, I conceive that the distance and direction which Hoeï-li says the Pilgrim travelled from Patna to Barabar, and the distance and direction of Buddh Gaya, quite sufficient to prove that this was the place visited. When there he uses an expression which is curiously sug-

gestive. The convent was poor and decayed, there were only "quelques dizaines de religieux qui ayant appris l'arrivée du Maître de la loi, vinnent tous à sa rencontre et lui servirent des guides," we may add, to visit the caves and other antiquities of the place, which, according to General Cunningham's own description, were both numerous and important.¹ Unfortunately our traveller does not describe them. To us they are extremely interesting in an archæological point of view, but there was no legend attached to them, they were not the residences of Buddha or any of his immediate followers, and he consequently passes them by, as he does other groups of caves he must have seen or been in the neighbourhood of, in the most contemptuous manner.

The subsequent stages in this journey enumerated above bring out a point which it is necessary to bear in mind, in order to explain the differences that sometimes occur between our two authorities. Hoei-li, writing the life of Hiouen-Thsang, only enumerates the journeys he took himself. The Si-yu-ki, being a description of India, often enumerates places he never visited personally. In this instance, as in most cases, we are warned of this by the substitution of "on" for "il." Thus (p. 440) it is said, "A environ 90 *li* au sud-ouest du couvent de Tilaçâkya, *on* arrive à une grande montagne," etc. And so with the next stage. At the third, the expression is, "Le voyageur arrive." All showing incontestably that none of these places were visited by the Pilgrim himself. It is consequently needless to attempt to follow him; and in fact there are no great mountains where this route and distance would place them. I believe there would be no great difficulty in pointing out what places were intended, and think I could do so myself, but it must be done at the expense of disregarding to a great extent the hearsay accounts which our author retails of places he never saw himself. As we are at present only trying to investigate the routes which Hiouen-Thsang himself traversed, such inquiries can have no place here.

¹ Report to Government, 1861-2, pages 16 to 21. At page 20, General Cunningham twice expresses his astonishment that Hiouen-Thsang should not have visited these caves. His attention being therefore drawn to the subject, it is curious he should have overlooked these facts.

Buddh Gaya to Nalanda.

Once settled at Gaya, the Pilgrim set himself assiduously to visit all the consecrated spots that cluster around that sacred city of the Buddhists; and his descriptions and directions are so minute and detailed that, when combined with those of Fa-Hian, I have no doubt that every locality can be determined with certainty and precision. The distances, however, are generally so short, and the latitude that must, as mentioned above, be allowed for compass bearings so great, that the task can only be attempted by some one on the spot possessing minute local knowledge. Indeed, without much more detailed maps than are at present available, it is impossible to express an opinion whether the determinations which have already been published are correct or otherwise; and I shall not therefore attempt to follow them, especially as it is of very little consequence for our present purposes. They are important from a religious point of view, but not geographically; and though consequently it would be interesting to those tracing out the history of the Buddhist religion that they should be definitively settled, this does not bear directly on our present investigation. I propose therefore to follow the example of Hiouen-Thsang himself, and go straight from Buddh Gaya to Nalanda, without turning to the right or left, or stopping to look at any of the antiquities on the way, reserving that, as he did,¹ for another occasion if it should ever occur.

Although nothing at all resembling the name is to be found on any map ancient or modern, and no trace of a tradition of what the place once was exists among the present inhabitants of Behar,² the site of the once famous monastery of Nalanda is now as well known as that of Patna, Gaya, or almost any city in Bengal. Kittoe was, I believe, the first to suggest that the Nalo of Fa-Hian might be Nalanda; but as Hiouen-Thsang's Travels were not then trans-

¹ Hoëi-li, p. 143.

² *Vide* Buchanan Hamilton's account of this place in Eastern India, vol. i., p. 95.

lated, he did so timidly, and without being able to prove it.¹ Vivien de St.-Martin fixes it without hesitation at Baragaon, 7 miles north of Râjagriha,² and the subsequent researches of Cunningham³ and Broadley⁴ have settled the matter beyond all shadow of doubt.

Hoeï-li reports the distance between these two places to be seven *yôdjanas*, or the same as between Patna and the Tilaçâkya monastery; and it is satisfactory to find that both measure exactly 40 miles on the sheets of the India atlas. As, owing to the intervention of the hills, the road in the second instance could hardly have been so straight as in the first, it is probable the latter route absorbed the 4 or 5 miles it was mathematically entitled to; but the two being practically identical, shows that these are no random measurements, but based on some sound geographical data.

During his five years' residence (Hoeï-li, p. 171) at Nalanda, Hiouen-Thsang visited Old and New Rajagriha, and all the sacred spots that crowd around them. So minute are his descriptions, that, combined as before with those of Fa-Hian, it is quite certain that every one of them may be identified with certainty, perhaps have been; but, like those of Buddh Gaya, they are not geographical, and do not consequently come properly within the scope of this paper. New Rajagriha is perfectly well known, and is marked on all our maps; and the old city, the capital of Adjatasatra in the time of Sakya Muni, is easily distinguishable by its circle of five hills, which are minutely described by both the Chinese travellers.⁵ Only one point regarding it seems worth mentioning here with reference to what we shall meet with further on. The original name of the city was Kousoumapoura; but when either Bimbasâra or Asoka—it is not clear which—transferred the capital to the banks of the Ganges, on their being sufficiently consolidated to admit of this being done, he transferred the name also⁶ to a city

¹ J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 956.

² Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 382.

³ Ancient Geography, p. 468.

⁴ Ruins of the Nalanda Monastery, by A. M. Broadley, Esq. Calcutta, 1872.

⁵ Fa-Hian, chap. xxviii. Hoeï-li, p. 153. Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 28 et seqq.

⁶ Si-yu-ki, i., p. 413. Hoeï-li, p. 153.

which, either before or since, was known by the name of "Patalipouttra poura," or "ville du fils de l'arbre Po-tch'a-li," whatever that may mean. The fact, however, that concerns us here is, that in the same province we have two capitals bearing the same name, and though of course the one was meant, and probably at one time did supersede the other, throughout the Chinese travels it is the old town that generally retains the name, though it certainly was later applied to Patna, both by Buddhist and Brahmanical authorities.¹

*Nalanda to Hiranyaparvata.*²

Although as usual there is nothing in this name to indicate it, there seems no doubt but that Monghir was the name of the capital of the kingdom of Hiranyaparvata. Both M. de St.-Martin and General Cunningham are agreed on this point, and I see no reason for doubting that they are correct, though I differ from them at every stage of the route—except the first—by which the Pilgrim reached this place.

Leaving Nalanda, he makes the following short stages (p. 51 et seqq.):—

To Koulika, the native place of Moudgalaputra.....	8 to 9 li, S.W.
To Stupa of Bimbasâra.....	3 to 4 li, E.
To Kalapinaka, the birthplace of Sariputra	20 li, S.E.
To Stupa of Sariputra's disciple.....	4 to 5 li, S.E.
To Indrasilaguhâ	30 li, E.

If these distances with the directions indicated are protracted on the sheets of the Indian Atlas, they lead inevitably to that remarkable group of hills which terminates the range extending from Gaya to the river Panchana, in a north-easterly direction. Hiouen-Thsang's description is so detailed that General Cunningham had no difficulty in fixing the position of every place mentioned, and identifying Indrasilaguhâ with Giryëk, which is the spot to which the above bearings and distances conduct us. "Les cavernes (he says, page 58) et les vallées de cette montagne sont ténébreuses; des bois fleuris la couvrent d'une riche végétation. Sur le passage supérieur de cette montagne s'élèvent deux pics isolés.

¹ Foë-kouë-ki, p. 259. Ancient Geography, p. 453.

² Si-yu-ki, ii., pp. 51-64. Hoë-li, pp. 161-175.

Dans une caverne du pic méridional il y a une grande maison, taillée dans le roc, elle est large et basse. Jadis le Tathâgatha s'y arrêta. A cette époque le roi des dieux (Çakra Dêvendra) écrivit sur une pierre quarante-deux questions difficiles, et en demanda la solution." "Le Bouddha les expliqua en sa faveur. On aperçoit encore sur la pierre des traces d'écriture." "Sur le passage supérieur de la montagne on voit un endroit où se sont assis les quatre Bouddhas passés." "Sur le pic oriental il y a un couvent." "Devant le couvent qui s'élève sur le pic oriental de la montagne, il y a un Stoûpa," etc. All these features can still be traced, and I have quoted them not only as showing what materials exist for identifying the spot, but for their bearing on a curious question that arises from Fa-Hian's travels. In chapter xxviii. he says, "From this city (Patna), proceeding in a south-easterly direction nine *yôjanas*, we arrive at a small rocky hill standing by itself, on the top of which is a stone cell ("une maison de pierre," Foë-kouë-ki) facing the south. On one occasion, when Buddha was sitting in the middle of this cell, the Divine Sekra proposed forty-two questions to Buddha, writing each one of them singly with his finger upon a stone. The traces of these questions yet exist."¹

From these extracts it seems quite evident that the small rocky hill, with its little stone cell, which Fa-Hian visited, was a very different place from the lofty double-peaked mountain of Hiouen-Thsang, with its great natural cavern, and was in fact the rock of Behar. This is described by Buchanan Hamilton in the following terms. "At Behar an exceeding rugged rock projects from the plain, but all the remaining country is level, and the southern part inundated."²

General Cunningham's description is equally distinct. "To the north-west of the city" (of Behar), he says, "there is a long isolated hill, having a precipitously steep cliff on its northern face, and on the southern face an easy slope in

¹ Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun. Translated by the Rev. S. Beal. London, 1869. pp. 110, 111.

² Montgomery Martin's Reprint, vol. i., p. 85.

successive ledges of rock. The hill is now covered by some Musulmân buildings, etc.”¹

These evidently now occupy the site of Fa-Hian's cell facing the south, as, from the whole tenor of the description, it can hardly be doubted that this is the place he describes. The direction from Patna is correct enough, but the distance is excessive. In reality it is only 34 miles as the crow flies, but he makes it 9 *yôdjanas*, or 54 miles, if we use the same multiplier as for Hiouen-Thsang. I am inclined to think that 5 miles, or even less, must frequently be taken to represent a *yôdjana* of this traveller, and unfortunately even then we can never depend on his long distances, as we can on those of his successor. Even if all this were not sufficient, the next two journeys he made are sufficient to show that Behar was the place intended. From thence he went one *yôdjana* south-west to the village of Nalo, which he makes the birthplace of Sariputra; and again, “going west from this one *yôdjana*, we arrive at the New Rajagriha.”

If Nalo is Nalanda, as is generally supposed,² there is an end of the question; it is situated between six and seven miles south-west from Behar. But if this is so, there are two errors in Fa-Hian's statement. Nalanda was not the birthplace of Sariputra, but some place 3 or 4 miles to the southward of it; and Rajagriha is not west, but due south from Nalanda, though the distance—one *yôdjana*—is correct enough. But there is another way of looking at it. The distance from Behar to Rajagriha is 12 miles, and the direction south-westerly, and we may assume that he went, say, 8 miles to Sariputra's Stupa, and followed the same or a more westerly direction for 4 miles more to Rajagriha. The latter appears to me the most probable solution of the difficulty. I cannot understand any man calling the glorious Nalanda a village, and for reasons given in my previous paper,³ I feel convinced that before the beginning of the fifth century, it was then in all its glory. Nor can I believe that had he gone there he

¹ Report to Government, 1861-2, p. 14.

² Kittoe, *loc. cit.* Vivien de St.-Martin. Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 382. Cunningham, p. 469.

³ J.R.A.S. Vol. IV. (n.s.), p. 116.

would not also have visited the birthplace of Mogałâna. There may have been fifty personal reasons why he should pass by Nalanda without visiting it, but none that I can suggest, why, if he did go there, he should speak of it as he did. Be this as it may, I fancy it is quite certain that Behar was the site of the "petite montagne du rocher isolé," and that he travelled generally in a south-westerly direction from it to Rajagriha. It seems equally certain that during the two centuries and a half which had elapsed between his time and Hiouen-Thsang's, the tradition of the forty-two questions had got transferred from the northern to the more southern locality.

This description of Fa-Hian's route rises to a certainty when we follow him a little further. Leaving New Rajagriha, he enters the valley to the south, visits the old town, and at 15 *li* from it describes the hill Gridhrakôuṭa, "three *li* from the top is a stone cavern facing the south. Buddha used in this place to sit in profound meditation." "In front of the cave are spots where each of the four Buddhas sat," etc.¹ In fact, as General Cunningham adds, "Both the Pilgrims mention the cave on the southern face of the mountain, which corresponds exactly with the natural cavern Gidha-dwar, which I have already described." But he fails to remark that Fa-Hian had made three journeys between the small isolated hill where the forty-two questions were solved, and this Vulture-cave or Indra Sila Guha.²

So far, therefore, there is no discrepancy between the routes of the two Pilgrims. Whichever hypothesis we follow with respect to the identification of Fa-Hian's Nalo with Nalanda, there is certainly no doubt about Hiouen-Thsang's

¹ Beal, *Fah-Hian*, pp. 114-115. *Ancient Geography*, p. 473.

² In a paper communicated to the "Indian Antiquary" (No. i., p. 18, et seqq.); Mr. Broadley clearly enough perceives General Cunningham's mistake in this matter, and points out that Fa-Hian's "isolated rock" was that in the town of Behar. But, curiously enough, he quotes the distance from Patna (9 *yôđjanas*) as 54 miles, and therefore quite correct. The real distance is 33 or 34, and this was General Cunningham's principal reason for taking it to Giryêk. Mr. Broadley also states (p. 19) the exact distance from Baragaon to Giryêk at 6 miles. It is more than 9. Notwithstanding these mistakes, he is right on the main point, though he fails to perceive all the discrepancies between his and Cunningham's determinations which his correction involves.

route between Nalanda and Gridwara cave, where they again meet. The one apparent difference is that in the beginning of the fifth century, the tradition of the forty-two questions was attached to the structural cell on the Behar rock. In the middle of the seventh century, it had got transferred to the Giryäk hill. If, as Fa-Hian says, "each one of them was written singly with his finger on a stone," their transference could be a matter of no great difficulty.

Though all this may now be clear enough, as a general rule Fa-Hian's bearings and distances are so little to be depended upon, that it is with pleasure we turn back to his more accurate successor, and follow him in his Eastern travels. Leaving Giryäk (p. 61), "Au nord-est de la montagne Indraçila gouha, il fit 150 à 160 *li*, et arriva à un couvent appelé Kapôtika Saughârâma"—and he then goes on to say, "à deux ou trois *li* au midi du couvent de la Colombe (Kapôtika Saughârâma), on arrive à une montagne isolée, qui est extrêmement haute, et qu'ombrage une épaisse forêt. Des fleurs renommées couvrent ses bords et des sources d'eau pure se précipitent dans la vallée. Sur cette montagne il y a une multitude de Vihâras et des Temples divins. Dans un Vihâra placé juste au centre, on voit la statue de Avalôkitêçvara," etc.

This evidently is a very different place from the isolated rock at Behar, as described above; but fortunately, at the distance ranging from 19 to 25 miles north-east from Giryäk, there is a range of hills called the Sheikhpoura hills, which answer this description in the minutest particulars, and as both the distance and direction are absolutely correct, there can be no doubt that they are those described by the Pilgrim. From the statue above mentioned, he proceeds 40 *li*, 6½ miles, to a nameless convent situated on the plain,¹ but as we have neither name nor local feature, its exact position can only be ascertained by its bearing from this and the next place he visited. In the text it is said, "au nord-est du couvent il fit environ 70 *li*; puis au midi du fleuve Gange, il arriva à un grand village." "A une petite distance au sud-est de cet endroit il y avoit un grand stoûpa," etc.

¹ General Cunningham says "on an isolated hill," p. 472, but this is a mistake.

From this it is evident we have arrived at the great southern bend of the river near Luckiserai, and for the present at least I am inclined to fix this place there, as, in a private letter to Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham states that he has found numerous ruins close to the railway station in that village. The bearing and distance accord perfectly with the situation of the nameless convent, but till that is fixed, if it ever can be, by its ruins being found, the last station may be moved a few miles either way, if any sufficient indications are found to render this necessary.

The next journey is described in a manner that leaves no doubt as to its direction—"En partant de ce pays il entra à l'est dans des forêts et des gorges des montagnes, fit environ 100 *li*, et arriva à un couvent du village Rôhinîla." "A deux ou trois *li* au nord de ce monument (a Stupa just described), on rencontre un grand lac, qui a environ 30 *li* de tour" (p. 64). From this description there can be no doubt that Rohinila was situated among the Kuruckpoor hills, which rise from the plain immediately to the eastward of the Luckiserai village, though we have nothing but the distance and bearing to guide us in fixing its position with exactness. There is a cold spring in the hills marked on the Indian Atlas sheets about 17 miles east from Luckiserai, and a hot spring about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles further south, either of which is a likely enough locality, but no lake. Lakes indeed are about the rarest features in Indian geography. It may have silted up in 1200 years, or it may have been artificial, and then if the bund broke it would disappear; but I feel convinced that if looked for, traces of it would be found.

One more journey concludes this section—"A l'est de ce lac, il entra dans des forêts et des gorges de grandes montagnes, fit environ deux cent *li*, et arriva au royaume de Hiranyaparvata." At first sight it might appear as if it was intended to say that he went 200 *li* to the eastward of the lake. The expression, however, is not the usual one, as quoted in the previous and other journeys, and the fair translation appears to me to be, He entered into the forests and passes, which exist to the eastward, or on the east side of

this lake, and proceeded about 200 *li*—he does not say in what direction—to Hiranyaparvata. The distance also may appear a difficulty. From the hot spring above mentioned the distance to Monghir as the crow flies is only 20 miles. But Monghir may very well have been situated 4 or 5 miles further north than it now is; and if there ever was a case in all these travels in which one would be justified in using a large divisor in turning *lis* into miles, it is when the Pilgrim was entangled in the jungles and among the hills of Kuruckpoor. The great facts, however, are that the Rohinila monastery was certainly situated at some distance in the Kuruckpoor hills; and the smoking hills and volcanic phenomena noticed by the Pilgrim certainly indicate the immediate proximity of Monghir as the site of the capital; so the exact distance and direction in this instance become less important than usual; but both, as appears to me, are well within the limits of deviation pointed out above.

Having now shown how this journey may be protracted on the map without altering one bearing from what is found in the text, or one distance by a single *li*, and, what is more important still, showing that the whole is in the strictest conformity with all the natural features of the country, it is time to turn back and see what results are produced by the system followed by my predecessors.

M. Vivien de St.-Martin first identifies Hiouen-Thsang's Indrasilaguha with Behar, and having made this mistake, passes lightly over the rest of the journey, merely stating that though it is possible to follow the Pilgrim in a general manner, the intermediate stations cannot be identified, till we reach Rohinila, which he finds in the Roynallah of Rennell, at the southern bend of the river—not far from Luckiserai—but certainly not in the hills where Hiouen-Thsang places it.

General Cunningham enters more into detail. From Indrasilaguha or Giryök, he first takes him to Behar, though for this purpose he is obliged to alter the bearing from N.E. to due North, and the distance from 160 *li* to 60. But even supposing these admissible, it seems impossible that the bare isolated rock there could ever represent the extensive hill

covered with forests, from which streams flow into the valleys, and which was covered with Vihâras and temples, as described by our author. If this was the place, however, there is no objection to Titarâwa being the nameless convent;—"the isolated hill" being wholly a difficulty of the General's own creation. But the next journey is quite inadmissible. To reach the Ganges to the north-west, he is obliged to alter 70 *li* to 170, and then he only reaches a village, in which he has no interest, in order to turn south-west again to get round to the southern bend of the river. Had he ever been at Titarâwa, he evidently would have gone east direct. But from this village to Rohinila, regarding the site of which he agrees with M. de St.-Martin, he is again obliged to alter the bearing from E. to S.E., and, what is more important, takes him through a country where there neither are nor were either hills or forests. If he were correct in reading the direction of the last journey as E., it must again be altered to the North-east, which is the more correct direction of Monghir from that place.

The capital defect however in this, as too frequently the case in General Cunningham's determinations, is, that though he twice arbitrarily alters the distance, and three times the direction given by his author, even in this short distance, he fails in every instance to bring the natural features of the country into accord with the descriptions of the Pilgrim.

*Hiranyaparvata to Kâmarupa.*¹

The first stage Hiouen-Thsang reaches and describes is Champa, at a distance of 300 *li*, or 50 miles. It is assumed by General Cunningham, and I think correctly, as some place near Bhagulpur, though if this is so, the distance, as in the last stage, is greatly in excess of the truth. In the text the words are, "Il suivit la rive méridionale du Gange, et après avoir fait environ trois cents *li* à l'est, il arriva au royaume de Tchampa." The road still follows the south bank of the

¹ Si-yu-ki, i. pp. 71-81.

Ganges, but the distance from Monghir is only about 36 miles, instead of 50. Either it is that Monghir was, as I conjectured in the last section, situated 4 or 5 miles further north, or that the Ganges bent further south between these two places, or perhaps both causes combined may account for the difference. General Cunningham relies a good deal for his identification on an expression of our author a little further on (p. 72), where he says, “A 140 à 150 *li* à l'est de la capitale, et au sud du Gange, on voit une montagne isolée, que l'eau environne de toutes parts et dont les pics escarpés ont un hauteur extraordinaire. Sur le sommet de cette montagne, il y a un temple des dieux. On a creusé des demeures dans les flancs de la montagne, on a amené des cours d'eau et l'on a formé des étangs. On y voit des bocages fleuris et des arbres rares. Ses larges rochers et ses crêtes effrayantes servent d'asyle à des hommes renommés par leur humanité et leur sagesse.” This he identifies with the Colgong rocks, situated eastward of Bhagulpur at about the distance indicated, and I am not prepared to say it may not be so. But on the whole I am inclined to think the description answers much better to the Mandar Hill,¹ which is situated some 26 miles to the south of the Ganges, though certainly not to the east of the capital. But as our traveller did not himself visit the place, neither the distance nor direction can be depended upon. It may also be remarked that it is extremely improbable that Hiouen-Thsang should allude in this chapter to a place he was going to pass in the next. I do not recollect any other instance of his so doing. As the next journey to Kadjoûghira—which I take to be Rajmahal—is called 400 *li*, or say 66 miles, is much more difficult and jungly, and is actually by the road 63 or 64 miles, I should certainly be inclined to disregard the Colgong distance, and look for the capital to the eastward or southward of Bhagulpur. As in almost all instances our author does not give us a hint of what the name of the capital may have been, so it is in vain to look to our maps for any assistance in this respect. It is true that in Rennell's

¹ Francklin. Inquiry concerning the site of Palibothra, part ii., pp. 13, 26, 72, 78. Babu Rasbihari Bose. Indian Antiquary, part ii., p. 51, et seqq.

time there were two large and important places called Champernagur and Champerpore, near Bhagulpore, but situated to the westward of that place, and neither of them having apparently any claim to antiquity or ancient renown. It is interesting, no doubt, to find the old name of the country still clinging to the soil, but it is curious to observe how transient even such things are in the East, for no such names are now to be found in the far more detailed sheets of the Indian Atlas;—another proof among many how little nominal similarities are to be depended upon in this inquiry. There is no evidence whatever to show that Champa was the name of the capital, and the absence or presence of that name on our modern maps is the merest accident, and, when it occurs, merely shows that the old name of the country still lingers among the inhabitants.

From this place, wherever it was, our Pilgrim proceeded about 400 *li* to the eastward to Kadjoûghira. The distance, as above mentioned, would fit exactly for Rajmahal; but General Cunningham (p. 479) makes the distance 90 miles, or 540 *li*, which surely is a mistake;¹ he must mean to Kânkjol, a place 18 miles further on, which, from the similarity of the name, he identifies with Kadjoûghira, though I confess I do not see it. Both he and M. de St.-Martin, however, are agreed that Rajmahal, or some place very near it, was the terminus of this stage. M. de St.-Martin notices a village called Cudjery, near where Cunningham places Kânkjol, or about 16 miles below Rajmahal. It may be so, but I have no faith in these names, when there are no ruins or other indications to back them; and I feel quite sure that no village situated where this one is could last for a couple of centuries without being washed away.

Looking at the distance given by Hiouen-Thsang, the object of his visiting this neighbourhood, which was to get direct to Poundravardhana, and the probability of the

¹ Both the road and the railroad follow the course of the Ganges, and so far as I know, the former always has done so. The distance between Rajmahal and Bhagulpur being by the one 63, by the other 66 miles. I am not aware of any practical road ever having existed through the hills, and if our traveller had got entangled in these impenetrable jungles, I feel sure he would have mentioned it.

country about and below Gaur being a swamp 1200 years ago, I fancy the place must be sought for either at Sicligully or Rajmahal, or somewhere between these places.¹ As its fixation, however, has little bearing on the geography of this part of the country, its exact determination may be left to future research.

The next two journeys are all important to the geography of North-eastern Bengal, and fortunately they are about the clearest and most easily fixed of any in the Itinerary of Hiouen-Thsang. The words in the text are, "En partant de ce pays, il passa à l'est le fleuve Gange, et après avoir fait environ 600 *li* (100 miles), il arriva au royaume de Poundravarddhana"; and again, "en partant de ce royaume (Poundravarddhana), il fit environ neuf cent *li* (150 miles) à l'est, passa un grand fleuve, et arriva au royaume de Kâmaroûpa."

The first bearing and distance would take us nearly to Rungpur, as the country was open and cultivated, probably quite so. It may have been a little to the north or south of that place, but could not have been far away from it. The river he passed in his next journey was without doubt the Brahmaputra. It is the rarest thing possible for him to mention rivers, and never unless they are very important, and such as the two mentioned in these two journeys. The direction was again east, and at the distance of 150 miles exactly, he would reach Gowhutti, or Gohati, which is, and, so far as we know, always was, the capital of Kamrup, a province still marked on our maps, and as well known as any in our empire. Here for once, therefore, we have a place situated 250 miles east—in the sense indicated above—from Rajmahal, in reaching which he would have to cross two

¹ Six centuries afterwards we find from the Mahomedan historians that the city of Gaur was divided into two parts. One half, called Laknauti, was situated on the right or western bank of the river; the other, Deo Kote, on the left bank, near where the present city stands. The first may therefore represent the city we are looking for, and if so, it could not have been far from Rajmahal.

From the same authorities we learn that the sovereign of that day erected or repaired bunds extending for ten days' journey from Nagore, in Birbhûm, to the city of Deo Kote, to protect the country from inundation, and also to form a road for travellers through a country which was otherwise an impassable swamp during the rainy season.*

* Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 57. Sir H. Elliot, *Historians of India*, ii. p. 318.

great rivers, and which, for reasons to be given presently, undoubtedly was the place indicated.

Though this appears to me so absolutely certain, I am bound to admit that it is by no means the view taken by my predecessors. M. de St.-Martin, attracted by the Sanskrit name of Burdwan, neglects his statement that he crossed the river, and takes him south from Rajmahal instead of east to that place; though, as General Cunningham points out (p. 480), the proper name is not Varddhana, but Varddhamana. The direction, the description, and the name, all show that this could not be the place; but having got so far wrong, he does not recover his lost ground till the Pilgrim leaves Bengal.

General Cunningham does not do such violence to his text. He takes the Pilgrim across the Ganges; but fancying he detects a similarity between the words Pubna and Paundra, he takes him south-east instead of east: though if he knew Pubna and its neighbourhood as well as I do, he would know that two centuries would be a very long life for a city in that neighbourhood. Some centuries hence the country in that neighbourhood may be sufficiently consolidated to admit of a town being built so near the banks of the Ganges as Pubna is; but in the past this certainly was not the case, and the site of that village must have been under the bed of the Ganges at least half a dozen times in the last twelve centuries. But the one proof necessary in this place is, that having got him here, by no stretch could he reach Gohati, though the General admits (p. 500) that that was the capital of Kamrup. He is therefore obliged to take him due north—instead of east—to Komatipur, the whilom capital of Kooch Behar, which may have been the capital of a province of Kamrup, but never of the kingdom. But the worst part is, that having gone due north, he is obliged to return due south by the same route, through Pubna to Jessore, which he identifies with Samatata, the next stage. This, however, is a thing Hiouen-Thsang never did; and it is evident that if he had been going to visit Komatipur, he would have gone there direct from Rajmahal,—the distance is only 110 miles; and

thence on to Pubna, thus saving himself a journey of 1500 *li*, and seeing the only two places he wanted to see, by two long journeys instead of three.

It is of course in vain to look on the maps of the present day for any name, or probably for any ruins, that would indicate the site of the once famous capital of Eastern Bengal. Even in the beginning of this century, Buchanan Hamilton complains that "since the survey made by Major Rennell (20 years before his time), the rivers of this district have undergone such changes that I find the utmost difficulty in tracing them."¹ And the recent Topographical Survey shows how unresting they have been since his day. Few districts of India have in fact been more ploughed up by its rivers than Rungpur. Even Komatipur, which in his day was so important as to induce Buchanan Hamilton to transgress his instructions in order to visit it, has almost entirely disappeared. In his day its walls were so complete, that he could make a careful plan of them,² and of the ruins they inclosed. There was nothing ancient in the place, and the presence of a glacis shows that the fortifications were erected subsequently to the introduction of gunpowder. The name is not now to be found on the district maps, though some small earthworks near a place called Kaleegunje probably mark the site, though with no more dignified title than "Native School"; and Lall Bazaar, which in Rennell's time was the next important place in the neighbourhood, has now dwindled into so small a place, that it can with difficulty be recognized.³

Still I would not despair of its site being found if any one

¹ Montgomery Martin. Eastern India, iii., p. 358.

² *L. c.* ii., pl. 1, p. 426.

³ In the fourth volume of the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, published in 1824, there is an account of Pundra Desa, abstracted from the Brahmananda section of the Bhavishyat Purana. Among the divisions of that country therein specified, is one called Nivritti, and said to comprise Dinagepur, Rungpur, and Cooch Behar (p. 190),—consequently the whole of the Eastern half of Hiouen-Thsang's kingdom of Poundravarddhana. Its chief towns are said to be Verddhana Kuta, which may be the very town we are looking for, but then governed by a Yavana or Musselman; Kachhapa, on the banks of the Guru or Teesta river; and Sriranga or Vaharica, where the women are remarkable for flat noses. This last was no doubt the capital of Kooch Vihar, or Behar; but whether Komatipur or not, there is nothing to show:—most probably it was.

intimately acquainted with the district would earnestly undertake the search, and it would be interesting if its site could be fixed, as we know from the Raja Tarangini,¹ that more than a century after Hiouen-Tsang's time, it was the capital of the country between the Koosy and the Brahmaputra, and till such time as the banks of the Ganges about Gaur became so consolidated as to allow of a permanent city being built there, probably about the tenth century. Tāranātha too represents it as the capital of the Pāla dynasty,² and as one of the most important cities of India, and its fixation would consequently be a gain in every respect.

With regard to Gohati, there can be no mistake. In his paper on Assam, Captain Dalton³ gives the following account of its present appearance: "Mr. Robinson, the Commissioner, has assumed that Gowhatty was the ancient, as it is the modern, capital of the valley. Its former importance is indeed well attested by the immense extent of its fortifications, the profusion of carved stones which every excavation of the modern town brings to light, the remains of stone gateways, and the old stone bridges that are found both within and without the old city walls. These walls, partly of masonry, embrace a tract several square miles in extent." Captain Hannay, too, gives a view of one of the bridges, like all the rest, constructed without arches, on the horizontal principle.⁴ It is so grand and so old, that I see no good reason for doubting but that Hiouen-Tsang may have passed over it.

Besides all this, the Pilgrim's own description will apply to no other country than this. "A l'est de ce royaume règne une chaîne de montagnes et de collines; on ne rencontre aucune capitale de grand royaume. Ses frontières sont voisines des Barbares du sud-ouest" (the Garrows). "J'ai appris qu'après un voyage de deux mois on peut entrer dans les frontières sud-ouest du pays de Chou. Mais les montagnes et les rivières pre-

¹ Asiatic Researches. xv., p. 54.

² Geschichte des Buddhismus, pp. 99, 101, 141, 143.

³ J.A.S.B. xxiv., p. 1 et seqq.

⁴ J.A.S.B. xx., p. 291 et seqq.

sentent à la fois des obstacles et des dangers.” “Au sud est de ce royaume des elephants sauvages marchent en troupe et exercent leurs fureurs,” etc.¹ Nothing I fancy can more correctly describe the province of Kamrup; situated to the north-east of the Garrow hills, and occupying the whole upper part of the valley of Assam; but it in no way applies to Komatipur, or to any other province of Bengal that I am acquainted with. More might be added, but this is sufficient to show that so far at least as Gohati the route of the Pilgrim may be determined with certainty.

*From Kamrup to Kalinga.*²

The next route and country are described in the following terms in the Si-yu-ki. “En sortant de ce pays (Kâmaroûpa), il fit 1200 à 1300 *li* au sud, et arriva au royaume de Samatata. Ce royaume a 3000 *li* (500 miles) en circonférence. Il est voisin d'une grande mer, et de là, vient que le sol est bas et humide.” Although Hiouen-Thsang visited both Kamarupa and Samatata, as we shall presently show, it was on two different occasions, and though it is so asserted in the text, he never made the journey in question. If he had, he probably would have described it as at least one half longer, as he could hardly have crossed the Kossyah hills, but must have first gone east to Goalparah, and then south. But taking it as we find it, it lands us at Sonargaon, or some place very near that city, which preceded Dacca as the capital of this province. For this and other reasons, I have no doubt but that the district or province of Dacca is the kingdom described as Samatata in our text. It must 1200 years ago have been close to a great sea. Its soil is low and humid, but curiously enough we have evidence that it must have included a portion at least of the hill country of Tipperah. In the Gupta inscription of the Allahabad lât, in the nineteenth line, it is said that the king (Samudra Gupta) exacted tribute from the neighbouring (outlying?) *hilly* countries of Samata, Taravrakra, Kamarupa, Nepala, etc.,³ an

¹ Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 80.

² Si-yu-ki, pp. 76 to 91.

³ J.A.S.B. vi., p. 973.

epithet which quite takes it out of the vicinity of Jessore, but answers perfectly to this site, to which we will return presently.

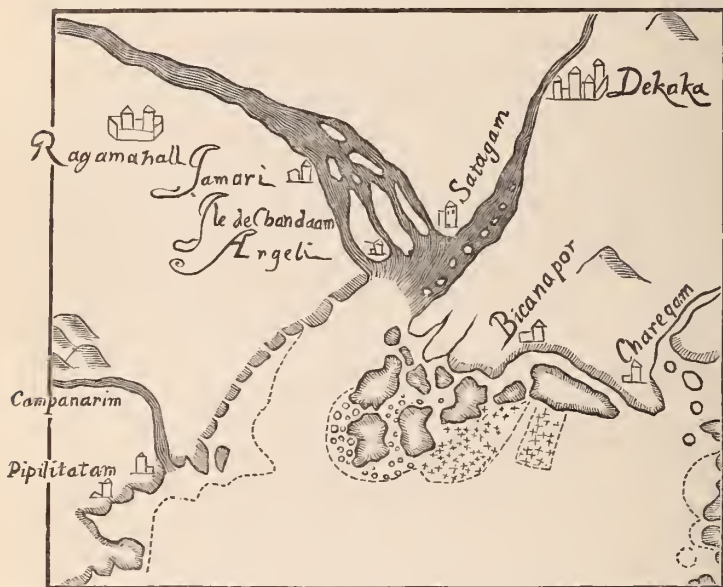
The next journey has been the stumbling-block to all previous inquirers; and if we are to attach any importance to names, I see no way of reconciling Hiouen-Thsang's narrative with the facts of the case. It is described in the following terms: "En partant du royaume de Samatata, il fit environ 900 *li* à l'ouest, et arriva au royaume de Tamralipti. Ce royaume a de quatorze à quinze *li* de tour (240 miles). Il avoisine les bords de la mer; le sol est bas et humide," etc. From its name, and this description, it has always hitherto been assumed, that the place indicated was the modern Tumluk, on the Rupnarain river, and I am not prepared to dispute that the name may not be the modern representative of Tamralipti, though I by no means consider that as certain. Other derivations have been suggested,¹ and for other reasons, I should decline to be guided by any nominal similarities, even if more certain than this one.

Besides all this, it is by no means clear that Tamralipti was the name of the capital or of any city whatever. The district was so called, but the capital may have borne the name of one of the Satgaon or seven villages, or of Hugli, or more probably of Tribani or Triveni; from the fact of the three rivers which met at Pryaga or Allahabad—the Bhaugarutti, the Jumna, and the Saraswati—again meeting at this spot, and forming the lower, as that formed the upper, sacred spot of junction. There is every reason for supposing that this tradition is old, and the name may consequently be so also. Hugli was always reputed to be one of the principal seats of learning in Bengal, and consequently just such a spot as Fa-Hian may have settled himself in, to study for a couple of years;² but that he ever should have resided for such a length of time in so pestiferous a swamp as Tumluk is, and always must have been, is most unlikely.

¹ Hunter's Orissa, i., p. 311.

² Travels, translated by Beal, p. 147. His remark indeed is nearly final on the controversy, for he says, "Here it is that the river (the Ganges) empties itself into the sea,"—the same remark that was made by the Ayeen Akbari, and no way applicable to Tumluk.

Putting the name therefore aside for the present, what our Pilgrim says is, that from Samatata (the hilly Samata), he travelled 900 *li*, or 150 miles, west, and reached the small state of Tamralipti. By no possibility can this be stretched to Tumluk, which is at least 200 miles from Sonargaon, and by the way the Pilgrim must have travelled considerably more; but it exactly fits Satgaon, near Hugli, which was the great port of Bengal when the Portuguese and English first visited India. It was the highest point to which the depth of



Map of the Mouths of the Ganges from Purchas his Pilgrimes, vol. i., p. 578.

water and the flow of the tide would allow sea-going vessels to reach, and consequently was, as in almost every instance in the world, where a port is situated on a river, the spot chosen for the establishment of an emporium, where the sea-borne and inland traffic could meet. The above woodcut will show what our early navigators thought of its situation. The map is worthless in every other respect, except as showing that the mouths by which the Ganges flowed into the sea were considered to be situated at Satgaon. The

Ayeen Akbari confirms this to the fullest extent. It is there said, "The main river in its course south forms three streams—the Sursutty, the Jown (Jumna), and the Gang (or Ganges). The three streams collectively are called by the Hindous Tirpunny. The Gang, after having divided into a thousand channels, joins the sea at Satagong, and the Sursutty and Jown discharge themselves in like manner."¹ If this was the case about A.D. 1600, it must have been doubly so 1000 years earlier, and there can be no doubt but that Satgaon, as well as Sonargaon, were situated on bays of the sea, and that the latter was the great port of what we now know as the Bengal province.²

When we look carefully at Hiouen-Thsang's text, however, we find we want two great ports, Tamralipti and Tcharitrapoura. It was apparently at the former place that he got the information he details about Ceylon, and determined in consequence to proceed through Orissa, and by land. But further on, when in Orissa, he describes the second place in the following terms: "Sur les frontières sud-est du royaume (of Orissa), et près du rivage d'une grande mer, on rencontre la ville de Tcharitra, dont la circonférence est d'une vingtaine des *li*. C'est là que passent et s'arrêtent en allant et venant les marchands qui s'embarquent, et les voyageurs des contrées lointaines." The question is, where was this Orissan port? Tumluk is now in the district of Midnapur, but that district was always, down to Akbar's time, a part of Orissa, and indeed there is evidence that frequently the frontiers of Orissa extended up to Satgaon and Tribany,³ and it seems impossible to find room for Hiouen-Thsang's kingdom of Orissa, 7000 *li* in circumference, without taking its northern frontier up at least to Serampur: in modern times it has extended to Satgaon itself.

Where then was this Orissan port of Tcharitrapoura? It

¹ Gladwin's translation, ii., p. 5.

² I am afraid it is impossible to find any argument on the position assigned by Ptolemy to "Tamlites." The name may be the same as Tamralipti, but calculating the distance from Palibothra, his latitude and longitude would place it near Monghir. Perhaps we may infer from this that his informants described it as distant from the sea, but that is as much as we dare.

³ J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 394 et seqq.

certainly was not in the Chilkea lake, not only because there is no tradition and no trace of a port there, but because it is in the south-west, not south-east, of Orissa. It also seems most improbable that any of the barred rivers between the Chilkea lake and the Hugli river could be the port indicated. From the nature of the shore and the set of the current they all must have been obstructed at their mouths. It is true, of course, that in the early part of the last century the English had factories at Balasore and Pippy ; but it was because from political motives the Mogul denied us the privilege of entering the rivers, and the Balasore roads form a safe enough anchorage during six months of the year for European-built vessels, with European ground tackle. But that the frail barks of the natives should ever use such an open roadstead, with such a surf-beaten shore to their leeward, is most unlikely, especially, when by drifting with a single tide, they might anchor in safety in so snug and land-locked a harbour as Tumluk, and one so centrally situated ; for it was then in the very centre of Orissa, and it could easily communicate by the Saraswati (Sursutty) with Satgaon and the rivers of Bengal. If this is so, Tumluk was certainly Tcharitrapoura,¹ and *à fortiori* not Tamralipti.

If these views are correct, the insight they give us into the river-system of Lower Bengal is so curious, that though not strictly relevant, it may be worth while to mention it here. It appears that in Hiouen-Thsang's days Tamralipti was situated at the head of an estuary where the main waters of the Ganges joined the sea ; but where also one branch called the Saraswati, or Sursutty, on which Satgaon was situated, branched off to the right, and, flowing in a southern direction, joined the Rupnarain at or near Tumluk. At that time, as we know from Rennell's maps and local indications, the Damuda joined the Hugli, or rather the sea above Satgaon ; but as the land rose, it was gradually forced southward, and it may be 500, it may be 1000 years ago, cut

¹ The description given by Mr. Hunter in his "Orissa" leaves no doubt but that Tumluk was an important city in ancient times, and certainly represented one of these two places.

across the Sursutty, and apparently threw a dam across it, which it is quite capable of doing. The Sursutty consequently silted up, and it is then, I fancy, that the inhabitants of Tamralipti (or Satgaon) migrated southwards to Tcharitrapoura, taking their name with them. When the Hugli became a river, instead of an estuary, and consequently suited for the frail craft of the natives, it again became the popular means of communication, and Satgaon resumed the supremacy we find it possessing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Be all this as it may, the next journeys our Pilgrim makes seem in themselves sufficient to prove the correctness of the hypothesis that Tamralipti was situated at or near Satgaon. From this country "il fit environ 700 *li* (116 miles) au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Karna Souvarna. Ce royaume a 4400 à 4500 *li* (700 miles) de tour. La population est fort nombreuse, et toutes les familles vivent dans l'aisance. Le sol est bas et humide. Les grains se sement et se récoltent à des époques régulières, les fleurs y viennent en abondance, ainsi que les fruits les plus rares et les plus estimés," and so on in the same strain.

Now, if Tumluk is Tamralipti, the distance and direction here given would take us far into the jungles of Singbhûm, which is in fact where General Cunningham places this city, and takes occasion to describe the manners and customs of the Kols, and Mûndas, and other savages who inhabit these wild tracts, all which are widely at variance with Hiouen-Thsang's description, who says, "Les mœurs sont douces et pures, les habitants aiment et cultivent les lettres, ils suivent au même temps l'erreur et la vérité." Assuming, however, that Satgaon, or some place near it, was Tamralipti, the distance and bearing given above would take us to Nagore, or some place in Northern Burdwan or Birbhûm, and there every word becomes applicable. Burdwan, with part of Birbhûm, is the garden of Bengal, and the most populous of its provinces, and it is precisely at Nagore,¹ or some place

¹ From the authorities quoted above, p. 26, it is evident that Nagore was a place of importance in the 13th century, and that it was then necessary to protect it by embankments against inundation.

near it, that we should look for the capital, which afterwards, when the river banks became sufficiently consolidated, was moved down to the neighbourhood of Murshidabad where we now find it.¹ The kingdom of Karna Souvarna, I take it, comprehended the northern part of Burdwan, the whole of Birbhûm, and the province of Murshidabad, including all those parts of the districts of Kisbnağhur and Jessore which were then sufficiently raised above the waters of the Ganges to be habitable.²

The only other mention our traveller makes of this kingdom is when he relates, "A cette époque (605 A.D. ?) Sasanka, roi du royaume Karna Souvarna, dans l'Inde orientale, disait chaque jour à ses ministres. Quand *dans le voisinage* il y a un roi sage, c'est le malheur du royaume. La dessus il l'attira perfidement dans un rendezvous et le tua." Placed where I have placed it, Karna Souvarna was conterminous with the dominions of the great Magadha dynasty, and consequently such a transaction became possible. With another kingdom, or a less powerful and civilized monarch, it would be most improbable.

From Karna Souvarna, "il fit 700 *li* (116 miles) au sud-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Oudâ. Le royaume a 7000 *li* (1155 miles) en circonférence; le sol est gras et fertile, et donne des riches moissons. Toutes les espèces des fruits y sont plus

¹ In a paper by Captain Layard, in vol. xxii. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it is stated, at p. 281, that the town of Rungamutti, situated 12 miles south of Murshidabad, stands on the site of an old city whose name was Kuru-sona-ka-ğhur, which is evidently the modern Bengali translation of Karna Souvarna Nagara. The two first words at least are quite certain, and they are those which are important in the present case.

² In the extracts from the Bhavishyat Purâna, in the 4th vol. of the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, above referred to, it is said (p. 191), "In that part of the district of Virabhumi called Viradesa is the city Nagara (Nagore), also Sipulya, and other towns. On the western borders, among others, the village of *Suverna di*, and on the southern confines towards the Odra country is Kinda Vishna. *Suverna-mukhya* is in the forest," etc. From this description it is hardly probable that either of these Suvernas is the one we are looking for; but it is curious to find the name Suverna twice repeated in this small district, where, from Hiouen-Thsang's indication, we would place it. The passage is also curious in bringing up the frontiers of Odra or Orissa so far north. In the following page (192) Verddhamana, or Burdwan, is distinctly described, and according to our usual notions it intervened between the two; but the compiler of the Purâna places Birbhûm and Odra in juxtaposition, as Hiouen-Thsang does.

As, however, Murshidabad was built (p. 189) when the Purâna was written, the old capital was deserted, and probably removed bodily to the new; so we should not be surprised at its not being mentioned.

abondant que dans les autres royaumes," etc., much in the same terms as he speaks of the last kingdom, except that he adds, "Les mœurs sont farouches, et leur langue et leur prononciation different de celles de l'Inde centrale."

Taking the bearing and distance as we find it in the text, it would land us in the district of Midnapur, somewhere to the westward of the city of that name. I am not aware of any ruins, or any tradition, that would point to any locality in that direction as the capital of Orissa in the seventh century, but it has not been looked for, and may yet be found.¹ Meanwhile the general opinion is that Jajipur, on the Byturni, was chosen the capital of the Kesari kings of Orissa in 473.² It may have been so, but two centuries is a long life for an Indian capital; and as Midnapur was a part, and the best part, of Orissa down to Akbar's time, nothing is more likely than that the capital, or a capital, was situated in this central situation when Hiouen-Thsang was there. Indeed, if we may trust the annals at the very time of his visit, Lelat Indra Kesari (A.D. 617 to 657) was busily employed in founding a new capital at Bhuvaneswar, and erecting there the great temple, which is the finest as well as the oldest temple of its class we know of. He was, however, a bigoted Sivite, and it is not likely that Hiouen-Thsang would go near him or his new capital, but would be content with any old one he met in his way.

From this place, wherever it was, "il fit environ 1200 *li* au sud-ouest au milieu des vastes forêts, et arriva au royaume de Konyodha. Ce royaume a environ 1000 *li* (166 miles) de tour; il est voisin d'une baie, les montagnes et les collines sont fort élevées, le terrain est bas et humide. Les frontières de ce royaume embrassent plusieurs dizaines des petites villes, qui touchent à des montagnes, et sont situées au confluent des deux mers."

¹ Mr. Beames, it is true, has recently discovered and described* the remains of several ancient cities in this district which were hitherto unknown. Neither from their size nor position do any of them seem to answer to our Pilgrim's description, but their existence goes far to show that others may be found when looked for.

² Asiatic Researches, xv., p. 265. Hunter. Orissa, i.

* Indian Antiquary, ii., p. 33; iii., p. 75; viii., p. 254.

From the description of the difficulties of the route as mentioned in the text, it is evident 7 is by no means too large a divisor to take in converting *lis* into miles; and Khordhaghar, in the neighbourhood of Bhuvaneswar, is just 170 miles south-west from Midnapur, and I think it is impossible to mistake the Chilkea lake as the great bay and the two seas of the text. The Pilgrim's remark that the people "montrent un grand respect pour les hérétiques, et ne croient point a la loi de Buddha," indicates the proximity of the great Sivite shrine. But it may also be that he stopped here, as he did between Patna and Gaya, to visit the caves in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills, which are an undoubted Buddhist locality, though, as on the former occasion, he passes them by in silence. Their position would also answer sufficiently to the distances given in the text.

Wherever the capital may have been,—and we have certainly no trace of it yet,—I take it as nearly certain that this small kingdom was situated to the northward of the Chilkea lake, and somewhere between Kuttack and Aska,¹ where one of Asoka's great edict tablets still exists.

Leaving Konyodha, both authorities state, "qu'il fit au sud-ouest de 1400 à 1500 *li*, à travers des forêts vastes et sauvages, et arriva au royaume de Kalinga." From this description of the country, it is evident we must use a large divisor in converting the *li* into miles. Taking 7, which is certainly not a bit too much, this would give 200 to 216 miles; while the distance from Kuttack to Visianagram, which seems the most important place in this district, is 220 miles as the crow flies. If, however, we adopt Khordhaghar as the capital of Konyodha, or Cicacole (Siricola), as the capital of Kalinga, as General Cunningham seems inclined to do,² we may cut off from 20 to 30 miles from either end of our route, without in the least disturbing the conclusion that the capital of Konyodha was situated not far from Kuttack, and that of Kalinga not very far either from the Kalingapatam of our maps.³

¹ J.R.A.S. xx. p. 105.

² Ancient Geography, p. 516.

³ I am rather inclined to adopt General Cunningham's suggestion that Coringa

Looking at Hiouen-Thsang's description of the last, and the nature of the country he must have passed through on his next route, I confess I would feel inclined to look for the capital further inland some 20 or 30 miles from the coast; but we know so very little regarding that country, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty: and as very little hangs upon it, the determination of the exact spot is one that may safely be left for future investigation. The bearing and distance give the whereabouts of the capital with sufficient exactness for our present purposes.

In following these two last journeys, we again become aware of the inextricable confusion introduced into the narrative by adopting Tumluk as the representative of Tamralipti. M. Vivien de St.-Martin quotes Hoëi-li as saying the distance from Tamralipti to the capital of Outcha (Orissa) was 700 *li* (p. 389), and General Cunningham repeats this statement, though from the mode in which he does so, he shows he is aware that he has only M. de St.-Martin's authority for it. No distance is given by Hoëi-li as above stated, and the 700 *li* in the Si-yu-ki from the capital, is measured from Karna Souvarna. Having, however, got so much too far to the south, though General Cunningham is most ingenious in his explanations how the distances quoted may be shortened (p. 513), he is obliged to carry the Pilgrim on to Raja Mahendri, on the Banks of the Godavery, before he turns north-west to Kôsala, to return by an almost parallel road to Danakachêka. This, on the very face of it, is most improbable, and there seems nothing to support the idea

is the Calington of Pliny, but not for the same reasons. He states that "in book vi. ch. 23, Pliny states that the distance of this place from the mouths of the Ganges, is 625 Roman, or 574 British miles, and then that Dandagula must be Dantapura, and may with much probability be identified with Raja Mahendri, which is only 30 miles N.E. of Coringa," etc. I find in the 20th chapter of book vi., "Ab ostio Gangis ad Promontorium Calington et oppidum Dandagula DCCXXV., m. pas.," 725, instead of 625, and certainly to the town as well as to the promontory, so it is impossible to add 30 miles without violence to the text. Nor can I admit the nominal similarity between Dandagula and Dantapura is worth anything, as taking the scene so far south would violate every probability of the narrative of the Danta dhatu wanso. It could not, as I read the story, be further south than Puri, and I miss the passage which says that Dantapura was situated on a great river. Notwithstanding all this, we come to the same conclusion with regard to the promontory, because I measure from Satgaon, he from Saugur.

that Kalinga and its capital were so far south. M. Vivien de St.-Martin, with more boldness, adopts the only course that really was left open to him. He adopts the Kalingapatam of the maps as the Kalinga of the Chinese Pilgrim—in which I have no doubt he was nearly right—and throws overboard in consequence the measurements by which the Pilgrim reaches it as “trop forte” (p. 395), and consequently unworthy of attention. By placing Tamralipti at Satgaon, all these difficulties might have been avoided.

Having now conducted our Pilgrim beyond the limits of the Bengal Presidency, it will be well to turn back to notice a discrepancy that exists between Hoeï-li and the Si-yu-ki, and which, if not capable of explanation, might throw discredit on the whole.

In the Hoeï-li, or life, the Pilgrim does not visit Kamarupa at all; but leaving Poundravarddhana, we find the following entry: “De là il fit 900 *li* au sud-est, et arriva à Karna Souvarna,” and further on, “de là il sortit au sud-est, et arriva au royaume de Samatata, qui est voisin d’une grande mer.” From this his route to Tamralipti is in the same terms as in the Si-yu-ki, from which it is said, “Le maitre de la loi se dirigea au sud-ouest (no distance given), et arriva au royaume de Ouḍa” (p. 184).

The first part of this discrepancy is easily explained. In the great journey from Nalanda to Sinhala, he did not visit Kamarupa. His visit to that place was subsequent to his return to Nalanda, when he was induced, at the pressing invitation of Kumara, to visit the Assamese capital (Hoeï-li, pp. 227-236). Although, therefore, the Si-yu-ki was quite correct in using the expression “il fit,” it was in 642, and not in 639, that he made this journey. On the first occasion of visiting Poundravarddhana, he turned to the south-east to visit Samatata. But by a curious mistake, Hoeï-li inserted Karna Souvarna between the two places. It does not seem difficult to see how this arose. In the notes from which the Si-yu-ki was compiled, there was a place inserted between the two, and Karna Souvarna got substituted instead

of Kamarupa, either by the original author, or by some subsequent editor;¹ but immediately afterwards the mistake is confessed, as no distance is mentioned between Karna Souvarna and Samatata.

In like manner, when he leaves Tamralipti, Hoeï-li could not make him go to Karna Souvarna, he had already used that place, but takes him at once to Orissa—south-west: but again omits the distance. These, I believe, are the only two instances in which distances are omitted between important places, and they show clearly that the author perceived there was something wrong; but if we take Karna Souvarna out of the position assigned to it in Hoeï-li's text, and put it in Northern Burdwan, where, for the reasons above given, I believe it certainly was, all becomes clear. From Rungpur he goes 900 *li*, 150 to 160 miles, S.E. to Samatata. This bearing and distance bring us again to the neighbourhood of Sonargaon; so the site is fixed by a regular triangle, that would warm the heart of a trigonometrical surveyor. Rungpur was 150 miles from Gohati, and Samatata was 200 miles south of Gohati, and 160 miles south-east from Rungpur; so its position, when taken with the other indications above mentioned, may be considered settled within very narrow limits.

Before leaving Samatata, Hiouen-Thsang mentions six Eastern kingdoms, which, if it were possible to identify, would add considerably to our knowledge of the early geography of these countries. The first-named, Çrichatra, which is mentioned in the following terms, "En partant de cet endroit (Samatata) dans la direction nord-est sur le bord de la mer, entre des montagnes et des vallées, on rencontre le royaume de Çrichatra." (H.L., 182.) If the direction is correct, this can only apply to Sylhet; but in that case the word translated "mer" must mean "lac": for though a great part of that district is still occupied as immense *jeels*,

¹ If my boundary lines between the different kingdoms are correct, Hiouen-Thsang must have passed through a corner of the *country* of Karna Souvarna on his way between Poundravarddhana and Samatata, which may account for the mistake, but he certainly did not approach the capital on that occasion.

in spite of the quantities of mud which the Brahmaputra has been pouring into them down till about fifty years ago, still it is hardly probable—though by no means impossible—that the tide may have penetrated as far as Sylhet 1200 years ago, so that the low land of that district may have been really an arm of the sea. Though incapable of proof at present, even this hypothesis has so much probability about it, that it is worth inquiring into. He then goes on to say, “Plus loin sur une baie située au sud-est, on trouve le royaume de Kâmâlânkâ.” “Plus loin à l’est se trouve le royaume de Dârâpati.” If Mr. Wathen is right in asserting that Dvaravati and Meghavati are Sandowy and Cheduba,¹ the first name must represent Chittagaon and the kingdom of Arrakan, and the second the kingdom of Prome; and Isanapura, which is next mentioned as still further to the East, must be Pegu. The fifth is Mahachampa, under which name we have no difficulty in recognizing the ancient kingdom of Cambodia, whose wonderful temple ruins have recently excited so much astonishment in this country.² Beyond this, Hoei-li says, “à l’ouest” (the Si-yu-ki, “au sud-ouest”) lies “Yama na dwipa,” which can only mean Java, though the direction is sadly at variance with the truth. As none, however, of these countries were personally visited by our author, all he says about them must be received with great caution.

It is interesting to compare this with the account of the same countries given by Târanâtha, a Tibetan author, writing about 1600 A.D., but professing to describe the state of affairs a little after Hiouen-Thsang’s time from ancient authorities. “The northern lands,” he says, “Kamarupa, Tripura, and Hasama (Assam?), are called Girivarta, viz. ‘hill-inclosed.’ From thence going eastward on the side of the northern hills, are the Nangata lands (Naga?), and lying in the ocean Pukhan (Pugan), Balgu, and so on. The land Rakhang (Arrakan), Hamsavati (Pegu), and the other portions of the

¹ J.A.S.B. iii., 213.

² History of Architecture ii., p. 713 et seqq. Garnier’s Exploration du Mekon, i. Thomson’s Photographs. (Edmonston & Douglas, 1869.)

kingdom of Munjang. Further still lie Tschampa, Kambojscha, and the others. All these are comprehended under the general term Koki.”¹

Even this does not help us much, but it is worth quoting, as the early geography of these countries is now attracting attention; and if a search were made, I have little doubt but that many such passages might be found: and it is only by collecting all such, and placing them in juxtaposition, that the truth can be ascertained.

Before leaving Bengal, it may be as well to glance backwards, and see what the results are which we have obtained with regard to the geography of Bengal in the seventh century.

On the extreme north-east we have the kingdom of Kamarupa, occupying the whole valley of Assam, fertile as it still is, but then rich and prosperous, in strange contrast to its present depopulated and uncultivated condition.

To the westward of this we have the kingdom of Pundra-wardhana, occupying the country from the Koosy to the Brahmaputra, east and west, and on the south bounded by the Ganges, if that river did then flow south-eastward to join its great sister, which I very much doubt; occupying, in fact, the whole country afterwards known as the kingdom or province of Gaur.

Southward from Kamarupa we have Samatata, occupying the province now known as that of Dacca. Then the whole of the western half of the Province of Bengal practically divided between the two kingdoms of Karna Souvarna and Orissa; the former occupying the whole of the province of Murshidabad, extending eastward as far probably as Komeerkally, and westward to the boundaries of Behar, and southward to the Damuda; and Orissa extending from the northern limit to the Chilkea lake, to the boundaries of Karna Souvarna. Between these two was interpolated the little kingdom of Tamralipti, occupying the district of Hugli, and small parts of Burdwan and Kishnaghur, and such portions of Baraset

¹ Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, p. 262. Translated by Schiefner. (St. Petersburg, 1869.)

as were then habitable, which was probably not much ; and lastly we have the little kingdom of Konyodha, occupying the tract of country between the Chilkea lake and the hills.

Such a condition of things is not only in accordance with every expression of Hiouen-Thsang, but satisfies every tradition and every indication which we gather from the antiquities and other sources of information that are available to us.

The hydrographic results are equally curious. I dare not venture to affirm that the Sylhet *jecls* were then actually salt, and in direct communication with the sea ; but it seems by no means impossible that such was then the case. It is certain, at all events, that Sonargaon and Satgaon were at the head of two firths or estuaries, into which the Brahmaputra and Ganges then emptied themselves ; and it is nearly certain that the whole of the Delta south of a line drawn between these two places was a great salt-water lagoon. This, however, we gather as much from the progress that has been made in filling it up since Rennell's survey, as from Hiouen-Thsang's description ; but the one confirms the other in a most satisfactory manner. My impression is that the Sunderbuns then existed but as a reef—a Lido—in front of this lagoon, and that the Ganges did not then go eastward to join the Brahmaputra, but discharged itself into this lagoon, as the Ayeen Akbari says, "through a thousand channels."

*Kalinga to Danakachêka.*¹

From Kalinga our Pilgrim "fit environ 1800 *li* (Hoeï-li), (1900 Si-yu-ki), au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Kôsala." At the usual average of 6 *li* to 1 mile, this is 300 to 316 miles. The shorter distance would take us exactly to Wyraghur, the longer to within 10 miles of Bhândak, about 18 miles N.W. of Chanda. Both, as we learn from Mr. Grant's invaluable Gazetteer of the Central Provinces,² were sites of old cities ; but at first sight the last named seems to

¹ Si-yu-ki, pp. 92-116. Hoeï-li, pp. 185-189.

² The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India, edited by Charles Grant, Esq. 2nd edit. (Nagpore, 1870.) *sub voce*.

have the best title to be considered the capital of Kôśala. In the Gazetteer it is thus described:—"Local tradition identifies it with the great city of Bhadrāvati mentioned in the Mahā Bhārata; and the scene of the battle for the Sámkarna horse, which eventually was borne away by the demigod Bhíma for sacrifice by Dharma the King. The architectural remains in and around Bhándak are of remote antiquity, and of great interest, among them being the temple caves of Bhándak, and in the Winjhásani and Dewálá hills, and the footprint of Bhíma (qy. Buddha) on the latter hill, the Temple of Bhadrāvati, the site of the king's palace, the bridge over the now dried-up lake, the outlines of forts on the two hills just mentioned, and numerous ruins of tanks and temples, proving the existence of a great city in the far-distant past."

This description, combined with the distance and bearings, both to and from this place, so fully satisfies the exigencies of Hiouen-Thsang's narrative, that I would be quite content to leave the question there, but that another solution occurs which is so curious and interesting, that it certainly is worth mentioning here.

When Fa-Hian was at Benares, in the first years of the fifth century, he was told of a building in the far-distant Deccan, which he describes in the following terms:—"It is constructed out of a great mountain of rock, hewn to the proper shape. This building has altogether five storeys. The lowest is shaped into the form of an elephant, and has 500 stone cells in it. The second is in the form of a lion, and has 400 chambers. The third is shaped like a horse, and has 300 chambers. The fourth is in the form of an ox, and has 200 chambers. The fifth storey is in the shape of a dove, and has 100 chambers in it. At the very top of all is a spring of water, which, flowing in a stream before the rooms, encircles each tier," etc.¹

This description at first sight seems sufficiently improbable; but to any one acquainted with Indian architecture, this very improbability is the best proof that it was not invented, but

¹ Beal's Fa-Hian, pp. 139, 140. Foë-kouë-ki, p. 314, et seqq.



Pavilion at Hullabeed from a Photograph.

that Fa-Hian's informant had seen what he described. The form of the temple in five storeys, each one fifth less than the one below it, is what we find at the Seven Pagodas, and in fact in all the temples of Southern India; and more especially in the description of the nearly contemporary Maha Lowa Paya at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon. It, however, had nine storeys, but each diminishing in the same ratio.¹ The succession of animals is also perfectly familiar to us. The annexed Woodcut, for instance, represents a portion of the Hullabeed Temple in the Mysore; its lower tier is adorned with elephants, the next with lions, above these are horsemen. A frieze is here interpolated; but above this we have animals, which it must be confessed can hardly be called oxen; but above them we have a frieze of birds which may very well be called pigeons. This is not, it is true, exactly what Fa-Hian describes; but if this building was, as Hiouen-Thsang says, built by Sadvahan² or Salivahana, or Satakarni, thirteen centuries elapsed between the two buildings, and the differences between the two are exactly what one would expect to be introduced in the interval. If, too, the date of the first century of our era is correct, this building was contemporary with the Sanchi gateways, and we know how freely elephants, lions, and even horses were introduced there, as capitals, and generally as architectural ornaments.

Hiouen-Thsang was nearer the place than his predecessor ever was, and his account leaves us doubtful whether it really was rock-cut or not. The mountain, or hill, on which it was erected, he says, "n'a ni bords ni vallées elle semble ne former qu'un immense bloc de pierre," and he then mentions, "des longues galleries, des auvents pour se promener à l'abri, des hautes tours, et un pavillon à cinq étages"; and then the cascade which springs from the top of the mountain, etc. All, however, tending to show that the building was not completely rock-cut, but, in part at least, structural; and so far as can be made out from such information as is at present available, would answer perfectly for the Winjhásaní hill site.

¹ Transactions R.A.S. iii., p. 470, pl. 16.

² Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 102.

A plan of this structure is given in Major Lucie Smith's Report on the Chanda district ; not very perfect, it must be confessed, but it represents a central mound, 120 feet in diameter, into which three great galleries, apparently cut in the rock, penetrate from 50 to 70 feet at right angles to the sides, and around it are ruins of very considerable extent. Externally it is now a mere mass of débris, but its vicinity to Bhándak and Chanda would account for its sculptures being removed and utilized. But altogether it is so like our Pigeon monastery that I would be inclined to adopt it as the true site till at least some other substitute is found.¹ Assuming for the nonce that this is so, Wyraghur was the capital of Kôsala at the time of Hiouen-Thsang's visit. The Winjhásaní hill is 62 miles south-west from it, rather more, it must be confessed, than the 300 *li* mentioned in the text, unless indeed we take 5 as our divisor. The direction is quite correct ; but, even then, as the Pilgrim never traversed the route or saw the building, all he says regarding either must be taken *cum grano*.

If so near, however, it may be asked, why did he not visit it? The answer seems easy. It was deserted and taken from the Buddhists before Fa-Hian's time, and *à fortiori* in Hiouen-Thsang's time was still further desecrated, and occupied by people "who knew nothing of the laws of Buddha," and there was no object in visiting it. It might with equal propriety be asked why did he not visit the Gunamati monastery in Behar, when he was even nearer it, as described in the first section of this paper, but which he certainly passed by.

In so far as the geography of the preceding or subsequent routes is concerned, it is of very little consequence whether we adopt Wyraghur or Bhándak as the objective point of this route. But if the kingdom of Kôsala were practically Chattísgharh, as Mr. Grant suggests,² and which I cannot

¹ The suggestion that Fa-Hian meant Ellora is easily disposed of, by one among many facts that might be adduced. The oldest excavations there—the Dherwarra and Vishwacarma—were not commenced till the seventh century, if indeed so early. The Poloyu monastery belonged to the first century of our era.

² Gazetteer Central Provinces, Introduction, p. lvi.

help thinking probable, Wyraghur certainly was more probably the capital than the other; and on the whole it suits better both the direction and distances given by the Pilgrim than the more western capital. What would really settle the question would be the discovery of the real Poloyu monastery,¹ if it exists; but making every possible allowance for the blindness of travellers, and for our profound ignorance of all that the Nizam's territory contains, I cannot look forward with much hope to its being found. If, however, it is not the Winjhásaní hill, its discovery would add more to our knowledge of the history of Indian architecture than any other that is now likely to reward the industry of explorers in these unknown regions.

The question whether Wyraghur or Bhándak was the capital of Kósala in Hiouen-Thsang's time, is one which has no bearing on the subsequent geography of his route. Both lie well within the limits of deviation indicated. The first is N. 10° W., the second N. 20° W., and both are the same distance, 280 miles, from Bezwarra, which, as will be presently shown, was the capital of Dhanakachêka in the seventh century. The one difficulty is to determine the position of Vinkhila, the name of the capital of Andhra at this period. The words of the text are, "En partant de ce pays, il fit environ 900 *li* au sud" (General Cunningham says, p. 521, "to the south-west," but this is certainly a mistake), "à travers des grandes forêts, et arriva au royaume de Andhra." The kingdom was not large, the circumference of the capital 20 *li*, and, what is quite exceptional, its name is given Vinkhila, which sounds very like Vengi, which we know was the name of the capital or country of the Eastern Chalukyas at this period.² The first impulse is to assume it was Warangal, which is 160 miles due south of Bhándak, and 170 from Wyraghur; but these distances are too great for a forest route when we cannot possibly use a divisor lower than 6½ or 7, or say 130 to 140 miles, and there is no place on the maps at that distance which can now be recognized by any-

¹ Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (Paramalagiri).—Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 101.

² J.R.A.S., New Series, I., p. 254.

thing like that name. The next stage is described in the following terms: "En sortant de ce pays il fit environ 1000 *li* au sud (vers le sud, Hoeï-li), à travers des forêts et des plaines desertes, et arriva au royaume de Danakachêka." From this description of the character of the country, we may safely take 7 as our divisor, and make this between 140 and 150 miles, as I take it, from the expression in Hoeï-li, a little to the westward of south from the capital. This would place Vinkhila in the Nizam's territories near a place marked Ortyal or Yelchal on our maps; but whether there are any remains there or not, I do not know. We know so little of the Hyderabad country. But so far as I can learn from photographs and personal communications, there is nothing at Warangal that seems older than the Pratapa Rudra dynasty, say eleventh or twelfth century. The present capital is about four miles south of the older one, and I see no reason for doubting but that a still more ancient one may be found, when looked for, 30 miles further north.

The situation of the capital of Danakachêka is described in the following terms, principally extracted from the Hoeï-li (page 188), as in this instance the fullest of our two authorities:—"A est de la capitale on a construit sur une montagne le couvent Pourvaçilâ Samghârâma, et à l'ouest de la ville on a élevé sur le côté opposé de la montagne le couvent Avaraçilâ Samghârâma. Un ancien roi de ce royaume l'avait construit en honneur de Bouddha, et y avait déployé toute la magnificence des palais de Ta-hia" (de la Bactriane), and the Si-yu-ki adds, "Il creusa la vallée et y pratiqua un chemin." A little further on it is said, "A une petite distance au sud de la ville, il y a une enorme rocher," or as the Si-yu-ki specifies, "Une grande caverne de montagne," where Bhavaviveka lived.

When I wrote the description of the Amravati Tope, in my work on Tree and Serpent Worship, all this was mysterious enough. The one thing that seemed clear was, that the Amravati Tope was the Avaraçilâ Samghârâma. But it was unfortunately situated close to the *east* side of the town of Daranicotta, and no possible site for the

Pourvaçilâ monastery had then been discovered. Worse than this, neither in Colonel Mackenzie's nor in any other maps could anything like the "enorme rocher" be found. It was in fact one of those puzzles that must be left for further research to solve. This has now fortunately been done in a report addressed to Government by the late J. A. C. Boswell, officiating collector of the district, and by some photographs by Captain Ross Thompson, which are now before me. From these we learn that to the eastward of Bezwarra, there is a high hill, on the top of which a white building may be seen in the photograph, occupying no doubt the site of the Pourvaçilâ convent. To the west of the town is a high mountain full of caves, abutting on the river; and 17 miles beyond that to the westward, the Amravati Tope or Avaraçilâ Samghârâma. But the most remarkable feature is, that immediately south of the town is a singular isolated rock or hill, "along whose base and sides," says Mr. Boswell, "there are the remains of a considerable number of rock caves and temples, evidently of Buddhist origin. There is a rock temple of two storeys close to the village which has been recently utilized as a granary." "In various places the figures of elephants and other animals, in the Buddhist style of representation, are to be seen depicted. At one place there is a Mantapam cut out of the rock, and supported by stone pillars, more solitary cells, and lastly a rock temple in four storeys of considerable proportions." It may be added, that neither was the report written nor the photographs taken with the smallest idea of proving any theory; but their united testimony proves, almost beyond the shadow of a doubt, Bezwarra to be the city Hiouen-Thsang describes.¹

¹ As neither General Cunningham nor I were aware, or had any means of knowing, of these local peculiarities when we wrote, neither of us are, I conceive, to blame that we accepted Daranicotta as the capital, instead of Bezwarra. But General Cunningham was certainly to blame when he called the district Majerika, and mixed up the history of the place with the legends of the Rama Grama relics and other untenable positions. Majerika is, I believe, only mentioned in the Mahawanso,* and its position may be gathered from the following extracts:—When

* Manjarika, which is evidently the same place, is mentioned in Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 274. In the legend there quoted, it was the underground residence of the Naga King Maha Kala, who had seen the four Buddhas, and whom Asoka called by magic rites into his presence that he might see representations of them. This was accomplished by forging a golden fetter, which, being thrown on the ground, proceeded through a cleft that was formed in the earth to the Naga world, and fell at the feet of Maha Kala.

*Danakachêka to Barougatcheva.*¹

Leaving Bezwarra, our Pilgrim, according to Hoeï-li, travelled south 1000 *li* to Djourya; according to the Si-yu-ki, the direction was south-west: but the discrepancy is easily explained, as, had he really travelled south, he would have fallen into the sea. For the first part of his journey he must consequently have gone in a south-westerly direction, though afterwards resuming his southern route. The object for which he was travelling was to get to the port of embarkation for Ceylon, and he consequently would follow the coast line as nearly as possible. Assuming this to be the case, the direction and distance would take us to Nellore, which is an important place,—whether old or not is not clear; but at all events a pot of gold coins of Trajan and

Dutthagamani had erected the Ruanwelli Dagoba for the reception of the Rama Grama relics, which had been carried off to Majerika by the Nagas (Mahawanso, p. 185), a priest, Sonuttara, was told off on the day previous to the ceremony to go to Majerika and fetch them. “when he heard, for the first time, the burst of the musical sounds which announced the procession to be in motion, instantly diving into the earth, and proceeding subterraneously to the land of the Nagas, then presented himself to the Naga-*raja*.” The latter, fearing the relics were to be taken from him, sent his nephew off to the foot of Mount Meru with them; but the *thero*, making a supernaturally long arm, possessed himself of the casket. Then saying (to Kâlo), “Naga, rest thou here, rending the earth, he reascended to his *pariwano* at Anurâdhapura” (p. 188), which he reached before the procession whose start he had listened to, before descending. One point that seems to have influenced General Cunningham was the wonderful magnificence of the last step of the Naga Stupa at Majerika, as it is described in the Mahawanso (p. 188). This, however, is a peculiarity of Ceylonese architecture. All the great buildings in Anurâdhapura and Pollonaruwa have their last steps carved in the most elaborate manner. One is represented in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, pl. 17, and I have photographs of half a dozen others even more elaborate than that one. But no such carved step occurs at Amravati, nor, so far as I know, in any temple on the Continent of India. It is, consequently, just such a hyperbole as a Ceylonese writer would use in describing the magnificence of the underground palace of the Naga Raja, but means nothing.

When General Cunningham assisted Mr. Prinsep in copying in vol. vi., pl. x., the Amravati inscriptions in the Calcutta Museum, both of them thought Amravati was Omrawutty in Berar. General Cunningham retained the same belief in 1848, when he described the place as west of Nagpore (J. A. S. B., xvii., p. 43), and I believe was not aware of its true situation, or of the legends bearing upon it, till I told him in 1867. Yet, though my book was published two years before his, he abstains from all allusion to it, though he himself most kindly assisted in its production, and added an appendix. This is a matter of literary etiquette, and I should not allude to it if it were a merely personal question; but it is necessary, in the interests of science, to protest against the mixing up Majerika and Rama Grama legends with the facts as stated in my work, and confounding events which took place 157 B.C. with those which occurred nearly 500 years afterwards in the beginning of the fourth century of our era.

¹ Si-yu-ki, ii., pp. 116–153. Hoeï-li, pp. 189–204.

Faustina was dug up there in 1787.¹ Both M. de St.-Martin and General Cunningham assume Djourya (Tchoulya, Si-yu-ki) represents Chola; and I do not see any reason for doubting but that it may have been so, though, according to the native traditions, we would hardly look for it so far north. From this place, "il entra au midi dans des forêts et des plaines desertes, et après avoir fait 1500 à 1600 *li*, arriva au royaume de Drâvida. Ce royaume a 6000 *li* de tour; la capitale, qui s'appelle Kantchîpoura, a un trentaine de *li* de circonférence," etc.

This has generally been assumed to be Conjeveram, and the name of that city was undoubtedly Kantchipura in ancient times; but that city is only 140 miles from Nellore, and the distance given, at 6 *li*, is 260 miles, and even at 7 *li*, 220. My conviction, therefore, is that we must go on to Nagapatam, which is just 260 miles from Nellore, more especially as this is the only place which will answer to the description of Hoeï-li, who says (191), "La ville de Kantchîpoura est située sur un port de la mer, à la point de l'Inde méridionale, en face de royaume de Sinhala, où l'on peut arriver après trois jours de navigation." It was here, too, that he met the Ceylonese refugees, who told him of the death of the king, and dissuaded him from venturing across.

All this would fit admirably to Nagapatam; but nothing is more unlikely than that Ceylonese refugees should congregate at Conjeveram, and by no latitude of description could a city 35 miles from the nearest point of the shore be called a "port de la mer." My impression is, therefore, that there were two Kantchipuras, as there were two Kousoumapouras, and two Tamraliptis, and as we know there were two Kalyanis, one a capital, the other a port, and, as I hope presently to show, two Ballabhis.² In the same manner as we have two Kôsalas, two Nagpurs. In fact, few things seem more common in Indian Geography than the reduplication of important names.

¹ Hamilton, Gazetteer of India, *sub voce*.

² Tod, in his "Travels in Western India," p. 277, mentions that the Mount Satrunja, or Palitana, had 21 appellations, some of which he gives. I am afraid this is far from being a solitary instance of such exuberance.

From this point we have the testimony of Hoeï-li, which is final on such a question, that he turned northward. “De Dravida il revient au nord-ouest, en compagnie de 70 religieux, du royaume de Sinhala,” etc. “Après avoir fait 1000 *li*, il arriva au royaume de Konkana Poura” (p. 201). And the Si-yu-ki (p. 146) uses nearly the same words, but does not give the direction. Both works, however, give intermediately a description of Malakoûta, which occupied the extreme southern portion of the peninsula. But as he never visited it, neither the details nor dimensions are to be depended upon. But the Si-yu-ki concludes (p. 124) with the following remark: “Lorsqu’on sort de Malakoûta, dans la direction du nord-est, sur les bords de la mer, on rencontre une ville, nommée Tcharitrapoura; c’est la route des voyageurs qui vont dans la royaume de Ceylon.” Here we have a second Tcharitrapura, the pendant of that in Orissa, and evidently the same place as that called Kantchipura by Hoeï-li, and which certainly seems to be Nagapatam. That this was a Buddhist site I believe all will allow, and till within the last few years, a Buddhist temple did exist there. It has been utilized lately by the railway, like so many other of the antiquities of India. But I have seen drawings of it; and a woodcut of one of the last fragments of it that remained has been published by Colonel Yule, in his ‘Marco Polo.’¹

From Kantchipura, wherever it was, our Pilgrim made three long journeys, till he crossed the Nerbudda. The country through which he was passing had not been visited by Buddha or any of his saints, and in fact had never been converted to Buddhism, and consequently contained little to interest him; and he passed through it rapidly, and perhaps also noted carelessly the direction in which he travelled or the distances. In the Si-yu-ki they are given as follows:—

From Dravida to Konkana-poura	2000 <i>li</i> north-west.
„ Konkana-poura to capital of Mahârâchtra ...	2400 to 2500 <i>li</i> „
„ Capital of Mahârâchtra to the crossing of the Nerbudda at Barougatcheva	1000 <i>li</i> west.
	<hr/> 5500

¹ The Book of Marco Polo, by Col. Henry Yule, C.B. (Murray, 1871.) vol. ii., p. 273.

The distances and directions given by Hoei-li are identical with those just quoted from the Si-yu-ki, except in the last instance, where, instead of "West," he makes the direction of the last journey "North-east," as will be noticed further on. Dividing this by 6, we have 900 to 916 miles, which is as nearly as may be the distance between Nagapatam and Baroache. If it is still contended that Conjeveram was the point of departure, we must divide by 7, which is hardly probable over so long a distance. This would alter considerably the position of the first station, and I do not know where it would place the second if it is to be on the banks "of a large river."

Taking it, as I suppose, from Nagapatam, the first stage would take us to the centre of the Mysore plateau, somewhere east of Bednore and about Holakaira, or even a little further eastward. This country always was a stronghold of Jainism, and it is here, consequently, if anywhere, that one would look for a pre-existing Buddhism. I am not, however, aware of any monument in the Mysore that can distinctly be called Buddhist; so cannot fix the site with anything like precision.

The next stage would take us nearly to Deoghur or Dou-latabad, as the capital of the great Mahratta King Pulakesi. But the specification of the Si-yu-ki is distinct; his city was "voisine d'une grande fleuve" (p. 149), which in this country can only mean the Godavery. There are, however, Foolthamba, Toka, Paitan, or Padami, all old sites, and any one of which would answer the Pilgrim's distance.¹ The plateau is in fact one which always had a capital, whether it was

¹ According to an inscription partly deciphered by Dr. Bhau Daji, J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. ix., p. cxcix., the capital of Pulakesi, at the time of Hiouen-Tsang's visit, is said to have been Vatapipuri. The name is new to me, and I do not find it on any map I have access to; so, until the Doctor chooses to enlighten us, we are not much wiser than we were. The one condition, if it is to be the place at which Pulakesi was residing when Hiouen-Tsang visited him, is, that it should be within 150 or 170 miles of Baroache, which is one of the fixed points in our itineraries, and situated on the banks of a river. So new a name, however, springing up in so authentic a form, is another of the 1001 instances which occur in this investigation, to show how worthless nominal similarities are. It may either be a new site altogether, or only a new name for an old city.

It was mentioned by Sir Walter Elliot, J.R.A.S., Vol. IX., p. 9, but even he was ignorant of its position.

Deoghur, Arungabad, or Ahmednuggur; it was marked out by nature as a site for a great city, and here we must look for it. The direction, it is true, from the last station is more north than north-west; but in so long a route I hold it to be quite impossible that any traveller could, without instruments, keep his bearings correctly, and without better maps than he could possibly have possessed. In this case, such a deviation as this seems to me of no practical importance.

From Foolthamba to Baroache is exactly 166 miles; the direction is north-west. But here we come to a conflict between our two authorities, which betrays an error somewhere, which it is difficult to correct with confidence. From Pula-kesi's capital, Hoeï-li—generally our most trustworthy guide—makes him go “environ 1000 *li* au nord-est” to the place “Baroukatchêva, où il passa la rivière Narmmadâ.” But if Baroukatchêva is Baroache, as every one assumes it is, this is impossible. Any place 166 miles south-west of Baroache would have been far out at sea. The Si-yu-ki (p. 153) gives the same distance, but makes the direction “west.” This is probable, and approaches the truth; but still, unless we are allowed to compound the two authorities, and consider Hoeï-li's north-east as a mistake or mis-transcription of north-west, I do not see how we are to reconcile the facts with the description; doing so, it all becomes quite correct. This, however, is no arbitrary correction, as we find him describing the next journey, as we shall see presently, as “encore au nord-ouest,” showing clearly that here at least we have an error of transcription or translation.

Before leaving this part, it may be well to point out a passage which, I think, without doubt, applies to the Caves of Ajunta. In the Si-yu-ki, p. 151, it is said, “Sur les frontières orientales du royaume, il y a une grande montagne, qui offre des sommets entassés les uns sur les autres, des chaînes de rochers, des pics à doubles étages, et des crêtes escarpées. Anciennement il y avoit un couvent, qui avoit été construit dans une sombre vallée. Ses batimens élevés, et ses salles profondes occupaient des larges ouvertures dans des rochers, et s'appuyaient sur des pics, ses pavillons et ses tours à

doubles étages, étoient adossées aux cavernes et regardaient la vallée." Considering that our Pilgrim never saw the place, this description reproduces the main features of that group of caves with marvellous fidelity, and leaves in my mind no doubt but that it was the group he was describing.

*From Baroukatchêva to Ballabhi.*¹

Passing the Nerbudda to the northward, we enter on the third, and by far the least satisfactory division of Hiouen-Thsang's travels. The journeys in this part are no longer consecutive, and it is never possible to follow him step by step, as could be done from the time he entered the Caubul valley till he crossed the Nerbudda. It is difficult to guess whether this may arise from the notes of this part of his travels having perished in the accident that occurred when he crossed the Indus on his return home (Hoeï-li, p. 263), or whether it may have been that the notes of this part were less carefully kept than those of his previous journeys. Both these causes may have conspired to this effect: but I am inclined to lay considerable stress on the latter. Neither Buddha nor any of his immediate disciples visited Western India. Buddhist sites and traditions were consequently rare; and it is difficult to understand what could have induced our traveller to make such long and difficult journeys, as he did, through countries which to him must have been singularly uninteresting, if he did make them at all. My own impression is that though the pronoun "il," and not "on," is constantly used, it must in this part of his travels be taken with considerable qualification; and though in some instances he may have performed the journeys narrated, he certainly did not do so in all instances: and we must consequently receive the statements of our author with the greatest possible caution.

Another difficulty occurs from the summary mode in which the whole is treated in this division. Hoeï-li, for instance, disposes of six journeys, extending over 6000 *li*, in the space of a single page (pp. 207-8), and we consequently miss all those

¹ Hoeï-li, pp. 204-206. Si-yu-ki, ii., pp. 154-162.

local incidents and features which are so invaluable towards fixing places in the earlier parts of the narrative. I by no means wish to assert that there is no geography to be got out of this division of the work. On the contrary, I fancy a great deal may be learnt, but it must be by a totally different mode of investigation from that applicable to the earlier portions, and must always, I fear, remain much less certain or satisfactory.

At present I propose to examine only one short journey in order to illustrate these remarks, and trust it will be sufficient for that purpose. From Baroache the Pilgrim went to Ballabhi. According to the usually received theory of the site of that city, the distance was 60 miles west; according to my view, 160 north: and there seems every reason for supposing that, as in all the previous instances, he took the usual and most direct road.

If Ballabhi was situated where it is generally supposed it was placed, he must either have taken a boat and crossed the gulf of Cambay to get to it, or he must have travelled 60 miles in a northerly, and then an equal distance in a southerly direction to reach it. There is not, however, any trace of any such journeys in either of the works under review, so unless we are prepared to reject the whole as an inexplicable riddle—which it may be—we must look to the site of that Capital elsewhere.

Turning first then to the Hoeï-li, we have the following facts (p. 204), “De là (Baroukatcheva), marchant encore au nord-ouest (a tolerable proof of the correctness of our last determination), il fit 2000 *li*, et arriva au royaume de Malva.” From what he says of this country, and of its late king Siladitya, it seems difficult to doubt but that this should be Malwa and its capital Ougein. But the distance is only 200 miles: whereas 2000 *li* is more than 300, and the direction of Ougein is N.E., not N.W., and Ougein is also almost undoubtedly mentioned afterwards as the capital of Oudjana (Hoeï-li, p. 207; Si-yu-ki, ii., p. 167); so that nothing will fit: and we know besides, from the Japanese map attached to the second volume, that the editors certainly meant north-west,

and not north-east. To proceed therefore. From this place, "il fit 2400 à 2500 *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Atali." "De là, il fit 300 *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva à Kita." "De là, il fit 1000 *li* au nord, et arriva au royaume de Ballabhi." If any one will take the trouble to protract these distances and directions on the map, he will find the first takes him to Omercote, or some place near it; the next to Kelat, and the last to somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, where Ballabhi certainly was not, some 900 miles, instead of 60 or 160, and quite out of India. When we turn to the Si-yu-ki, it does not help us much. The journey to Malva is given in precisely the same terms; so is that to Atali. But here he leaves the traveller, and starts again from Malva. It must also be remarked that on the previous start from Malva, the following words occur, "En partant de ce royaume au sud-ouest, il arriva au confluent de deux mers, fit ensuite 2400 à 2500 *li* à Atali." There is also another fact mentioned, which is important. Speaking of the capital of Malva, he says, "qu'elle est située au sud-est de la rivière Mahi" (p. 155); and in the second departure from Malva (p. 161), it is said, "partant de ce royaume, il fit environ 300 *li* au nord-ouest, et arriva au royaume de Khatch." From these sentences we glean a few facts that may serve to solve the problem we have before us. The first is that the capital of Malva was situated to the south-east of the Mahi or Mhye river. This description would answer admirably for the situation of Baroda, or some city in its neighbourhood, but for no other that I know of. It will not answer for Dhar, as General Cunningham suggests (p. 491), for that city is a long way from even the head waters of that stream, and so long as it runs towards the north, it is a dry nullah for nine months of the year, and only becomes such a stream as any one would refer to when it passes Banswarra on its way southward.

Again, on the first departure from Malva, the Si-yu-ki states that the Pilgrim went a certain distance—how far is not stated—to the south-west, to the junction of two seas. This description would not answer, so far as I know, to any

place in this neighbourhood except to Cambay. The two estuaries of the Mahi and Subramutti must, 1200 years ago, have been much more important than they now are, and would fully justify that denomination ; and though west from Baroda the Pilgrim must have turned south-west from the head of the bay to reach the city, from which the 2500 *li* to Atali are measured.

On the second departure from Malva, the distance is given as 300 *li* to Kita, which again would answer perfectly for the distance from Baroda to Cambay. The direction now given is north-west, and if that is deemed important, some of the nearest cities south of Baroda must be substituted ; but it seems near enough for our present purpose. Then comes the *instantia crucis*. “En partant de ce pays, il fit environ 1000 *li* au nord, et arriva à Ballabhi.”

This would take us to the neighbourhood of Sidpur, Anhulwara Puttun, Chandravati, and a group of old ruined cities that exist and always have existed in the neighbourhood of Deesa. If the site usually assigned to Ballabhi is insisted upon, this is fatal. 1000 *li*, or 150 or 160 miles south of Bhojnuggur we are out at sea, opposite Bombay harbour, where certainly there was no Kita from which the Pilgrim could measure his “1000 *li* north.” Either, it seems to me, we must reject his text altogether, or adopt Cambay as Kita, and some spot near Anhulwara as the site of the old capital of Ballabhi. At the same time it appears to me that the identification of the site near Bhojnuggur with that of the old capital rests on the shallowest evidence. Colonel Tod heard it so called, but never visited it.¹ It was afterwards carefully examined by Dr. Nicholson, and a detailed account of it published in the Journal of the R.A.S. xiii., p. 146, et seqq. From what he says, there seems to have been nothing either grand or ancient about the place, and since then the principal finds have been Mahomedan and modern coins.²

¹ Travels in Western India, p. 268.

² He mentions, however, one tradition, which, as far as it goes, seems to point to the truth. The sons of Govindaso, who received the image of Parsuath from the thief, resided at Puran Puttun, which was 40 *cosse* distant from Wullee Puttun, the name by which the city is known which Tod identified with Ballabhi.

I am not, however, at all prepared to contend that there may not have been a city called Ballabhi near Bhojnagar in Guzerat.¹ On the contrary, as there were Kalliani the capital, and Kalliani the port,—Kantchipura the capital, and the port of the same name,—Tamralipti and Tamluk,—and the two Kousoumapuras,—so there probably was Ballabhi the capital, and Ballabhi the port; or what appears to me most probable is, that, when Ballabhi was destroyed in 746,² a portion of the inhabitants fled southwards, and established themselves at Wullee, and took with them the name of their old home. But of one thing I feel certain, which is, that the neighbourhood of Bhojnagar never was the seat of a great capital. The metropolis of the country was always

¹ This seems certainly to have been the case in Al Biruni's time, for he says, "Ballaba, qui a donné aussi son nom à une ère, était prince de la ville de Ballaba, au midi de Anhalouara, à environ trente *yodjanas* de distance." (Thomas's Prinsep, i., 269.) If my view is correct, the first was the old, the second the new, city of that name.

² When an error once gets introduced in a standard work, it is copied and repeated without examination, till it becomes so completely established that it is almost impossible to get it afterwards corrected. I hope, therefore, I may be allowed again to protest against Colonel Tod's date for the destruction of Ballabhi. All he did assert was, "that the records preserved by the Jains," apparently the Satrunjiya Mahatmaya—which for such a purpose is absolutely worthless—assert that Ballabhi was destroyed by the Parthians (properly the barbarians) in 205 of the Ballabhi Samvat, for which he adds 319, making 524 A.D. It is quite needless, therefore, General Cunningham speculating whether the event was dated from the Samvat or Saka era (p. 318). It is from the Ballabhi era, and from no other, and it rests on no inscription, no extraneous history or tradition; simply on the authority of some worthless and nameless Jain scribe, and it is contradicted by the most positive evidence, the one we are at present concerned with being quite sufficient. In 640, 116 years after its reputed destruction, Hiouen-Thsang visited it, and found, as one would expect from the chronology (J.R.A.S., new series, iv., p. 90), that a King Dhrouvapatu was on the throne, and no symptom of decay was visible in its long period of prosperity.

The truth seems to be, and Tod himself admits it (pp. 149–152),* that Ballabhi was destroyed, and Anhulwara-puttun rose on its ruins in the Samvat year 802, or A.D. 746. Every scrap of information we have, every inscription, every tradition, point to the middle of the eighth century as the period of a revolution which changed the face of India. The great Chalukya and Canouge dynasties were then eclipsed—the Moslems, who were fast advancing to the conquest of India, were driven back to the Indus—Buddhism practically disappeared, and Siva and Vishnu take the place of the mild ascetic. The only written record of this great event is a distorted paraphrase of it in the Raja Tarangini, where it figures as the Indian wars and conquests of Lali aditya (A.R. xv., p. 44 et seqq.); but Elliot's inscriptions (J.R.A.S. iv., 7, et seqq.), and above all Tod's Annals, everywhere point to this as the end of the old and the beginning of the new state of things in India. It may have been, as above stated, in 746, or it may be 10 years later; but till we have more exact information, it will be better to speak in round numbers, and take 750 A.D. as the date of the great revolution.

* See also Travels in Western India, p. 149.

situated between the head of the Gulf of Cambay and Mount Abu, and whether its name was Ballabhi, Sidpur, Anhulwara, or Ahmedabad, it was there, or thereabouts, that the supreme power was situated; and there we must look for the remains of that great city, if ever we expect to find them.¹

If this is so, it is quite evident that we must reject the journey from Baroache to Atali as a geographical determination inserted in the wrong place, and having no real bearing on the Pilgrim's progress from the capital of Pulakesi to that of Dhrouva Patou, the Druva Sena of the Indian lists.²

It is hardly necessary to pursue this branch of the subject further at present. What has been said above is probably sufficient to show that the journeys detailed in this part of Hiouen-Thsang's work must be treated differently from those in previous parts of his route. They may be, and probably are, all true, within certain limits; but we get into hopeless and irremediable confusion, when we either alter the text to suit our own preconceived ideas, or attempt to put journeys into a sequence one after the other, when in fact they are parallel to one another. The fact seems to be, that though some of them are personal experiences, the greater part can only be considered as geographical descriptions.

¹ If Dr. Stevenson's conjecture could be maintained, it would be an easy solution of the difficulty. In J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. viii., p. 51, he says, "I suppose it refers to Anandapoura, so called by the Jains, and afterwards by the Hindus named Valabhi, the capital of the well-known sovereignty of that name, on the north side of the Gulf of Cambay." The objection to this theory is that both Hoeï-li (p. 207) and the Si-yu-ki (ii., p. 164) mention Anandapoura as a separate capital 700 *li* N.W. from Ballabhi. The whole, however, it appears to me, is only another instance of perpetual shuffling of names of cities which are so frequently met with in these inquiries, and which, in fact, is what makes them so difficult.

² Thomas, Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, i., p. 252, et seqq.

ART. X.—*Northern Buddhism.* [Note from Colonel H. YULE,
addressed to the Secretary.]

THE inclosed is an extract from a letter which Mr. B. H. Hodgson did me the honour to write to me about two years ago, in reference to some passages in a paper on the Senbyú Pagoda in Burma, which appeared in the Society's Journal for 1870, with additional remarks by the late Mr. C. Horne and by Mr. Fergusson.¹ I inclose the original sketch which Mr. Hodgson put into my hands along with the letter, authorizing me to make what use of them seemed best.

They have been kept by me since, in hope of some opportunity of communicating them to the Society in a less isolated manner than now; but as none such has occurred, it seems desirable not to delay longer submitting them to the Society, in the hope that they will authorize the publication of the drawing in their *Journal*, with these extracts from the letter of one whom we all hold in so much respect. I am, etc.,

H. YULE.

Palermo, September 13th, 1872.

Extract of letter from B. H. HODGSON, Esq., written in 1870.

“With reference to your paper in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV. Part II. (N.S.), I send you a sketch of a mutilated figure from Surakarta.² It is beyond all question a representation of Padma Pani, the son of Amitabha, the Dhyáni Buddha. There is a still more perfect image of the same personage to be found now at Karnagarh near Bhágalpúr.³ No sophistry can argue away the evidence thus afforded, especially if taken in connexion with what my old Saugata Pandit reported as to the images seen by him at Buddh Gya. Let it be granted to Messrs. Horne and Fergusson that all the several attitudes of the Buddha are canonical. But still the evidence deduced from an in-

¹ See Vol. IV. (N.S.) Part II. pp. 420–422, 423–429. Mr. Hodgson's letter is not dated, but he put it into my hands, I think, in the summer of 1870.

² See the accompanying plate.

³ [See Mr. Hodgson's paper in the J.R.A.S., vol. xviii., p. 395.]



IMAGE FOUND IN OCTOBER, 1855, NEAR THE VILLAGE OF TEKARRAN, IN THE RESIDENCY SOORAKARTA.

Description.—Hollow, of a mixed metal, perhaps brass and tin, cast round an iron skeleton. Coated with a thin layer of best silver. The ornaments are partly gilt.

variable and universal specialization of, not one but many, traits of the figures, is surely significant, and we have to distinguish Dhyánis, (1) position in the temples (base of hemisphere), (2) disposition of the hands, (3) supporters, (4) cognizance or *china*, placed between the supporters, (5) colour where used. Take all these, remembering that the distinctive use of them is invariable, and we have, I think, something more of evidence than Messrs. Horne and Fergusson seem disposed to recognize. And is not the fact that three great convocations were held in India to settle disputed points of faith proof enough that Southern Buddhism was not of that *single* type insisted on by Pali students of the Ceylonese type? And why not one of these types the Dhyáni school of Nepál and the North?

“The late Governor of Java, Baron Sloet, some while back, sent me a handsome dagger in acknowledgment of the light I had thrown on Javanese Buddhism, by my expositions of that faith as still extant in Nepál.

“It may be that Buddhism in Nepál is comparatively recent, not earlier than the second century of Christ, and that this type got to Java, avoiding Ceylon, etc., at a still later date, even in the eleventh or twelfth century. But still the comparative weight of evidence is, on the whole, in favour of *not* drawing the hard and fast line between Northern and Southern Saugatism, and of not ignoring the canonical character of the former.

“I have written the above in a hurry, meaning to tell you *vivá voce* what I had to say.”

ART. XI.—*Hwen Thsang's Account of the Principalities of Tokháristán, etc.*

IN my recent paper on Hwen Thsang's Geography of Tokháristán, I made what may have seemed a rash suggestion, that the *Foliehisitangna* of the Traveller, a territory at the foot of Hindu Kush, might represent the country of the *Parâchis* of Baber. But the suggestion has received corroboration from a passage that I recently observed in the Travels of Sidi 'Ali (Journ. As., tom. ix., p. 203). The admiral being at Kâbul, and about to cross the Hindu Kush, the Governor sent *Mir Nezir*, chief of the Tribes of Farâshi and Bashâtsi (بشائى and فراشى) to demand 300 men of those tribes to conduct the horses and camels across the Pass. The party then proceeded by Karâbâgh and Chârikarân to Parwân. There they entered on the territory of *Mir Nezir*, and found the tribesmen assembled. This seems to show that the territory of the Farâshis (or Parâchis) was about Parwân, i.e. close to Hupiân, which is supposed to be the *Hupinah* of Hwen-Thsang, called by him the capital of *Foliehisitangna*. *Bashâtsi* is, I imagine, a clerical error for *Bashâi* (بشاي), the well-known name of a tribe (*Pashâis*) which I have supposed to be possibly connected with that of the adjoining kingdom of Kapiça or Kapisha.

September 13th, 1872.

H. YULE.

ART. XII.—*The Bṛhat-Saṅhitā; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varāha-mihira.* Translated from Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. KERN.

(Continued from p. 91.)

CHAPTER LIII.¹

On Architecture.

1. To gratify clever astrologers, I now proceed to compose a work on the art of building, such as it has been transmitted from the Creator to our days, through an unbroken series of sages.²

¹ The preceding chapter, on boils and their consequences, has been omitted, the contents thereof being of no interest whatever.

² According to Utpala: Garga, etc.; more explicit is the statement in a work bearing the title of Ārī-Brahmokta-Viṣvakarmaprakāṣika (sc. ṣāstra), where we read, 13, 10, sqq. :

इति प्रोक्तं वास्तुशास्त्रं पूर्वं गर्गाय धीमते ।
 गर्गात्पराशरः प्राप तस्मात्प्राप बृहद्रथः ॥
 बृहद्रथाद्विश्वकर्मा प्राप्तवान्वास्तुशास्त्रकम् ।
 स विश्वकर्मा जगतो हितायाकथयत्पुनः ॥
 वासुदेवादिषु पुनर्भूलोकं भक्तितो ब्रवीत् ।

 अथ स विमलविद्यो विश्वकर्मा महात्मा
 सकलगुणवरिष्ठः सर्वशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता ।
 सकलसुरगणानां सूत्रधारः कृतात्मा
 भवननिवसतां सच्छास्त्रमेतच्चकार ॥

This passage, with many others, shows that Garga, Parāçara, and the like, are mere mythological beings, of exactly the same historical value with Brahman, Viṣvakarman, Vāsudeva; cf. ch. i. 3, footnote. In the opening stanzas of the Viṣvak. we find :

यदुक्तं शम्भुना पूर्वं वास्तुशास्त्रं पुरातनम् ॥

2. There was, it is affirmed, some Being obstructing with his bulk both worlds, but on a sudden he was subdued by the host of gods and hurled down.

3. Of the several parts of his body, each is subjected to the particular deity by which it was attacked. It is that Being of immortal substance, who by the Creator was destined to be the dwelling-house personified (*alias* House-spirit).

4. The largest of the five houses of a king should be of 108 cubits (*hasta*) in width; the following, of 100, 92, 84, 76. The length always exceeds the width by one-quarter (is, consequently: 135, 125, 115, 105, 95).

5. The first mansion of a commander-in-chief measures 64 cubits in breadth; the next following, six cubits less, and so on. The length of each is equal to the width augmented by one-sixth.

6. The five houses of a minister have a breadth of 60, 56, 52, 48, 44, severally; the length is equal to the width increased by one-eighth. The dimension of the dwellings of a queen is half that of a minister's.

7. The width of the first mansion of a prince royal is of 80 cubits, which number must be diminished by six for each subsequent house; the length is equal to the width increased by one-third. The measures for the dwellings of the younger princes are half those for the prince royal.

8. The measure for the houses of provincial governors, high-born men and king's officers,¹ is equal to the difference

पराशरः प्राह बृहद्रथाय बृहद्रथः प्राह च विश्वकर्मणे ।

स विश्वकर्मा जगतां हिताय प्रोवाच शास्त्रं वज्रभेद्युक्तम् ॥

विश्वकर्मोवाच

वास्तुशास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।

The Viçvak. seems to be a compilation, for most of the passages quoted by Utpala, either from what he terms Kiraṇâkhyā-Tantra, or from Garga, from Bṛhaspati, Viçvakarman himself, Kâçyapa, etc., recur in the Viçvak., a copy of which is in the translator's possession. Cf. st. 30, footnote.

¹ The wording of the text would admit of a translation, "provincial

between the numbers assigned to a king and a minister. The difference between the numbers for a king's and a prince royal's houses, gives the measure for the dwellings of guardians of the interior apartments, courtesans, and artisans.

9. The houses of all inspectors and functionaries have the same dimensions with the king's treasury and pleasure-house. The difference between the numbers stated for a prince royal and a minister, gives the measure for overseers of manufactories and envoys.

10. The first house of a court astrologer, king's priest, or physician, has 40 cubits in breadth, to which number must be added four for each subsequent house; the length is equal to the width increased by one-sixth.

11. It will be well to determine the height of a building so as to coincide with the breadth. Of buildings consisting of a sole room, the length may be double the width.

12. The breadth of the houses of a private man from one of the four classes is 32 cubits, which must be diminished by four for each next following, down to 16.¹ A lower amount of cubits is only for the very lowest people.

13. The length amounts to the breadth $+\frac{1}{10}$, in the case of Brahmans; to the same $+\frac{1}{8}$, in the case of Kshatriyas; to the same $+\frac{1}{6}$, for Vaiçyas; and to the width increased by $\frac{1}{4}$, for Çûdras.

governors and superior king's officers." As in st. 14, *râjapurusha* denotes a person of much inferior rank, such a translation would seem preferable. But the Comm. takes the words as we have done above, and the parallel passage in Viçvak. has:

नृपमन्त्रिगृहाणाञ्च अन्तरे यत्प्रमाणकम् ।

सामन्तराजपुत्राणां प्रवराणां गृहं स्मृतम् ॥

¹ The purport of this elliptical, or rather wholly inadequately expressed statement is, that a private Brahman may have five houses, the first of 32, the second of 28, the third of 24, the fifth of 16 c.; a private Kshatriya may have four houses, of 28, 24, 20, and 16 c., respectively; a private Vaiçya three, of 24, 20 and 16 respectively; a private Çûdra may have two dwellings, of 20 and 16 c. in breadth.

14. The treasury and pleasure-house have a dimension equal to the difference between the numbers assigned to the houses of the king and of the chief commander. The difference between the measure for a chief commander and that of a private man from one of the four classes, gives the measure for king's officers.¹

15. The dwellings of persons from mixed classes, like Pâraçavas, etc.,² have dimensions equal to half the sum of the measures for the two classes (to whose intermingling they owe their origin). A house, the dimension whereof is either below or above the legitimate one, occasions evil to all.

16. There is no fixed measure for cattle houses, monasteries, granaries, arsenals, and firerooms, but the authorities in architecture do not approve of a height upwards of 100 cubits.

17. Add the number of 70 to those for the breadth of the mansions of the king and the commander-in-chief. Write down the sum, at two places. Divide it, at one place, by 14; this gives the measure for a hall. Divide the same sum by 35; the quotient is the measure of the terrace.³

¹ That is to say: if an officer belongs to the Brahmanical class, the difference meant is that between the measure of the chief commander's house and a private Brahman's; if an officer be a Kshatriya, we are directed to subtract the number allotted to a private Kshatriya's house from the measure of the commander's mansion; and so forth.

² The Pâraçava class traces, theoretically, or rather fancifully, its origin to the intermarriage of a Brahman and a Çûdra woman. The measure for the former being 32, for the latter 20, it follows that a Pâraçava's house measures $\frac{32+20}{2} = 26$ in breadth.—Comm. ब्राह्मणेन सूद्रायां जातः पारश्वः । एवं वैश्यायां जातो भटः (v. l. भूताः कण्टः r. भूर्जकण्टः) । क्षत्रियायां जातो मूर्धावसिक्तः । This does not wholly agree with Manu's theory.

³ The same is more plainly expressed in Viçvak. :

प्रमितं त्विकशलं तु शुभद् तत् प्रकीर्तितम् ।
सेनापतिनृपादीनां सप्तत्या सहिते कृते ॥

18. In the houses of 32 cubits' width (being those of private Brahmans, etc.), the halls are 4 cub. 17 digits; 4 cub. 3 dig.; 3 cub. 15 dig.; 3 cub. 13 dig.; and 3 cub. 4 digits.

19. The terraces for the same are, with a steady amount of decrease: 3 cubits, 19 digits; 3 cub. 8 dig.; 2 cub. 20 dig.; 2 cub. 18 dig.; and 2 cub. 3 digits.

20. Outside the dwelling one should make a gallery, being in width a third part of the hall. If the gallery be in front (and to the east), such a building is termed one with a turban.

21. Where the gallery is behind, the house is styled one with a back-support; ¹ where it is on the sides, the building is one with side supports; where there are galleries all around, the edifice is said to be a well-supported one. All of them are approved by the authorities in architecture. ²

व्यासे चतुर्दशहते शालामानं विनिर्दिशेत् ।

पञ्चत्रिंशद्भृते न्यत्रालिन्दमानं भवेच्चतत् ॥

About *alinda* the Comm. has: अलिन्दशब्देन शालाभित्तेर्बाह्ये या गमनिका जालकावृताङ्गणसम्मुखा क्रियते ॥ The word might as well be rendered by 'balcony,' 'gallery.'

¹ In the text सायाश्रय is a misprint for सापाश्रय; *apâçraya* is properly "anything to fall back upon, a support from behind;" further, a pillow upon which the hind part of the head is resting; e.g. in Duçakumâra, 90, 13.

² Comm.: तथाच किरणाख्ये तन्त्रे

शालातो यस्तृतीयांशस्तेन कार्या तु वीथिका ।

यद्यद्यतो भवेद्दीथी सोष्णीषं नाम तद्गृहम् ॥

पश्चात् सापाश्रयं नाम सावष्टम्भं तु पार्श्वयोः ।

समन्ताद्यदि याता सा तदा सुस्थितमुच्यते ॥

The Viçvak. has here with some variation in the wording:

शालान्निभागतुल्याच कर्तव्या वीथिका बहिः ।

भवनात्पूर्वतो ऽष्णीषं (!) पश्चात्सापाश्रयं भवेत् ।

सापष्टम्भं पार्श्वयोस्तु सर्वत्र सुस्थितं भवेत् ।

22. The height of (the first storey of) the edifice must be a sixteenth of the width, with addition of four cubits.¹ The altitude of each following storey is to be lessened by one-twelfth.

23. A sixteenth part of the breadth gives the measure for the wall of all buildings made of bricks; as for houses of wood, there is no choice.²

24. Add to the number of cubits assigned to the houses of a king and a chief commander (as well as others mentioned in st. 6-9) one-eleventh, then seventy. Equal to this sum, in digits, is the height of the door; half of it gives the width.

25. In the case of private Brahmans, etc., take one-fifth of the number of cubits, adding 18; to this sum again add one-eighth. The resulting number expresses the width of the door in digits; the height is thrice the width.³

26. The thickness of the two side-frames of a door is as many digits as the altitude numbers cubits. Once and a half that measure gives the thickness of the threshold and upper timber.

27. The breadth of all four is equal to an eightieth part

¹ Consequently, the breadth of the king's house being 108, the height will amount to $\frac{108}{16} + 4$ cubits; making 10 cub. 18 digits.

² R. न विकल्पः for सविकल्पः

³ A rough measuring only is intended; e.g. the first house of the king numbers 108 cubits; to this we should add 10, being nearly $\frac{1}{11}$ of 108; to the sum 118 adding 70, we get 188; the door then is 188 digits high. As for private persons, the first house of a Brahman has a breadth of 32 cubits. We are directed to take one-fifth of it, but the meaning is, we should roughly take 6; adding 18 to it, we get 24; again adding $\frac{24}{8} = 3$, we get 27, being the number of digits for the width of the door; the height comes to 81.—Instead of द्विगुण read त्रिगुण, the Viçvak. has:

नृपसेनापतिगृहमष्टाशीतिः शतैर्युता ।

अङ्गुलानि द्वारमानं प्रवदन्ति मणीषिणः ॥

विप्रादीनं तथा सप्तविंशतिस्त्वङ्गुलानि च ।

द्वारस्य [मानं] तत्प्रोक्तं त्रिगुणोच्छायमुच्यते ॥

of seven times the door's height. The eightieth part of nine times the altitude (of the storey) gives the width of a column at the bottom; this diminished by one-tenth is the width of the column at the top.

28. A column with wholly square shaft is termed Rucaka; one with eight angles, a Diamond; one with sixteen sides, a Double-diamond; one with thirty-two angles, a "grooved column"; a round one is called a Cylinder.

29. When you divide the whole column into nine parts, one part will be the pedestal; the second, the base. The capital and also the upper lip must be made so as to form one part, each of them.¹

30. Equal to the thickness of the column is that of the architraves; the thickness of the superior cross-beams and upper rafters is lessened by one quarter, again and again.²

31. An edifice with uninterrupted terraces on every side is termed Sarvatobhadra (*i.e.* goodly on every side); such a one is fit for kings and gods; and ought to have four entrances.³

32. Nandyâvarta⁴ is the name of a building with terraces that from the wall of the room extend to the extremity in a direction from east to south (*alias* from left to right). It must have doors on every side, except the west.

33. The Vardhamâna has a terrace before the (chief) entrance, extending to the end; then, when you proceed in a direction from left to right, another beautiful terrace, and

¹ Comm.: तथाच किरणाख्ये तन्त्रे

विभज्य नवधा स्तम्भं कुर्यादुद्धहनं घटम्
कमलं चोत्तरोष्ठं तु भागे-भागे प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

Almost the same in Viçvak.; all this is exceedingly vague. Cf. Rám Ráz, Archit. p. 28, sqq.

² This stanza and the following occur also in the Viçvak.; as stanzas in Âryâ are found nowhere else in that work, the verses must have been taken from our author.

³ Cf. Rám Ráz, Arch. p. 23, where Sarvatobhadra is the term to denote a village built upon an analogous principle.

⁴ Both this and the three following terms denote certain figures.

thereon, again, another in the aforesaid direction. No southern door should be made in it.

34. The Svastika is auspicious, if it have the entrance on the east side, and one continual terrace along the west side, at the ends whereof begin two other terraces going from west to east, while between the extremities of the latter lies a fourth terrace.¹

35. The Rucaka has a western and eastern terrace running to the end, and between their extremities two others. A northern door in it brings evil; doors on any other side are auspicious.

36. The Nandyāvarta and Vardhamāna are the very best of all; the Svastika and Rucaka are of middling quality; the Sarvatobhadra is suitable for kings and the like.

37. An edifice with three halls, wanting as it does a northern hall, is styled Hiranyanābha, and insures luck. One without an eastern hall is named Sukshetra, and brings prosperity.

38. A building lacking a southern hall is called Culli; it causes loss of property. One in which there is no western hall, the so-called Pakshaghna, occasions the loss of children and enmity.

39, 40, 41. A house with only a western and southern hall is termed Siddhārtha; one with a western and northern hall, Yamasūrya; with a northern and eastern, Daṇḍa; with an eastern and southern, Vāta; with an eastern and western, Gṛhacullī; with a southern and northern hall, Kāca. In Siddhārtha there will be acquisition of money; in Yamasūrya, the death of the householder; in Daṇḍa, death by way of punishment; in Vāta there is always excitement occasioned by quarrels; in Culli, will be loss of property, and in Kāca discord amongst kindred.

42. In order to divide (the ground-plan of a house) into

¹ R. विधृत for विवृत, and शुभदम्. Comm. तथाच गर्गः
पश्चिमोऽन्तगतोऽलिन्दः प्रागन्तौ द्वौ तदुत्थितौ ।
अन्वस्तन्मध्ये विधृतः प्राग्द्वारं स्वस्तिकं शुभम् ॥

eighty-one squares, draw ten lines from east to west, and ten others from north to south. Thirteen deities occupy the interior; thirty-two are stationed in the outer compartments.¹

43. (The latter are:) Agni, Parjanya, Jayanta, Indra, Sūrya, Satya, Bhṛ̥ṣa, Antariksha, and Anila, the first-named occupying the corner in the north-east, and the rest (the compartments from the top to the bottom) in regular succession, while Anila keeps the south-east corner.²

<i>Roga</i>	<i>Ahi</i>	<i>Mu.</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>So.</i>	<i>Bhu.</i>	<i>Adi.</i>	<i>Diti</i>	<i>Agni</i>
<i>Pāpa</i> <i>ya.</i>	<i>Ru</i> <i>dru</i>	<i>khya</i>	<i>lāṭa</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>jaga</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Āpah</i>	<i>Parj.</i>
<i>Ḥ</i> <i>Ḥosha</i>	<i>Rāja</i> <i>ya.</i>	<i>Pr̥thvi</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>Āpav.</i>	<i>Jayanta</i>		
<i>Asura</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>Brahm</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>Ar</i>	<i>Indra</i>			
<i>Varuṇa</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Brahm</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>Sūrya</i>			
<i>Kusamad</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>Brahm</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>Satya</i>			
<i>Sugr̥iva</i>	<i>Indra</i>	<i>Viv</i>	<i>asava</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>Sar</i>	<i>Bhṛ̥ṣa</i>		
<i>Dauv</i>	<i>Jaya</i>	<i>Bhṛ̥ṅga</i>	<i>Gan</i>	<i>Ya</i>	<i>Bṛ</i>	<i>Vi</i>	<i>Sâ</i> <i>vitra</i>	<i>Antar</i>
<i>Pit</i>	<i>Mrga</i>	<i>rāja</i>	<i>dharrā</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hatk</i>	<i>tatha</i>	<i>Pū.</i>	<i>Ani</i> <i>la</i>

44, 45. Then follow Pūshan, Vitatha, Bṛhatkshata, Yama, Gandharva, Bhṛ̥ṅgarāja, Mrga, the Pitars, Dauvārika, Sugr̥iva, Kusumadanta, Varuṇa, Asura, Ḥosha, Pāpayakshman, Roga, occupying the north-west corner, Ahi, Mukhya, Bhal-lāṭa, Soma, Bhujaga, Aditi, and Diti.

¹ See the above Diagram, and cf. Rām Ráz, Arch., p. 41; footnote, p. 42, l. 21, seqq.; p. 44, l. 8, seqq.

² However strange it may seem that N.E. should be presided over by Agni, and the S.E. by Wind, there can be no doubt about the author's meaning; the proofs are to be found in st. 49 and 63.

46, 47. In the centre is Brahman, occupying nine squares; east of him Aryaman; to the south of whom, at the interval of one compartment, is placed Savitar; at the same interval (proceeding westward) from the latter, Vivasvant. Then follow Indra, Mitra, Râjayakshman, Pṛthvîdhara, and Âpavatsa. These are all stationed round Brahman.

48. In the intermediate compartment (between Âpavatsa and Agni), in the north-east direction, is placed Âpaḥ; south-east (between Savitar and Anila), Sâvitra; south-west, Jaya; north-west, Rudra.

49. Âpaḥ, Âpavatsa, Parjanya, Agni, and Diti form a group of deities occupying one compartment each, in the north-western corner. In the same manner there are five deities, each of them possessing one compartment, in the other corners.

50. The remaining exterior deities, twenty in number, have two squares each. Finally, to the share of the four deities, Aryaman, Vivasvant, Mitra, and Pṛthvîdhara, are allotted three compartments, severally, in the east, south, and so forth.

51. The spirit of the house area has his head directed north-westwards and his face turned downwards. His head is held by Agni, his face by Âpaḥ, his (right) pap by Aryaman, and his chest by Âpavatsa.

52. Parjanya and the (three) next exterior deities occupy his (right) eye, ear, bosom, and shoulder. Satya and the four subsequent lie on his (right) arm; Savitar and Sâvitra on his (right) hand.

53. Vitatha and Bṛhatkshata are stationed on his side; Vivasvant on the belly; the thigh is occupied by Yama; the knee by Gandharva, the lower leg by Bṛngarâja, and the hip by Mṛga.

54. In the same manner as these are stationed on the right side, the other deities (such as have been specified) have their place on the left.¹ The penis is taken by Indra and Jayanta;² the heart by Brahman; and the foot by the Pitars.

¹ E.g. Pṛthvîdhara on the left pap; Diti on the left eye; etc.

² In the diagram, Jaya.

55. One may also, should one prefer it, divide the area into sixty-four compartments, and draw, besides, oblique lines from angle to angle. Of this area Brahman possesses four squares, and each of the deities, placed in oblique direction near him, half a square.¹

<i>Roga</i> <i>Pāp.</i>	<i>A.</i>	<i>Mu-</i>	<i>Bhal.</i>	<i>So-</i>	<i>Bhu-</i>	<i>Adi-</i>	<i>Diti</i> <i>Agni</i>
<i>Go</i> ₅ <i>ha</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>khya</i>	<i>lîta</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>jaga</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Pa</i> ₅ <i>rjanya</i>
<i>Asar a</i>		<i>Rājy</i> <i>Rud.</i>	<i>Prthvidhara</i>		<i>Āpah</i> <i>Apav</i>		<i>Jay anta</i>
<i>Varaṇa</i>		<i>Mi-</i>	<i>Brahman</i>	<i>Arya-</i>			<i>Indra</i>
<i>Kusumad</i>		<i>tra</i>	<i>Brahman</i>	<i>man</i>			<i>Sūrya</i>
<i>Sugrîva</i>		<i>Jaya</i> <i>Indra</i>	<i>Vivasvant</i>		<i>Sar</i> <i>Sâvit</i>		<i>Satya</i>
<i>Dauvâr</i> <i>Bhrnga</i>		<i>Gan-</i>	<i>Yâ-</i>	<i>Brhat</i>	<i>Vila.</i>		<i>Bhrca</i> <i>Pû-</i>
<i>Pit</i> <i>Mrga</i>	<i>râja</i>	<i>dharva</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>kshata</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>shan</i>	<i>Antar</i> <i>Anila</i>

56. The eight standing in the extreme corners, have to their share half a compartment, and those next to them on both sides have one and a half. The remaining twenty out of those enumerated possess two squares.

57. The meeting points of the longer diagonals and the very middle points of the compartments must be considered the vulnerable spots,² which one will do wisely not to hurt.

58. When those parts are injured by impure vessels, bolts,

¹ See Diagram above.

² Comm. : वंशानां कोणात्कोणगतानां सूत्राणां च सम्पाताः । A special name of four of those diagonals is रज्जु; as we are taught by Utpala quoting a work of his own (unless we have to read मय instead of मदीय) : तथा मदीयवास्तुविद्यायाम्

pillars, and the like, as well as by (what is termed) a "wounding point," they cause suffering to the house-owner at the corresponding member of his body.

59. That member of the body where the householder feels an itching, or that spot where at a sacrifice an evil omen is produced, or where the fire shows unnatural symptoms, contains a wounding point.

60. If the wounding point consists of wood, there will be loss of wealth ; if it is something made of bone, there will be suffering amongst cattle, disease and unsafety. [If the point is something of iron, there is danger from the sword ; skullbones and hairs denote death.]

[61. If it is charcoal, you may predict unsafety on account of thieves ; if it is ashes, continual danger from fire. In fact, any wounding point, unless it be gold or silver, on a vulnerable spot, is most disastrous.]

[62. A heap of chaff, whether found on a vulnerable spot, or on any other, prevents the acquisition of wealth.] A peg, also, on a vulnerable spot, is mischievous.

63, 64. The nine meeting points of the lines drawn from Roga to Anila, from the Pitars to Agni, from Vitatha to Çosha, from Mukhya to Bhṛça, from Jayanta to Bhṛngarâja, and from Aditi to Sugrîva, are declared to be the excessively vulnerable spots. The dimension of a vulnerable spot is set down at one-eighth of a compartment.

65. A long diagonal has in breadth as many digits as each square numbers cubits. The measure of a vein¹ is stated to be one and a half the breadth of a diagonal.

66. The householder, if he is anxious to be happy, should

रोगाद्वायुं नयेत्सूत्रं पितृतो ऽथ ऊताशनम् ।

एतत् सूत्रद्वयं प्रोक्तं मुनिभिर्वंशसञ्चितम् ॥

वितथाच्छोषकं चान्यद्भृशं मुख्यात् तथा नयेत् ।

जयन्ताद्भृङ्गिराजाख्यं सुग्रीवमदितेस्तथा ।

एतच्चतुष्टयं प्रोक्तं रज्जुसञ्चं मनीषिभिः ॥

The general name, however, is *vança* ; see below, st. 63, sq.

¹ Comm. रोगाद्वायुम् इत्यादिकं सूत्रपदं वंशशब्देनोच्यते ॥ सिरा-

carefully preserve Brahman, who is stationed in the centre of the dwelling, from injury by remains of food and the like, lest he should come to grief.

67. When the house-spirit has lost his right arm, loss of wealth and faults of the housewife are denoted by it. Loss of the left arm forebodes loss of property and corn. When his head be hurt, one is to lose all advantages.

68. Faults in the wife, death of a son and servitude will result from an organ being impaired. Where the house-spirit is unimpaired, the inmates will enjoy honour, wealth, and pleasures.

69. In the manner aforesaid deities are stationed in all houses, towns, and villages, where Brahmans and the other classes must be established according to their respective rank.

70. The dwelling-houses of the Brahmans are situated to the north, of the Kshatriyas to the east, and so on with the rest. They are, moreover, made in such a way that on entering the door you have (the greater part of) the space of the house to your right.¹

71. According to the doors standing on different portions of the outline of the ground plan, whether of nine times nine

शब्देन पूर्वापरायता दक्षिणोत्तरायताश्च दश-दश रेखा ज्ञेयाः । All those diagonals and veins have their own names, a list of which is given by Utpala.

¹ The same is far more clearly indicated in Rām Ráz, Arch. p. 46: "If the front of the house be ten paces in length, the entrance should be between five on the right and four on the left." Differently Utpala: तथाच कार्याणि यथा भवनं गृहाभ्यन्तरमङ्गणं विश्रतां तान्येव वासगृहाणि दक्षिणतो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि भवन्ति । एतदुक्तं भवति । प्राङ्मुखस्य गृहस्याङ्गणं (v.l. °स्यागार) द्वारमुत्तराभिमुखं कार्यम् । दक्षिणाभिमुखस्य प्राङ्मुखम् । पश्चिमाभिमुखस्य दक्षिणाभिमुखम् । उत्तराभिमुखस्य पश्चिमाभिमुखमिति ॥ How a house can be said to face the east, without having its door facing the same quarter, is beyond our comprehension.

or of 64 squares, the consequences vary ; thus, to begin with the door in the north-eastern corner, indicated here below :

72. Danger from fire, birth of a girl, abundant wealth, favour with the monarch, wrathfulness, falsehood, and thievishness (are the results of the door standing) eastwards.

73. Few sons, servitude, lowness, increase of food, drink and progeny, cruelty, ungratefulness, poverty, and loss of children and strength (are the consequences, if the door stands) southwards.

74. Suffering of a son, increase of enemies, no acquisition of wealth or sons, happy possession of sons, wealth and power, riches, danger from the king, loss of wealth, and sickness (await the owner, where the door faces the) west.

75. Death or captivity, increase of enemies, acquisition of wealth and sons, happy possession of all good things, getting sons and wealth, enmity with one's own son, faults in the wife, and poverty (may be expected where the door is placed on the northern edge).

76. A door being hindered by a road, tree, corner, well, column or water spring, brings ill luck ; but on its being removed to a distance equal to twice its height, it will not do any harm.

77. A door that is impeded by the road is destructive ; one that is hindered by a tree will be noxious to boys ; a door with mud before it threatens grief ; when water is flowing near it, expenses are predicted.

78. A door being injured by a well occasions epilepsy ; by a temple, destruction ; by a column, failings of the housewife. Where a door faces Brahman,¹ the family will perish.

79. A door which opens of itself produces madness ; one

¹ There is a long inquiry in the Comm., in order to find out how to reconcile this statement with that in st. 75. The upshot is that the one cannot by any means be made to agree with the other. It has been pointed out more than once that Varâha-mihira has the habit of uncritically copying his authorities.

that closes of itself, ruin of the family. A door whose dimensions are too large causes danger from the king; a low one forebodes robbery and brings calamity.

80. A door placed above another, and one that is too narrow, promises no good; a somewhat yawning one threatens famine; a curved one destroys the family.

81. A door being excessively pinched (by the threshold) gives rise to distress; one that is bent inwards tends to evil; one bent outwards causes absence from home; one standing awry in regard to the quarters produces vexation by robbers.

82. One should not have the principal entrance out-done by other doors, owing to a loftier appearance of the latter, and must richly ornament it with auspicious objects, as water-pots, fruit, foliage, images of goblins, and the like.

83. Outside the house are stationed in the intermediate quarters, north-east, south-east, etc., the following (female spirits): Carakî, Vidârî, Pûtanâ, and Râkshasî.¹

84. The angles (north-east, etc.) in towns, villages, and houses, are attended with evils for those who abide there, but persons of the lowest tribes, Çvapacas and such like,² will prosper in them.

85. The wavy-leaved fig, the banyan, the glomerous fig, and the holy fig-tree are trees of evil augury if growing on

¹ Other authorities of superstition know eight spirits; Comm.: शा-
स्त्रान्तरेष्वष्टौ पद्यन्ते ॥ तथाच

ऐशान्यां चरकी प्रोक्ता स्कन्दः प्राग्भागसंस्थितः ।

पूतना नैर्ऋते ज्ञेया जम्बुकः पञ्चिमे स्थितः ॥

राक्षसी चानिले कौणे पिलिपिच्छस्तथोत्तरे ।

And

स्कन्दो ऽर्यमा जम्भकाख्यः (v.l. जम्बु°) पिलिपिच्छस्तथापरः ।

प्राच्यादिदिक्चतुष्के ऽत्र निवसन्ति महाग्रहाः ॥

Cf. also Suçruta II. p. 382 *seq.*

² Comm.: अथवा डोम्बाः । आदियहणाञ्छण्डालपुङ्गसादयः ।

the south side, west side, etc. (of the house), but are auspicious in the north, east, and so on.¹

86. Thorny trees near the dwelling occasion unsafety from the enemy ; milky ones presage ruin of wealth ; fruit-trees destroy posterity. Their timber also should be avoided.

87. In case one should not wish to cut those trees, one has to sow amidst them others held to be of good augury, such as Punnâg, Açoka, Azadiracht, Mimusops, bread-fruit tree, Sami, Shorea.

88. A level ground, sweet, of good odour, decked with good herbs, trees, and plants, smooth and not full of cavities, bestows happiness on those even who come to rest themselves on it from the fatigue of travel ; how much more then on those who have a permanent home on it ?

89, 90. The neighbourhood of a minister's residence brings loss of wealth ; of a cheat's house, death of a son ; of a temple, agitation ; of a cross-way, ill repute ; of a holy tree, danger from planetary influences ; of ant-hills or holes, calamities ; of a well, thirst ; of a mound in the shape of a tortoise-back, loss of wealth.

91. A declivity on the north side is deemed fit for Brahmans ; one on the east, for Kshatriyas, and so forth. But there are those also who opine that Brahmans may dwell in any direction, and the other classes according to their rank.²

92. (To try the fitness of the ground) let one dig in the middle of the house site a pit a cubit in diameter and in depth, and afterwards return the earth into it. If, then, the

¹ The word *pradakshinena* serves only to indicate that from the south one has to go onward in a direction which follows the course of the sun.

² This elliptical phrase is explained by the Comm.: विप्रो ब्राह्मणः सर्वत्र सर्वस्यां भूमौ वसेत् उत्तरपूर्वदक्षिणपश्चिमायामिनि । अन्येषां क्षत्रियादीनामथेष्टमनुक्रमेण शोभनम् । तद्यथा पूर्वस्रवा दक्षिणस्रवा पश्चिमस्रवा क्षत्रियाणाम् । etc. The latter rule totally upsets the former, and it has been rightly said by Rám Ráz, Arch., 16 : "The principle on which these distinctions are founded is altogether nugatory." Cf. also the latter part of stanza 95.

earth prove insufficient, it is a bad sign ; if it takes up the same space, it is indifferently good ; should it be more than sufficient, it bespeaks good luck.

93. Or fill the pit with water. If, having walked a hundred paces, you find, on returning, the water not diminished, it is a lucky token ; which it is also, when an *âdhaka* (of earth dug out) weighs sixty-four *palas*.¹

94. Or (put into a vessel four lamps); where the wick of a lamp that has been put into a vessel of unbaked clay, and placed in a peculiar quarter within the pit, shines longer (than the other wicks), the ground is fit for the class (to which the quarter is assigned).

95. The ground where a flower appropriated to one of the classes, after being left lying in a pit for one night, does not fade, is fit for the class (whose colour corresponds to the hue of the flower). In general, the soil will be suitable to any one whose mind is pleased with it.²

96. A white soil is favourable to Brahmans ; a red one to

¹ To read, as the Comm. has it : पलानि पांखाढकं.

² Comm. : तथाच गर्गः

यो यस्य रचिता भूमिर्भवेत्तु गृहकर्मणि ।
 तस्यां श्वभ्रं खनेन्मध्ये हस्तमात्रं समन्ततः ॥
 तच्छ्वभ्रं पूरयेत्तेन पांसुना सुविचक्षणः ।
 वर्धमाने च वृद्धिः स्याद्दीयमाने विगर्हिता ॥
 साम्ये साम्यं विनिर्देश्यमथवान्यद्विचारणम् ।
 पूरयित्वाथवा श्वभ्रं मृद्धिः क्रमशतं व्रजेत् ॥
 पूर्णं स्यादागमाद्यावत् सा भूमिस्तु प्रशस्यते ।
 तस्मिन्नु धारयेच्छ्वभ्रे चित्रमाख्यमनुक्रमात् ।
 यश्चिरान्भ्रायते माख्यं तद्दर्शस्तत्र चावसेत् ।
 आमे वा मृन्मये पात्रे दीपवर्तित्तुष्टयम् ॥
 यस्यां दिशि प्रज्वलति चिरं तस्यैव सा शुभा ।

The Viçvak. 1, 61, sqq., contains the same rules, but in other words. Part of the corresponding passage from Kâçyapa is translated in Rám Ráz, Arch. p. 17.

Kshatriyas; a yellow one to Vaiçyas; and a black one to Çûdras. A smell like ghee, blood, food and spirituous liquor, denotes a ground suited to Brahmans and the rest, in succession.

97. A soil covered with sacrificial grass, Çara, bent grass and *Saccharum spontaneum*, promotes the weal of the classes respectively. Likewise a sweet, astringent, sour and pungent earth.

98. At a period indicated by the astrologer, let the house-owner go to a piece of ground which has been ploughed, abounds with seed grown up, has served for a resting-place of cows, or has got the approval of the Brahmans.

99. He has to worship the deities with various sorts of sweetmeats, with curds, unground barley-corns, fragrant flowers and incenses, and to pay honour to the architects and Brahmans.

100. Then—touching his head, if he be a Brahman; the breast, if a Kshatriya; the thigh, if a Vaiçya; the foot, if a Çûdra—let him draw a line, the first act when a house is to be built.

101. It is allowed to make the line by means of the thumb, middle finger, or forefinger, as well as by means of gold, precious stone, silver, pearl, curds, fruits, flowers, or unground barley-corns.

102. A line scratched with a sword causes death by the sword; with an iron object, captivity; with ashes, danger from fire; with grass, danger from robbers; and with wood, danger from the king.

103. A crooked line, drawn with the foot, occasions danger from the sword and troubles; so also does a deformed line. One made by means of leather, charcoal, a bone or tooth, brings misfortune upon him that makes it.

104. Hostility may be predicted from a line being scratched from right to left; good luck, from one being drawn from left to right. Harsh words, spitting and sneezing (during the act) are said to be inauspicious.

105. When the edifice is half-built or finished, let the architect enter it and observe the omens, on what spot the house-owner happens to stand, and what limb he is touching.

106. Should, on that moment, an ominous bird, being scorched by the sun,¹ emit hoarse sounds, you may predict that on the spot (where the house-owner is stationed) there is a bone of a member corresponding to the member touched.²

107. And by other animals, like elephants, horses, dogs, shrieking in return at the time of augury, may be known that the specified spot contains a bone from such an animal and belonging to a corresponding limb of the body.

108. The sound of an ass when the measuring line is being extended announces that there is a bone hidden. You may predict that there will be another "wounding point" (as it is termed), on seeing a dog or jackal leaping over the measuring line.

109. When a bird of augury sweetly warbles in a quiet quarter, then it may be foretold that a treasure lies hidden at the corresponding spot, or in that part of the house-spirit's body upon which the owner is standing.

110. By the measuring line snapping asunder may be predicted death; by the plug drooping its top, great sickness; by the house-owner and architect falling short in their memory, death.

111. The waterpot dropping from the shoulder forebodes headache; its being overturned, calamity in the family; its getting broken, death of the workmen; its slipping from the hands, death of the house-owner.

112. Having made an oblation, one has to lay the first stone in the south-east angle, and then, proceeding from left to right, the rest. Similarly the pillars ought to be raised.

113. The pillar must be raised, decorated with an umbrella, garlands, cloth, scented with incense, and smeared with

¹ *i.e.*, facing the quarter in which the sun is standing at that period. The eastern quarter is "scorched" (*dīpta*, *prādīpta*) from sunrise upwards to the end of the first *prahara*; during the same period the north-east is termed *angārin*, the south-east *dhūmin* or *dhūmita*, the rest *çānta*. Cf. ch. 86, 12.

² Comm.: उक्तमागमान्तरि

पृच्छाकाले गृहस्वामी यद्भङ्गं स्पृशति स्वकम् ।
भुवो ऽधस्तत्रमाणेन शल्यं ब्रूयात्तद्भङ्गजम् ॥

unguent. The erecting of the door should be performed, with all care, in the same manner.¹

114. The consequences of pillars shaking, falling, standing

¹ In Garga, as quoted by the Comm., we find this solemn lay :

शिलान्यासस्य मन्त्रोऽयं निर्दिष्टो मुनिभिः पुरा ।
 नन्दे नन्दय वासिष्ठे वसुभिश्चासुभिः प्रजाः ।
 जये भार्गवदायादे प्रजानां भद्रमावह ॥
 पूर्णे ऽङ्गिरसदायादे पूर्णकामाः प्रजाः कुरु ।
 भद्रे काश्यपदायादे प्रजानां भद्रमावह ॥
 सर्वबीजसमायुक्ते सर्वगन्धौषधैर्वृते ।
 रुचिरे नन्दने नन्दे वासिष्ठे रम्यतां गृहे ॥
 प्रजापतिसुते देवि चतुरश्रे महीसुते ।
 सुभगे सुव्रते देवि गृहे काश्यपि रम्यताम् ॥
 पूजिते परमाचार्यिर्गन्धमाल्यैरलङ्कृते ।
 भव भूतिकरी देवि गृहे भार्गवि रम्यताम् ॥
 अलङ्घ्ये चाचते पूर्णे मुनेरङ्गिरसः सुते ।
 इष्टके त्वं प्रयच्छेष्टं प्रतिष्ठां गृहिणां कुरु ॥
 ग्रामस्वामिपुरस्वामि गृहस्वामि परिग्रहे ।
 मनुष्यपशुहस्त्यश्वधनवृद्धिकरी भव ॥

The fact that these stones or bricks are held to be goddesses, in their essence at least, and that their fathers are the sages Angiras, Vasishṭha, etc., may be recommended to the attention of those who adhere to the creed of Eumerus concerning mythology. In Viçvak. we meet with analogous spells, *e.g.*

नाभिर्मेति च मन्त्रेण स्थिरो भवेति वै तथा ।
 प्रार्थनं च ततः कुर्यादागमोक्तेन मन्त्रवित् ॥
 नन्दे त्वं नन्दनी पुंसां त्वामत्र स्थापयाम्यहम् ।
 प्रासादे तिष्ठ संहृष्टा यावच्चन्द्रार्कतारकाः ॥
 आयुः कामं प्रियं देहि देववासिनि नन्दिनि ।
 अस्मिन्संस्था त्वया कार्या प्रासादे यत्नतो मम ॥

The two prayers indicated are Vāj. S. 20, 9, and 11, 44.

feebly, and of birds alighting on them, are the same with those specified at the banner of Indra, where the good omens have been enumerated at the same time.

115. A dwelling too elevated on the north-east side causes the loss of property and sons ; one that has a bad smell, the death of a son ; one that is not straight, destruction of kinsmen. In a habitation which does not face any distinct quarter, no children will be born.

116. Let him who is anxious for the weal of his house raise the soil on every side to the same level ; and if there must needs be a fault, let it be on the east or north side.

117. If an elevation is to be found in the east, there will be enmity with friends ; if in the south, peril of death ; if in the west, loss of wealth ; if in the north, heart-burning.

118. A chapel is to be made in the north-east ; a kitchen in the south-east ; a (room for) vessels and utensils in the south-west ; a treasury and granary in the north-west.

119. By water being found to the east, south-east, etc., of a habitation, the results will be, respectively, loss of sons, danger from fire, peril from enemies, quarrel with the housewife, wickedness of the same, poverty, increase of wealth, and increase of progeny.

120. In cutting timber, one has to avoid trees inhabited by birds, or broken, withered, scorched, standing near temples, on cemeteries, milky trees, *Terminalia bellerica*, *Azadiracht*, and *Premna spinosa*.¹

121. Having presented an oblation, and paid worship at night, let the carpenter hew the tree in the daytime, from left to right. It is a lucky token if the tree falls north or east ; coming down in another direction, it is not acceptable.

122. If the cut shows no unnatural phenomena, the timber will be fit for building material ; if a yellow circle is visible on it, you may foretell that there is a great lizard within the tree.

¹ The translation renders the obvious meaning of the author ; as to his words, they express, in the former half of the couplet, precisely the reverse of what is intended ; instead of *०रणीवर्जितान्* it ought to have been *०णीवर्जम्*.

123. A madder-hued ring on the cut denotes a frog ; a dark one, a snake ; a red one, a chameleon ; a bean-coloured one, a stone ; a brown one, a mouse ; a sword-hued one, water.

124. Let him who desires to prosper sleep not above grain, cows, persons to be venerated, fire and deities, nor in the same straight line with the diagonals, nor with his head turned northward or westward, nor naked, nor with wet feet.

125. Amid the shouts of Brahmans the proprietor has to make his entrance into his newly-built house, it being strewed with a great many flowers, adorned with archways, and decorated with waterpots filled, the gods being worshipped with incense, perfumes, and oblations.

CHAPTER LIV.

On the Exploration of Water-springs.

1. Forthwith I will explain the meritorious and reputable art how to explore springs to obtain water. Even as there are veins in the human body, so, too, in the earth, some of them running higher, others deeper.

2. Although all the water falling from heaven has the same colour and taste, yet it becomes different in taste, and of various colours, owing to the difference of soil.¹ Hence an examination of it may be based on its analogy with the soil.

3. Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vâyu, Soma, and Çiva, are to be considered the rulers of the quarters, east, south-east, and so on in succession.

4. Eight veins are denominated after the ruler of the region ; a ninth, in the centre, is called the great vein. There are hundreds of others, that issue from different quarters, and are known by their own names.²

¹ Cf. Suçruta, i., p. 169, l. 9 sqq.

² This statement is couched in somewhat hyperbolic language ; yet it appears from st. 23 below, that some at least of these veins were endowed with elegant names.

5. The veins running above the infernal regions, and those that are found in the four cardinal points, are good; those that issue from the intermediate points are evil. I now proceed to describe the tokens of the veins.

6, 7. If you find rotang in a waterless country, there will be, at a distance of three cubits from thence, and at a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ man's length,¹ a vein flowing from the west. The (further) signs are: at a depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. a pale yellow frog, then yellow clay and a stone protruding from it; beneath there is water.

8. Northwards from a roseapple-tree, at a distance of three cubits, and a depth of 2 m. l. under ground, will be an easterly vein; there (will appear as further indications) clay of a smell like iron, then pale yellow clay, and, at 1 m. l. deep, a frog.

9, 10. Where an ant-hill is near a roseapple-tree, there will be sweet water, 2 m. l. deep, on the south side. (The signs are :) a fish at a depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., and a pigeon-coloured pebble. There, also, will be dark clay and much water for a long time.

11. To the west of a glomerous fig-tree, at three cubits' distance, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. under ground, there will be a vein of good water. (The signs are :) a white snake at a depth of 1 m. l., and a stone resembling collyrium.

12, 13. If an ant-hill is seen to the north of a *Terminalia Arjuna*, there is water in a westerly direction, three cubits from the tree and $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. deep. (The indications are :) a great fair-hued lizard at a depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.; grey clay 1 m. l. underground; further, black, yellow, white clay blended with sand; at last water, one may predict, in immense quantity.

14, 15. At the above-mentioned number of cubits to the south of a *Vitex Negundo*, with an ant-hill annexed, there will be water, sweet and never drying up, at a depth of $2\frac{1}{4}$ m. l. A *rohit* fish at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., then red-brown clay, further

¹ Comm. : पुरुषशब्देनोर्ध्ववाङ्गः पुरुषो ज्ञेयः । स च विंशत्यधिकमङ्गुलशतं (= 5 cubits) भवति ।

pale yellow clay, then sand mixed with gravel (are the indications) ; beneath it is water.

16. If an ant-hill appears to the east of a jujube-tree, one may announce that there is water on the west side,¹ at 3 m. l. A fair house-lizard (being found) at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. (is a further indication).

17. Should a jujube-tree, along with a *Butea frondosa*, stand to the west, then there is water $3\frac{1}{4}$ m. l. deep, the sign being a newt at 1 m. l.

18. Three cubits more to the south of a spot where a Bilva and a glomerous fig-tree stand connected, there will be water at 3 m. l., the indication being a black frog at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.

19, 20. If an ant-hill is seen near an oppositifolious fig tree, there is a water-vein running in the west, at a depth of $3\frac{1}{4}$ m. l. (The tokens are :) whitish clay and a milk-coloured stone. At $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. will be perceived a mouse of a colour like the water-lily.

21, 22. Where in a waterless region a Kampilla-tree is seen, a southern vein runs at three cubits' distance to the west. First appears (as an indication) clay of a colour like blue lotus and like pigeons; at one cubit is a fish with the smell of a he-goat; below, is a little brackish water.

23. Two cubits more to the north-west of a Bignonia is a water-vein, bearing the name of Kumudâ, and flowing at 3 m. l.

24. If an ant-hill rises near a beleric myrobalan, on the south side a vein is to be found in the east, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.²

25, 26. In case an ant-hill should be perceived west of the same tree, there will be a vein in the north, a cubit thence, and at $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. (The indications are :) a white

¹ Whenever no distance is specified, it must be understood to be the same as that mentioned in the preceding stanza.

² Comm. : तथाच सारस्वतः

विभीतकस्य याम्यायां वल्मीको यदि दृश्यते ।

करद्वयात्तरोः पूर्वे सार्धे च पुरुषे जलम् ॥

Sârasvata is frequently quoted in the Comm. throughout the chapter.

scorpion (?) and a saffron-hued stone, at 1 m. l. In the westerly direction, also, is a vein, which will dry up after three years.

27, 28. Where an ant-hill, along with sacrificial grass and indigo,¹ is stationed north-east of a Bauhinia, there is water, never drying up, between the tree and the ant-hill, at a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. As signs are to be mentioned: a snake of the colour of a lotus calix, at 1 m. l.; red earth, and a coryndon stone.

29, 30. If an Echites is surrounded by ant-hills, it may be predicted that to the north of it is water, at 5 m. l.; the signs being, a yellowish-green frog at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., earth like yellow orpiment, and a stone of the colour of a dark cloud; under it is a northern vein yielding good water.

31, 32. A frog being seen under any tree shows that water is to be found at a cubit's distance, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. At 1 m. l. will be discovered an ichneumon, then dark clay, further on yellow, at last white clay, and a stone of the colour of a frog.

33, 34. In case a snake's abode² appears standing south of a Karanj-tree, there is a vein in the south at two cubits, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. depth. At $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. is a tortoise; and there will then be discovered, first, an eastern vein; further on, a northern vein with sweet water; beneath lies a yellowish-green stone; then again water.

35, 36. An abode of snakes standing north of a Bassia is an indication that water will be found on the western side of the tree, five cubits off, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ m. l. (The signs are:) first, a big snake at 1 m. l.; then deep-purple earth, and a stone of the colour of dolichos. Beneath is an eastern vein, supplying water which is always foamy.

37. Where a smooth ant-hill, combined with sacrificial and bent grass, stands south of a Tilaka-tree, an eastern vein will be discovered in a westerly direction at 5 m. l.

¹ The Comm. reads सकुशः सित, and explains accordingly, "a white ant-hill with sacrificial grass."

² This word and ant-hill are interchangeable terms.

38, 39. In case an abode of snakes is stationed west of a Nauclea, there is water three cubits from it, at $5\frac{3}{4}$ m. l. It is a northern vein that flows there, having a smell like iron, and inexhaustible. (As tokens will be found:) a gold-tinged frog, at 1 m. l.; and then yellow clay.

40. If either a tâl or a cocoa-tree be surrounded by ant-hills, there is, six cubits further to the west of it, a southern vein, at 4 m. l.

41, 42. On perceiving an abode of snakes on the west side of a wood apple-tree, one may predict that water will be discovered at seven cubits' distance, by digging 5 m. l. deep. (The signs are): a spotted snake at 1 m. l.; black clay and a protruding stone; white clay. Underneath runs a vein from the west; then another from the north.

43, 44. Should a jujube-tree or a snake's abode appear to the left (*i.e.* northwards) of an Aḡmantaka-tree, water will be found six cubits distant, in a northerly direction, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., (the indications being) a tortoise at 1 m. l., a grey stone, clay mingled with sand. The first vein issues from the southern quarter; the second, from the north-west.

45, 46. Should an ant-hill rise on the left side (*i.e.* northwards) of a yellow sandal-tree, there will be water three cubits to the east from thence, at $5\frac{3}{4}$ m. l. (The indications are): a black snake at 1 m. l.; yellow clay and an emerald-like stone; then black earth. First there will be found a vein coming from the west; afterwards another from the south.

47. Where, in a waterless region, the characteristics of an aquatic vegetation, or soft andropogon and bent grass, are conspicuous, there is water at 1 m. l.

48. *Clerodendron syphonanthus*,¹ Ipomœa, Croton, Sûkara-pâdî, Lakshmaṇâ, and double-jessamine denote water to be near, two cubits from thence to the south, at 3 m. l.

¹ A word भार्गी, as given in the dictionaries, has no existence but in corrupt manuscripts; the name of the plant is भार्गी. That this reading of good manuscripts is the only legitimate one is proved by the fact that the plant is also called भृङ्गजा, which is, of course, virtually the same with *Bhārngā*.

49. Bushes and trees, growing low, looking smooth and having their boughs hanging down, have water near them; whereas hollow, coarse trees, with shattered leaves, lack water.

50, 51. If Tilaka, Spondias, Crataeva, marking nut, Bilva, ebony, Alangium, Piñdâra, Sirîsa, Anjana, Grewia, Dalbergia, and Sida appear very sleek, and surrounded by ant-hills, there is water three cubits from thence to the north, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.

52. Where a plot is grown with grass in the midst of a grassless plain, or where a grassless spot is conspicuous in the midst of a soil abounding with grass, a water-vein is indicated; or one may predict that a treasure will be discovered on the spot.

53. Where trees with thorns and those devoid of them grow intermixedly, you will discover three cubits further to the east, by digging $3\frac{3}{4}$ m. l., water, or, perchance, a treasure.

54. Where the soil, being struck by the feet, sounds deep, there is water, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.; the vein issues from the north.

55. If one of the branches of a tree is bent or faded, you will be sure to obtain water beneath the branch after digging 3 m. l.

56. A tree that shows unnatural symptoms in its fruits and blossoms points to a vein, three cubits to the east, at 4 m. l.; under the surface (will appear) a stone and yellow earth.

57. If a *Solanum Jacquini*¹ is seen without thorns and with white blossoms, one may predict there is water below, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l.

58. Where in a waterless country a betelnut-tree shows two tops, it may be asserted for certain that on the west side there will be water, at 3 m. l.

59. In case you see a white blossoming Pterospermum or Butea, there will be water, two cubits to the south, at 3 m. l.

60. Where the ground steams or smokes, there is water at 2 m. l.; and it may be stated that the vein will yield an abundant supply of water.

¹ Comm. कण्टकारिका निर्दिग्धका (v.l. निर्दिग्धका).

61. Where, on a single spot of a field, the sprouting corn perishes, or looks thin and exceedingly pale, there is a great vein at 2 m. l.

62. Now am I to set forth how a vein is discovered in a desert country. The water-veins run below the earth's surface in the guise of camels' necks (*i.e.* syphons).

63, 64. If an ant-hill is stationed north-east of a Pīlu-tree, there will be water to the west; you may hold for certain that the vein flowing in the north is at the depth of 5 m. l. The first indication is a frog; then red-brown clay; after that yellowish-green clay; at 1 m. l. lies a stone; there is certainly water underneath.

65, 66. Should the ant-hill stand on the eastern side of the Pīlu-tree, then it may be predicted that in a southerly direction there is water, at 7 m. l., at a distance of four cubits and a half. (The signs are:) at 1 m. l. a snake, half white, half black, one cubit long. A vein from the south there supplies plenty of brackish water.

67. From a snake's abode standing to the north of a Karīl-tree, one may infer that there is sweet water southward, at 10 m. l., the token being a yellow frog at 1 m. l.

68. If to the west of an Andersonia there is an abode of snakes, you will find, at three cubits more to the south, after digging 12 m. l., a western vein of brackish water.

69. An ant-hill being visible to the east of a *Terminalia Arjuna* indicates that you will come at a vein at a cubit's distance to the west, by digging 14 m. l. (An indication is:) a great brown lizard at 1 m. l.

70, 71. Or, if there be a snake's abode to the left (*i.e.* north) of any tree denominated after gold, there is water two cubits from thence in a southern direction, at 15 m. l. The water is brackish. (The tokens under the surface are:) an ichneumon at $\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., and a copper-coloured stone along with red earth. The vein is one issuing from the south.

72, 73. Where a jujube-tree and an Andersonia stand conjoined, whether an ant-hill be near or not, there is water three cubits further to the west, at 16 m. l. (Below the surface will be discovered:) first, water of good taste, produced

by a southern vein; then, a northern vein; at $\frac{1}{3}$ m. l. a leaden-hued stone, white clay, and a scorpion.

74. Should a jujube-tree appear conjointly with a Karīl, there will be water in the west, three cubits off, at 18 m. l. It is a north-eastern vein, rich in water.

75. On the east side of a jujube combined with a Pīlu, water will be found, never drying, but brackish, at 20 m. l.

76. Where a *Terminalia Arjuna* stands conjointly with a Karīl, or with a Bilva, water will be found two cubits further off in the west, at 25 m. l.

77. Should it happen that bent grass and sacrificial grass on the top of an ant-hill appear of a pale yellow colour, then sink a well in the middle thereof, for there is water at 21 m. l.

78. Where bent grass, along with *Andropogon serratus*,¹ is seen growing on an ant-hill, there is water three cubits further off to the south, at 25 m. l.

79, 80. If an Andersonia, conjointly with three other trees of various kinds, is stationed in the midst of three ant-hills, there will be water to the north, at an interval of four cubits sixteen digits, and at a depth of 40 m. l., where a stone will be found, under which the vein runs.

81. At a distance of five cubits, in a westerly direction, from a spot where a knotty Sami-tree is seen, having an ant-hill on its north side, there will be water at 50 m. l.

82. If the middlemost of five ant-hills stationed at one place be white, it indicates a vein at 55 m. l.

83. Where a Sami-tree has a Butea near it, water is on the west side, at 60 m. l. First (you will discover below the surface) a snake at $\frac{1}{3}$ m. l.; afterwards yellow clay mixed with sand.

84. One cubit eastward of a spot where a white Andersonia is surrounded by an ant-hill, will be water at 70 m. l.

85. Where a white Sami shows a great many thorns, there is water in a southerly direction, at 75 m. l., while a snake will come to sight at $\frac{1}{3}$ m. l.

¹ R. in the text भूमीकदम्बक° as one word, though the Comm. understands it otherwise.

86. The existence of water in a woody tract of land may not be determined on such indications as apply to a desert only. The number of m. l. which has been given in st. 6, sqq., has to be doubled in the case of a desert.

87, 88, 89. A roseapple-tree and the plants Teori, bow-string hemp, Çiçumârî, Echites, Çivâ, Çyâmâ, Dioscorea, Cardiospermum, Garuḍavegâ, Sûkarika, Glycine and Ricinus, growing by a snake's abode, denote water to be near the ant-hill, three cubits off to the south, at 3 m. l. The latter number applies to a watery country, but for a woody tract the depth is to be fixed at 5 m. l., and for a desert at 7 m. l., if the indications be the same.

90. Where some ground, otherwise uniform and devoid of grass, trees, ant-hills or shrubs, contains a piece of unusual appearance, there is water.

91. And where the earth is smooth, low, sandy or re-sounding, there is water at $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 m. l.

92. To the south of smooth trees there will be water at 4 m. l. The same may be said, should a tree in the midst of a thick wood show uncommon symptoms.

93. Where the soil slopes downwards, there is water at $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., in the case of a woody or watery tract of country. Where insects are frequent, without having their abode in that place, there, too, is water.

94. An isolated cold spot in a warm ground denotes cold water; a single warm spot in a cold ground, warm water, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. l., and at four cubits' distance, if a rainbow, fish or ant-hill be conspicuous.

95. If in a row of ant-hills one is prominent above the rest, there is water beneath it. There is water also, where the corn in the field withers or does not come up at all.

96. A banyan, a Butea and a glomerous fig-tree standing conjoined denote water, at 3 m. l. The same may be said from a banyan and Pîpal appearing in close connexion. The vein lies northward.

97. A well being situated in the south-east of a village or town is likely to occasion constant danger from fire and men.

98. A well in the south-west causes loss of children, and

one in the north-west threatens the wife. Wells in any other direction are productive of good.

99. Thus much have I composed in *āryā* couplets, with constant reference to the work, "Exploration of Water-springs," by the Seer Sârasvata.—I will now expound the system of Manu also, in *ṛtta* verses.

100. A water-vein will be found in those parts where trees, shrubs and creepers appear covered with entire leaves and smooth; where lotus,¹ Asteracantha, Andropogon, Trichosanthes, Cyperus, Kâça or sacrificial grass, Nalikâ or reed grows.

101, 102. Where betelnut, roseapple, *Terminalia Arjuna*, rotang wax, or milky trees, shrubs and creepers, or mushrooms, Ricinus, Mesua,² lotus, Nauclea *nîpa*, Karanj, and *Vitex Negundo*; or beleric myrobalan or jessamine; there is water at 3 m. l. Where one hill rises upon another, there also is water at 3 m. l. at the foot.

103. Where the soil abounds with reed-grass, Kâça and sacrificial grass, and consists of blue clay mingled with gravel, or where the clay is black or red, there is much delicious water.

104. A copper-coloured earth mixed with gravel, yields water of an astringent taste; red-brown earth, brackish water; a pale yellow ground is an indication of salt, and a blue soil of sweet, water.

105. Pot-herbs, *Vatica robusta*, *Terminalia Arjuna*, Bilva, Shorea, *Gmelina arborea*, Ruellia (?), Grislea, and Sissoo are signs that water is far off; so, too, are trees, shrubs, and creepers looking coarse and having hollow leaves.

106. A soil the colour of which resembles that of the sun, fire, ashes, camels or asses, is said to be waterless. If the ground be red, and Karil trees exhibit red sprouts and a milky sap, there is water under a stone.

107. A rock in colour like to lapis lazuli, kidney-beans,

¹ Comm. : पद्मं स्थलपद्मम् ।

² The rendering is doubtful; Comm. : कृत्वा प्रसिद्धा । इभा हस्त-कर्णी । नागो नागकेसरः ।

clouds, the eyes of a peacock's tail, or to a nearly ripe fruit of the glomerous fig-tree, or to a black bee¹ and collyrium, or of a reddish-brown hue, has much water near it.

108. A rock showing the colour of pigeons, wax, ghee, or of a linen cloth, or of the Soma-plant, such a one, also, will soon produce inexhaustible water.

109. A rock exhibiting red and variegated speckles, being of a pale yellow colour, or tinged like ashes, a camel, ass, or like a bee, Angushtika-blossom,² or like the sun and fire, is waterless.

110. Of good promise are those rocks which show the hue of moonlight, crystal, pearl, gold; and those which appear like sapphire, vermilion, antimony; and those which have the colour of the beams of the rising sun and yellow orpiment. Thus speaketh the Sage in the next verse :

111. " Indeed, these rocks are extremely hard, beneficial and always frequented by Yakshas and Nāgas. Never will

¹ The reading of the Comm., viz. भङ्गाञ्जनाभा, may be right, but his explanation, भङ्गे स्फोटने । अञ्जनसदृशी । is not exact. *Bhangānjana* means " collyrium used for *bhanga*." Now, *bhanga* being synonymous with *bhangi*, and the latter having the sense of "toilet, fashion," in French *mode*, the compound may be rendered by "toilet-collyrium." *Bhangi* distinctly expresses what is called fashion in English, *mode* in French, e.g. in Rāja-tar. 7, 922 :

स शोभादायिनीर्भङ्गीः प्रावर्तयत मण्डले ।
निर्मत्सरो नरपतिः पुष्पतुरिव कानने ॥
मुक्तकेशा निरूपणीया निष्कलाभरणाः पुरा ।
सन्त्यज्यैकं महीपालमभवन्निह (Kashmir) देहिनः ॥

And then :

तेन राज्योचितो वेषस्तत्र राज्ञा प्रवर्तितः ।

And

दाक्षिणात्याभवद्भङ्गिः प्रिया तस्य विलासिनः ।
कर्णाटानुगुणष्टङ्कस्तस्तेन प्रवर्तितः ॥

² Comm. : अङ्गुष्ठिका विटपविशेषः । The plant is, under this name, unknown to the dictionaries.

drought threaten those kings in whose dominions they are found.”

112. When a stone resists splitting, then kindle a fire with fuel from Butea and ebony. On being made red hot, and sprinkled with milk and water, the stone will burst.

113. Or boil water with ashes from Mokshaka.¹ When the stone, being heated, is seven times sprinkled with this decoction, joined with potash from reed-grass, it will burst.

114. Butter-milk, sour gruel, spirituous liquor, dolichos, and jujube fruits mixed together, and left to ferment for a week, will, by being used in sprinkling, surely make a stone burst, after it has been heated.

115. Take leaves and bark of Azadiracht; stalks of sesamum; Achyranthes; ebony fruits, and Menospermum. The potash of all these, liquefied with the stale of cows, being poured six times over a glowing stone, the stone will split.

116, 117.—The same as Ch. 50, st. 25, sq.

118. A pond extending in a direction from east to west retains the water much longer than one running from north to south, because the latter is more often exposed to rupture by the agency of billows roused by the wind. Let him who wishes to make such a pond stem the conflux of water by means of strong timber, or make the dams on every side from stones and the like, the soil being rendered hard by trampling of elephants, horses, etc.

119. The banks must be shaded by *Terminalia Arjuna*, banyan, mango, wavy-leaved fig, *Nauclea Kadamba*, along with *Barringtonia*, rose-apple, rotang, *Nauclea Nipa*, *Barleria*, tâl, Açoka and *Bassia*, intermingled with *Bakula*.

120. On one side let a flood-gate be made, in such a manner that the passage be built with stones, and let a pannel without fissures be fixed in a frame, and covered by grit heaped up against it.

121. (For clearing the water) let a mixture of antimony, round cyperus grass, *Andropogon*, powder of Koçâtaka and

¹ Comm. मोक्षको वृक्षः । यस्य मरुवक इति प्रसिद्धिः ।

emblic myrobalan, combined with *Strychnos potatorum*, be put into a well.

122. If the water is muddy, sharp, salt, bad of taste or not pleasant of odour, it will by this mixture become clear, tasteful, very nice of smell, and possessed of other good qualities.

123. The asterisms which are propitious when commencing the sinking of wells, are Hasta, Maghâ, Anurâdhâ, Pushya, Dhanishṭhâ, Uttara-Phalgunî, U.-Ashâḍhâ, U.-Bhadrapadâ, Rohiṇî and Çatabhishaj.

124. He (for whom a well is made) having made an oblation to Varuṇa, has, first, to cause a plug of banyan wood or rotang to be put into the soil at the place of the vein, while he honours it with flowers, perfumes, and incenses.

125. I have formerly,¹ after studying the opinions of Baladeva and others, set forth how rain-water is got after full-moon's day of Jyaisṭhâ. The manner how to find spring-water has, secondly, been told by me, Varâha-Mihira, in this chapter, thanks to the Sages!

CHAPTER LV.

Culture of Trees.

1. Considering that water reservoirs without shade on the margin are not lovely, one ought to have gardens laid out on the banks of the water.

2. A soft soil is favourable to all sorts of trees. Let one thereon sow sesamum, which must be reaped when in bloom. This is the first work to prepare the ground.

3. Then plant in the garden or by the house, in the first place, auspicious trees, as Arishṭa, Açoka, Rottleria, Sirîs, and Priyangu-trees.

4, 5. Bread-fruit, Açoka, plantain, rose-apple, Lakucha, pomegranate, grape, Pâlivata, citron, and *Gaertnera racemosa*, are trees that, on being smeared with cow-dung, should be

¹ Ch. 23, 1, sqq.

planted by slips, or carefully grafted on the root-stump or stem (of a different tree).¹

6. Trees having no branches yet, must be transplanted in the dewy season; those that have their branches developed, in winter-time; and those that are possessed with goodly stems, in the rainy season, care being taken that they are stationed in the particular direction suiting them severally.

7. Let trees, when being transplanted, be smeared all over the stem down to the root with ghee, root of Andropogon, oil wax, worm-seed, milk, and cow-dung.

8. The planter, duly purified, has to pay honour to the tree with washing and unguents before planting it. The tree, once set, will show the same foliage as it had before.

9. When the trees have been planted, they need to be watered morning and evening in summer;² during the day in the cold season, and whenever the soil is dry during the rains.

10, 11. Rose-apple, rotang, Vānīra-rotang,³ Nauclea, glomerous fig, *Terminalia Arjuna*, citron, grape, Lakucha, pomegranate, Dalbergia, Karanj, Tilaka, bread-fruit, Timira, and Spondias, are the sixteen trees, which, according to generally received opinion, require a moist ground.

12. The greatest space to be left between two trees is twenty cubits; the middling, sixteen; and the smallest, twelve.

13. Trees which, by growing too near one another, touch each other, and get their roots intermingled, are hindered, and do not yield fruit properly.

¹ Comm.: अन्यवृक्षस्य मूलच्छेदं कृत्वा तस्यच्छिन्नमूलस्योपरि विजातीयो वृक्षो रोपणीयः। अथवा स्कन्धार्धादन्यवृक्षं छित्त्वा तस्य स्कन्धमुत्कीर्य विजातीयो वृक्षो रोपणीयः। तत्र मृत्तिकाश्लेषं दापयेदिति ॥

² The reading घर्मर्तौ is preferable to घर्मन्ते, because the latter does not occur, for aught we know, but in the sense of "end of summer"; yet, etymologically, it might as well signify "within summer-time."

³ *Vetasa* and *vānīra* clearly denote two varieties of rotang; the Indian lexicographers know nothing about the difference; for the distinction of plants they are not to be trusted, at least the edited works of Amara, etc.

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29, 30. (When you wish to plant) Cordia seeds, take the precaution of stripping them of the shell and of steeping them, in the shade, seven times in water mixed with a thick sauce from Alangium-fruits; then rub them with buffalos' dung, and lay them in manure. Being afterwards planted in clay soaked with hail-water, they will produce fruit (so to say) in a day.

31. The asterisms declared by the Seers of transcendental wisdom to be favourable to the planting of trees are the Fixed asterisms (*i.e.* the three Uttarâs and Rohiṇî), the Mild asterisms (*i.e.* Anurâdhâ, Citrâ, Mṛgaçiras, and Revatî), Mûla, Viçâkhâ, Tishya, Çravaṇa, Açvinî, and Hasta.

CHAPTER LVI.

Description of various Temples.

1. Having made great water reservoirs and laid out gardens, let one build a temple, to heighten one's reputation and merit.

2. Let him who wishes to enter the worlds that are reached by meritorious deeds of piety and charity,¹ build a

¹ The definitions of *iṣṭâpūrta* all agree in the main point. Utpala quotes some of them :

इष्टं यज्ञादिकं पूर्तं वापीकूपतडाकादिकम् ।

तथाचोक्तम्

इष्टं यज्ञेषु यद्दानं ततो न्यत्पूर्तमिष्यते ।

इष्टाभिः पशुबन्धैश्च चातुर्मासैर्यज्ञैर्द्विजः ॥

अग्निष्टोमादिभिर्यज्ञैर्यो यजेत स इष्टवान् ।

वापीकूपतडाकादि देवतायतनानि च ॥

अन्नप्रदानमारामाः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ।

तथाच काश्यपः

इष्टापूर्तादिभिर्यज्ञैर्यावत् कुर्वन्ति मानवाः ।

अग्निष्टोमादिपशुभिरिष्टं यज्ञः प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

temple to the gods; by doing which, he shows both (piety and charity).

3. The gods use to haunt those spots which by nature or artifice are furnished with water and pleasure-gardens.

4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Lakes where groups of lotuses like umbrellas ward off the sun's darting beams, and the waters receive access of brightness by the rows¹ of white water-lilies pushed aside by the shoulders of swans; where swans, ducks, curlews and paddybirds utter their resounding notes, and fishes repose in the shade of Niculas on the brinks; places where rivers flow, having curlews for their tinkling zone, singing swans for their melodious voice, the watersheet for their cover, and carps for their belt; regions where streams have blooming trees on the margin, comparable to ear-ornaments, confluences not unlike to buttocks, sandy banks like to high-swelling bosoms, and merry laughter from the swans; tracts of land in the neighbourhood of woods, rivers, rocks and cataracts; towns, with pleasure-gardens: it is such grounds the gods at all times take delight in.

वापीकूपतडाकादि पूर्तमायतनानिच ।

स्वर्गस्थितिं सदा कुर्यात् तदा तत्पूर्तसञ्ज्ञितम् ॥

The word *yajna* in the first stanza of Kâç. is taken in its general sense of "act of religion"; in the same manner are "study" and "hospitality," two of the *yajnas*, i.e. religious duties. In Vedic language इष्टापूर्त means "merit owing to deeds of piety," and "reward of piety"; it nearly coincides with the later acceptation, and exactly corresponds to *puṇya*, "pious merit," and "reward of pious deeds," e.g. Ath. V. 2, 12, 4 :

इष्टापूर्तमवतु नः पितृणाम्

"The religious merits of the Manes may protect us." But R. V. 10, 14, 8 :

सं गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनेष्टापूर्तेन परमे व्योमन्

"Meet with the Manes, with Yama, with the reward of pious deeds in the highest heaven." The sense of "satisfaction of wishes," attributed to the Vedic *ishtâpūrta* in the Dictionary of B. and R., is based upon a wrong etymology, and is discountenanced by all the passages where it occurs. There is no doubt that in deriving *ishtû* from *yaj*, the Indians are right; a decisive passage is Ath. V. 7, 103.

¹ Read वीथी, as the Comm. has it, for वीची.

9. The several sorts of soil which we indicated, when treating of house-building, as suited to Brahmans, etc., are likewise recommended to persons of the different classes, when they wish to erect temples.

10. Let the area of a temple always be divided into sixty-four squares, while it is highly commendable to place the middle door in one of the four cardinal points.

11. The height of any temple must be twice its own width, and the flight of steps equal to a third part of the whole height (of the edifice).

12. The adytum measures half the extent (of the whole), and has its separate walls all around. Its door is $\frac{1}{4}$ of the adytum in breadth and twice as high.

13. The side-frame of the door has a breadth of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the altitude; likewise the threshold; the thickness of both doorposts is commonly stated to be equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the breadth.

14. A door with three, five, seven, or nine-fold side frames is much approved. At the lower end, as far as the fourth part of the altitude of the doorpost, should be stationed the statues of the two doorkeepers.

15. Let the remaining part be ornamented with (sculptured) birds of good augury, Çrîvṛksha-figures, crosses, jars, couples, foliage, tendrils, and goblins.

16. The idol, along with the seat (*i.e.* pedestal), ought to have a height equal to that of the door, diminished by $\frac{1}{8}$, of which two-thirds are appropriated to the image, and one-third to the seat.

17, 18, 19. Meru, Mandara, Kailâsa, Vimâna-figure, Nandana, Samudga, Padma, Garuḍa, Nandin, Vardhana, Kunjara, Guharâja, Vṛsha, Hansa, Sarvatobhadra, Ghata, Sinha, Rotunda, Quadrangle, Octangle, and Sixteen-angle,—these are the names of the twenty kinds of shrines. I now proceed to describe their characteristics, following the order in which they have been enumerated.

20. The Meru is sexangular, has twelve stories, variegated windows,¹ and four entrances. It is 32 cubits wide.

¹ Comm. कुहरा अभ्यन्तरगवाक्षाः

21. The Mandara is 30 cubits in extent, has ten stories and turrets.¹—The Kailâsa, too, has turrets, and eight stories; it measures 28 cubits.

22. The Vimâna is 21 cubits in extent, and has latticed windows.²—The Nandana has six stories and sixteen cupolas; it measures 32 cubits.

23. The Samudga (*i.e.* round box) is round. The Padma (*i.e.* lotus) has the shape of a lotus, measures 8 cubits, has one spire, and only one story.³

24. The Garuḍa and Nandin show the form of the sun-eagle, are 24 cubits wide, must be constructed with seven stories, and adorned with twenty cupolas.⁴

25. The Kunjara (*i.e.* elephant) has a figure like an elephant's back, and is 16 cubits long, and broad at the bottom. The Guharâja likewise measures 16 cubits. Both have a roof with three dormer windows.⁵

26. The Vṛsha (*i.e.* bull) has a single story and one turret, is everywhere round, and measures 12 cubits. The Hansa has the form of a swan; and the Ghāṭa, being shaped like a water-jar, has an extension of 8 cubits.⁶

¹ Comm. तथाच काश्यपः

मन्दरः शिखरैर्युक्तः षडश्रिदशभूमिकः ।

त्रिंशद्दस्तांश्च विस्तीर्णः प्रासादो ऽयं द्वितीयकः ॥

² A copious description of diverse Vimânas or pyramidal shrines is to be found in Râm Râz, Arch., p. 51, sqq.; and p. 48.

³ It must be understood that the signs of a Padma apply also to a Samudga, barring the shape.

⁴ The same is more clearly expressed by Kâçyapa :

गरुडो गरुडाकारः पञ्चपुच्छविभूषितः ।

नन्दी तदाकृतिर्ज्ञेयः पद्मादिरहितः पुनः ॥

कराणां षट्पुष्पांश्च विस्तीर्णौ सप्तभूमिकौ ।

दशभिर्द्विगुणैरण्डैर्भूषितौ कारयेत्तु तौ ॥

⁵ The Comm. paraphrases चन्द्रशाला by चन्द्रसारिका (v.l. °शारिका); in Kâçyapa the word is used as m. or n. चन्द्रशाल.

⁶ To a Hansa belong the same qualifications as to the Vṛsha, except-

27. The Sarvatobhadra has four entrances, many summits, many beautiful dormer windows, and five stories, its extent being 25 cubits.

28. The Sinha is a building with twelve angles, and is covered by lions; it is 8 cubits wide. The four remaining (viz. Rotunda, Quadrangle, Octangle, and Sixteen-angle) are dark (in the interior). The Quadrangle has five cupolas (whereas the rest have one only).¹

29, 30. A story's altitude is of 108 digits, according to Maya, but Viçvakarman pronounces it to be of 3 cubits and a half (*i.e.* 84 digits). As to this, however, able architects have declared that (in reality) there is no discrepancy of opinion, for, if you add the height of the crown-work,² the smaller number will equal (the greater).

ing the form. A Ghaṭa differs from the former in other respects, but has the same number of stories and turrets.

¹ The statement in Kāçyapa is much more explicit :

सिंहः सिंहैः समाक्रान्तः कोणैर्द्वादशभिर्भुतः ।
 विष्कम्भादष्टहस्तः स्यादेका तस्यच भूमिका ॥
 वृत्तो वृत्ताकृतिः कार्यः सञ्ज्ञातुल्यास्तथापरे ।
 सान्धकारास्तु सर्वे ते भूमिकैकसमायुताः ॥
 एकाण्डभूषिताः सर्वे पञ्चभिश्चतुरश्रकः ।

The Comm. adds : तत्र बहिर्द्वारात्प्रविश्य प्रासादस्य वामभागेनागत्य पुरतः प्रासादस्य द्वारं कार्यम् । तत्र मणिमयी प्रतिमा । तत्कान्त्या तत्र प्रकाश्यमुत्पद्यते ॥

² The word *kapotapālikā*, properly "dove-ridge, dove-list," may be rendered by crown-work, fillet, gable-edge, and even by cornice. In Tamil *kapotakam* is explained as being "a moulding in masonry"; see Winslow's Tam. Dict., i. v. Rām Ráz, Arch., p. 24, says : "A *kapotam* is a section of moulding made in the form of a pigeon's head. It is a crowning member of cornices, pedestals, and entablatures. When employed in the latter, it often connects utility with beauty, inasmuch as the beak of the bird is so placed as to serve the purpose of a spout."

31. Herewith are the characteristics of temples described in compendious form; it contains (in the main) the whole treatise composed by Garga on it. Of the voluminous works by Manu, etc., have I, in writing this chapter, only taken notice in as much as I remembered.

CHAPTER LVII.

On Diamond-Plaster.

1, 2, 3. Unripe ebony fruits, unripe wood-apples, blossoms of silk cotton, seeds of Boswellia, bark of Dhanvan, and acorus; combined with these substances, boil a *drona* of water, and, when the mass has sunk to an eighth of the volume, take the sediment, which combine with the following substances: turpentine, myrrh, bdellium, marking nut, resin of Boswellia,¹ and of Shorea, linseed, and Bilva-fruit. The paste, being mixed with these, is termed Diamond-plaster.

The same author notices (p. 51) that "the spout may be made to spring from the head of a lion, etc." With this, cf. Utpala's definition:

कपोतपालिकाग्रहणेन बहिर्निर्गतानि सिंहमुखानि काष्ठान्युच्यन्ते । and also Viçvak. 6, 767 :

प्रासादौ निर्गतौ कार्थौ कपोती गर्भमानतः ।

ऊर्ध्वं भित्तुच्छ्यात्तस्य मञ्जरीं तु प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

मञ्जर्याश्चार्धभागेन शुकनासं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

ऊर्ध्वं तथार्धभागेन वेदीबन्धो भवेदिह ॥

Neither *kapotapālikā*, nor its synonym *viṭanka*, have the meaning of "dovecot," as Colebrooke renders them in his Amara-Kosha. They never occur in that sense, and cannot by any means have such a meaning, on account of their etymology. *Viṭanka* is exactly the English "fillet," in its different acceptations; it denotes more generally also gable-edge, battlement. Colebrooke's error, strange to say, has been perpetuated in all dictionaries; the more reason now to draw attention to it.

¹ Utpala defines *kundurū* to be the resin of Deodar, देवदारुवृक्षनिर्घासः ।

4. This plaster, calcified, is to be applied on the roofs¹ of temples and mansions, on Çiva-emblems, idols, walls and wells, to last for a thousand, a million of years.

5, 6. Lac, resin of *Boswellia* (or of *Deodar*), bdellium, *Gṛhadhûma*,² wood-apple, *Bilva*-kernels, fruits of *Uraria*, of ebony, of *Madana*, seed of *Bassia*, madder, resin of *Shorea*, myrrh and myrobalan; from these is extracted a second sort of Diamond-plaster, having the same qualities with the former, and to be used for the same purposes.

7. Another plaster termed Quasi-diamond³ is prepared from horn of cows, buffaloes, and goats, apes'-hair, buffalo-hide, and cow-hide, combined with *Azadiracht*, wood-apple, and myrrh.

8. A mixture of eight portions of lead, two portions of bell-metal, and one portion of iron-rust is mentioned by *Maya*, and known by the name of Diamond-compound.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Description of Idols.

1. The smallest particle of dust becoming visible where the sun shines through a lattice is to be considered an atom. In fact, this is the first of all measures.

2. An atom, a particle of dust, a tail-hair's end, a nit, a louse, a barleycorn, and a digit, are, successively, eight times

¹ Comm. वलभी वातायनम्; *vâtûyanam* in general means "any place whither one goes to take an airing;" sometimes "a window" is intended by it, other times the flat "roof" of an Indian house. In the latter acceptation it is here used by *Utpala*, and frequently elsewhere, e.g. *Kathâsarit-sâg.* 95, 18, स्वगृहोत्तुङ्गवातायनागताः; 103, 162, हर्म्यवातायनारूढः, etc.

² Comm. गृहधूम आगारधूम आशयेति प्रसिद्धः

³ The comparative suffix *tara* here denotes a resemblance, or may be expressed by "almost, somewhat, quasi"; as in *açvatarā*, a mule, properly "quasi-horse." The same interchange of significations is found in *prâyas*, properly "more," Greek *πλείον*, and then "resembling, almost."—The Comm. exhibits the form *vajratala*.

larger than the preceding measure.¹ One digit is also the module.

3. One-third of the altitude of the door of a temple, diminished by one-eighth, is the measure for the seat of the image; the idol itself is twice as high.

4. The face (of a statue) is twelve of its own digits² long and broad. Nagnajit, however, notes a length of fourteen digits, which is a measure for Dravīḍas (barbarians).³

5. The nose, forehead, chin, and neck are four digits (*i.e.* modules) long; likewise the ears; the jaws two digits long and broad. The chin is two digits broad.

¹ The Comm. quotes a parallel passage, the former stanza of which recurs in Manu, viii. 132, whereas the latter wholly differs :

तथाच

जालान्तरगते भानौ यत्सूक्ष्मं दृश्यते रजः ।
प्रथमं तत् प्रमाणानां त्रसरेणुं प्रचक्षते ॥
तस्माद्रजः कचाग्रं च लिखा यूका यवो ऽङ्गुलम् ।
क्रमादष्टगुणं ज्ञेयं जिनसङ्ख्याङ्गुलैः श्रमः ॥

From an unknown author are the verses quoted by Bâpû-Deva in his edition of the Siddhânta-Çir. p. 52 :

वेश्मान्तः पतितेषु भास्करकरेष्वालोक्यते यद्रजः
स प्रोक्तः परमाणुरष्टगुणितैस्त्रैरेव रेणुर्भवेत् ।
तैर्वालामयाष्टभिः कचमुखैर्लीला च यूकाष्टभिः
स्यात्त्रिभिश्च तदष्टकेन च यवो ऽष्टाभिश्च तैरङ्गुलम् ॥

² Digit has here no absolute, but a relative value; it is the module and equal to $\frac{1}{108}$ of the whole height of the idol, or $\frac{1}{180}$ of idol and seat together. Comm. यस्मात्काष्ठात्पाषाणादिकाद्वा प्रतिमा क्रियते तद्द्वैर्घ्यं पीठप्रमाणविवर्जितं द्वादशभागविभक्तं कृत्वा तत्रैको भागो नवधा कार्यः । सो ऽङ्गुलसञ्ज्ञो भवति । यस्मादष्टाधिकमङ्गुलशतं प्रतिमा-प्रमाणं वक्ष्यति ।

³ Comm. तथाच नम्रजित्

विस्तीर्णं द्वादश मुखं द्वैर्घ्येण च चतुर्दश ।
अङ्गुलानि तथा कार्यं तन्मानं द्राविडं स्मृतम् ॥

6. The forehead is eight d. in breadth. Two d. further off are the temples, being of four d. The ears are two d. broad.

7. The upper margin of the ear should be made in the same straight line with the brows, and at $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. distant (from the latter). The ear-hole and the eminence¹ near it lies in the same line with the extreme eye corner.

8. Vasishṭha puts the space between the extreme eye corners and eyes at four d. The under lip measures one digit, and the upper lip one half.

9. The dimple above the lip is half a digit. The mouth must be made four d. in extent and one d. and a half in thickness; an opened mouth is of three d. in the middle.

10. The nostrils extend two d.; at the end of the nostrils rises the nose, two d. high. The intervening space between the eyes is of four d.

11. The hole of the eye measures two d.; the eyes as many; the ball is equal to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the eye's measure, and the vision² of the pupil is equal to one-fifth of the ball. The aperture of the eye is one digit.

12. The brows, from one extremity to the other, have an extent of ten d.; the thickness of the line representing the brows is half a digit. The interstice between the brows is of two d., so that a single brow is four d. in extent.

13. The streak of hair should be made equal (in extent) to the brows conjoined, and half a d. thick. At the end of

¹ Comm. सुकुमारकं कर्णश्रोतःसमीप उन्नतभागः । नेत्रप्रबन्धशब्देन प्रमूषिकोच्यते ॥ At the further corner is the juncture, as it were, of two eyelids; hence the term *netraprabandha*: similarly the same is called *sandhi* in Suçruta, ii. p. 303.

² Comm. दृक्त्तारामध्यवर्तिनी कुमारी. This is right if we take *kumārī* or *kaññikā* in the sense of the pupil's innermost part; cf. Suçruta, ii. p. 303:

नेत्रायामत्रिभागान्तु कृष्णमण्डलमुच्यते ।

कृष्णात् सप्तमभिच्छन्ति दृष्टिं दृष्टिविशारदाः ॥

It must be taken into account that the vision in the pupil requires a larger measure in sculpture than in nature.

the eyes must be delineated the inner corner,¹ one d. in extent.

14. The head is thirty-two d. in circumference, and fourteen in extent (*i.e.* apparent width). In a picture, however, only twelve of them are visible, twenty not visible.

15. The face and the hair, put together, make up sixteen d. in length, as Nagnajit states it. The neck has a width of ten, a circumference of twenty-one digits.

16. From the neck down to the heart it is twelve d.; from the heart to the navel, as many; the same interval is prescribed to be kept from the centre of the navel down to the penis.

17. The upper legs measure twenty-four digits; the lower legs likewise; the insteps² four d., and the feet equally so (in height).

18. The feet are twelve d. long, and six broad; the great toes are three d. in length, and five in circumference; the second toe is three d. long.

19. The remaining toes should be less by one-eighth, in succession. The prescribed elevation of the great toe is $1\frac{1}{4}$ d.

20. The (measure of the) nail of the great toe is by the experts set down at $\frac{2}{4}$ d.; that of the other toes at $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or a little lessened for each succeeding toe.

21. The circuit of the leg at the extremity is stated to be of fourteen, and the breadth of five d.; but in the middle part the width is seven, and the circumference twenty-one.

22. The knees are, in the middle, eight d. in thickness, and twenty-four in circumference. The upper legs are, in their middle part, fourteen d. thick, their circuit being double.

23. The hip is eighteen d. broad and forty-four in circuit. The navel is one d. in depth and in extent.

24. The circumference of the middle, at the height of the navel, is of forty-two digits. The space between the two

¹ The inner corner, *karavīruka*, is also called *mūshikā* in a quotation from Kāçyapa.

² जानुकपित्त्ये (sic.) ये लोके चकलिके इति प्रसिद्धे । This *cakkalikam* or *cakkalikā* looks like a Prākṛt form of the diminutive of *cakra*, "disc."

paps is sixteen. The armpits are six d. higher up (in an oblique direction) than the paps.

25. The shoulders should be made eight d. broad. The arms, as well as the fore-arms, measure twelve (in length), the arms being six d. broad, and the fore-arms four.

26. The arms measure, at the upper end, sixteen, and at the wrist twelve digits. The palm is six broad and seven long.

27. The middle finger is five d.; the fore-finger is half a joint smaller; the ring-finger is equal to the fore-finger and the little finger less by a whole joint.

28. The thumb must have two joints, while the other fingers have three. The measure of a nail is equal to half a joint of the fingers respectively.

29. An image should be represented in such a way that its equipment, dress, ornaments, and outward form be in agreement with the country. By possessing the required characteristics an idol will, by its very presence, bestow prosperity.

30. Râma, the son of Daçaratha, and Bali, the son of Virocana, are a hundred and twenty digits (in height); the others, according to their being of the greatest, middling, or smallest size, measure 108, 96, or 84, respectively.

31. Our Lord Vishṇu may be represented either with eight arms, with four, or with two arms, his breast being marked by the Çrīvatsa-figure and adorned with the Kaustubha gem.

32. He is darkish as lin blossom, clad in a yellow garment, shows a serene face, wears earrings and a topped crown,¹ and has the neck, chest, shoulders, and arms thick.

33. In his right hands he bears a sword, a club, and an arrow, while with the fourth hand he bestows his blessings.² In his left hands is a bow, a buckler, a discus, and a conch.³

¹ The word *kirīṭa* is a semi-Prākṛt form of a word that has been lost in Skr., but survives in the Latin *crista*. Similarly the Skr. *jaṭhara* has arisen out of *jastara*, Greek *γαστήρ*.

² शान्तिदः च० in the text is a misprint for ०दश्च०.

³ Comm. कार्मुकं धनुः शार्ङ्गम् । खेटकं फरः । चक्रं सुदर्शनम् । शङ्खश्च पाञ्चजन्यः ।

34. If you prefer to make Vishṇu four-armed, let one hand be represented as if he were in the act of bestowing his blessing, and the other holding a club; this for the right side; in the left hands is the conch and the discus.

35. Of a two-armed image the right hand is (represented as) giving a blessing, and the left as holding a conch. In this manner let the idol of Vishṇu be framed by those who are desirous of happiness.

36. Baladeva must be made having a plough in his hand, with eyes lively from drink, and wearing a single earring. His complexion is fair like a conch shell, the moon, or lotus fibre.

37. The goddess Ekânançâ¹ should be made betwixt Baladeva and Kṛshṇa, with the left hand resting on her hip, and with the other holding² a lotus.

38. If it is intended to make her four-armed, then let her hold a lotus and a book in her left hands, while, on the right, she confers a boon on the supplicants with one hand and holds a rosary in the other.

39. The left hands of an eight-armed Ekânançâ should contain a drinking pot, a bow, a lotus, and a book; the right arms a gift, an arrow, a mirror, and a rosary.

40. Sâmba is figured with a club in his hand; Pradyumna as handsome, and holding a bow. Both are accompanied by their wives, bearing a buckler and a sword.

41. Brahman (the Creator) has four faces, a drinking pot in his hand, and is seated on a lotus. Skanda looks boy-like, holds a javelin, and has a peacock for ensign.

42. Indra has a white, four-tusked elephant, in his hand the thunderbolt, and, besides, another characteristic, viz. a third eye placed horizontally on his forehead.

43. Çiva has a crescent on his head, a bull for ensign, and

¹ Ekânançâ is one of the forms of Durgâ in her quality of Hecate; cf. Kathâsarit-S. 53, 171.

² The ungrammatical partic. *udvahatî* is used without any necessity, as the author might have availed himself of the 3rd pers. *udvahati*. All MSS., however, agree.

a third eye high on his brow; in one hand the trident, and in the other the bow Pināka. Or, also, his left part may consist of the half-part of Pârvatî.

44. The Buddha ought to be represented seated upon a lotus, and looking as if he were the father of mankind, with hands and feet marked by lotuses, with a placid countenance, and very short hair.¹

45. The god of the Jainas is figured naked, young, handsome, with a calm countenance, and arms reaching down to the knees; his breast is marked with the Çrīvatsa figure.

46. The Sun ought to be made with elevated nose, forehead, lower leg, thigh, cheek and breast, and clad in the dress of the Northerners, so as to be covered from the feet upwards to the bosom.

47. He holds two lotuses growing out of his hands, wears a diadem and a necklace hanging down, has his face adorned with earrings, and a girdle² round his waist.

48. The Sun when made with a body protected by a corslet, a complexion fair, like the interior of the white water-lily, a smiling and placid face, and a light crown brilliant through the gems, bestows bliss upon the maker.

49. A statue (of him) one cubit high is beneficial; one that measures two cubits in altitude brings wealth; an image of three cubits promotes peace; and one of four, abundance.

50. An idol (of the Sun) with excessive limbs bodes peril from the monarch; one with undersized limbs, infirmity to the maker; one with a thin belly, danger of famine; one that is lean, loss of wealth.

51. When it shows a wound, you may predict the maker's death by the sword. By being bent to the left, it destroys his wife; by being bent to the right, life.

52. It causes blindness by having its eyes turned upwards, and care, by the eyes being downcast. These good and evil

¹ Another r. has *sunîla*, "very dark"; a third, *sunîta*, "well trimmed."

² Read **वियङ्ग**, and see Dict. of B. and R. i. v. The word is taken from the Bactrian *aiwyâoñha*.

tokens, as told in respect to the Sun's statue, apply to all idols.

53. (For the construction of an emblem of Çiva), set out in the length the (measure of the) circumference¹ of the round part, and divide the whole phallus into three portions, of which the part at the bottom must be quadrangular, that in the midst octangular, and the rest round.

54. Sink the quadrangular portion into a pit in the earth, and put the middle member into the cavity of the pedestal. The pedestal is visible upwards to its cavity, in all directions, over an extent equal to its height.²

55. A phallus being excessively lean and long, destroys the country; one which has lost its side, tends to the ruin of the town; one damaged at the top is pernicious.

56. The host of divine Mothers have to be made with the characteristics corresponding to those of the gods whose names they bear.³ Revanta is figured mounted on horse-back, with Chase, Sport, etc., for his attendants.

57. Yama holds a club, and is seated on a buffalo. Varuṇa

¹ *i.e.* the length of a stone slab, piece of wood, etc., destined to serve for the phallus, should be made equal to the circumference of the upper part.

² This is awkwardly expressed; Comm. एतदुक्तं भवति । यावत्प्रमाणं वृत्तभागस्य दैर्घ्यं तावत्प्रमाणं समन्ततः पीठिकापृथुत्वं कार्यमिति ॥ Utpala is wrong in taking दृश्योच्छ्राय for a compound, but as the round portion and the middle part have the same altitude, the results remain the same. पिण्डका is a misprint for पिण्डिका.

³ Comm.: ब्रह्मणो यल्लिङ्गं ब्रह्मा कमण्डलुकरश्चतुर्मुखः पङ्कजासनश्चेति ब्रह्माण्याः कार्यम् । कार्यो ष्टभुजो भगवानिति वैष्णव्याः । शम्भोः शिरसीन्दुकलेति रौद्र्याः । स्कन्दः कुमाररूप इति कुमार्याः । शुक्लश्चतुर्विधाणो द्विपो महेन्द्रस्य वज्रपाणित्वमित्यैन्द्र्याः । दण्डी यमो महिषग इति याम्यायाः । हंसारूढश्च पाशभृद्वरुण इति वारुण्याः । नरवाहनः कुबेर इति कौबेर्याः । एवमन्यासां नारसिंहीवाराहीविनायकीनामप्यूह्यम् । किन्तु तासां स्तनशोभा मध्यचामता नितम्बवैपुल्यं कर्तव्यं येन प्रकारेण स्त्रीरूपस्य शोभा जायत इति ॥

is mounted on a swan, and bears a noose. Kubera is carried by men, wears a crown bent to the left, and has a big belly.

(58. The chief of the Goblins is represented with an elephant's face with one tusk, a prominent belly, bearing a hatchet, and having in his hand a turnip of very dark foliage and root.)¹

¹ Comm. : यदुक्तं तत्सर्वं कार्यम् अनुक्तं लोकोत्तरे दृष्ट्या कार्यमिति ॥
तथाच काश्यपः.

एकदंष्ट्रो गजमुखश्चतुर्बाहुर्विनायकः ।
 लम्बोदरः स्थूलदेहो नेत्रत्रयविभूषितः ॥
 ब्रह्मा चतुर्मुखो दण्डी कृष्णाजिनकमण्डली ।
 विष्णुश्चतुर्भुजः शार्ङ्गशङ्खचक्रगदाधरः ॥
 श्रीवत्साङ्कः पीतवासा वनमालाविभूषितः ।
 नरसिंहः स्थूलदेहो रोमावर्तविभूषितः ॥
 उद्धाटितमुखः स्रग्वी वह्निकान्तिर्वृहद्भुजः ।
 वाराहः सूकरमुखश्चतुर्बाहुर्विभूषितः ॥
 नीलाञ्जनचयप्रख्यो ध्यानासक्तः सुलोचनः ।
 ईश्वरो जटिलस्त्यक्षो वृषचन्द्रार्कभूषणः ॥
 उरगेन्द्रोपवीती च कृत्तिवासाः पिनाकधृत् ।
 चण्डिकाष्टादशभुजा सर्वप्रहरणान्विता ॥
 त्र्यक्षा सिंहरथा धन्या महिषासुरसूदनी ।
 मयूरवाहनः स्कन्दः शक्तिकुक्कुटधारकः ॥
 सुरूपदेहो विक्रान्तो देवसेनापतिः शिशुः ।
 आदित्यस्वरूपः स्रग्वी कवची खड्गधृत्तथा ॥
 तेजस्वी पङ्कजकरः षट्तुश्च (?) किरीटवान् ।
 ऐरावणश्चतुर्दन्तः श्वेतदन्तो महागजः ॥
 तदारूढो महेन्द्रस्तु वज्रहस्तो महाबलः ।
 तिर्यग्ललाटगं नेत्रं तृतीयं तस्य कारयेत् ॥
 नीललोहितवर्णाभा शची तस्य समीपगा ।
 एवं देवगणाः सर्वे स्वायुधाभरणीज्ज्वलाः ।
 कर्तव्या ह्यनुरूपाश्च सम्पूर्णाः शुभलक्षणाः ॥

For षट्तुः we have perhaps to read प्रोद्धनुः "with prominent jaws."

CHAPTER LIX.

Solemn ingress into the forest.

1. The solemn ingress into the forest ought to take place on a day propitious to the maker, calculated by the astrologer and boding luck, when, moreover, the auguries are favourable for setting out.

2, 3, 4. Trees growing on cemeteries, roads, temple precincts, ant-hills, public gardens, hermitages, sacred spots, near river confluences, or such trees as require being watered from jars, or such as are stunted, hurt by younger or upspringing trees and creepers, or injured by lightning and wind, or fallen spontaneously, damaged by elephants, sear, parched by fire, or inhabited by bees,—all such have to be avoided; whereas those with sleek leaves, blossoms, and fruits, insure good luck. On going to the tree selected, let one pay worship to it with an oblation and flowers.

5. Propitious to Brahmans are Deodar, sandal-tree, Sami and Bassia. Soap-berry, Pîpal, Khayir, and Bilva-tree promote the prosperity of Kshatriyas.

6. *Terminalia tomentosa*, Khayir, Seduari and Dalbergia promise well to Vaiçyas; and ebony, Rottleria, *Terminalia tomentosa*, *Terminalia Arjuna*, mango and Shorea, to Çûdras.

7. Mark the quarters on the tree, as well as its upper and lower end, since a phallus or an idol ought to be thus placed that its sides are turned to the same directions.

8. Let due honour be paid to the tree with milk porridge, sweetmeats, boiled rice, curds, sesasum seeds, partially squeezed out,¹ spouted cakes,² and such like, along with spirituous liquors, flowers, incense, and perfumes.

9. In the night do worship to the gods, Manes, imps,

¹ Comm.

² Utpala gives no definition of *ullopikâ*, which at any rate is a sort of sweetmeat; *ullup* means “to bedrop, to spout,” not as the Dict. of B. and R. i. v. has it, “to pick up, to take out.”

giants, serpents, demons, goblins, urchins,¹ etc., and, in touching the tree, say :

10. "Thou art destined to serve for the idol of such and such a god. Hail to thee, O tree! accept our worship fittingly."

11. "May those beings who are living here, on receiving our tribute of honour paid in due form, take up their abode elsewhere! May they now excuse us! Reverence be to them!"

12. The next morning, having sprinkled the tree with water, begin to cut it on its north-eastern side with an axe smeared with honey and ghee, and proceed cutting in such a way as to keep the tree always to your right.

13. If the tree comes down to the east, north-east, or north, it brings good speed; its coming down to the south-east, south, and so forth, will have for results, respectively, burning by fire, famine, sickness, loss of horses.

14. The omens observed at the cutting and falling down, as well as the tokens seen in the interior of the timber-wood, which are not mentioned in this chapter, have previously been indicated by me in the chapters on Indra's banner and on house-building. Those have to be taken into account on this occasion also.

CHAPTER LX.

Setting up of Statues.

1. Let a skilled man construct in the north² or east a shed for the inauguration ceremony, with four archways, and covered with sprouts from auspicious trees.

2. For the east side of the shed are prescribed variegated wreaths and streamers; for the south-east side, red ones; for the south and south-west, black ones.

3. They must be white in the west, pale yellow in the

¹ Comm. विनायका विघ्नाः, i.e. vexing spirits, or in German "Poltergeist."

² The Comm. has *yāmyāyām*, "in the south."

north-west, variegated on the north side, and yellow in the north-east.

4. An idol, being of wood or clay, promises long life, fortune, strength, and victory ; one of precious stone, tends to the weal of the people at large ; a golden one yields prosperity.

5. One of silver bestows renown ; one of copper, increase of progeny. A statue or phallus of stone insures a great acquirement of ground.

6. An image being hurt by a pin kills a person of eminence and the family ; one being damaged with a pit, produces diseases and endless calamities.

7. After smearing (with cow-dung) a plot of ground within the shed, and strewing it with sand, then, with sacrificial grass, lay the head, pillow, and feet of the statue on a throne.

8, 9, 10. Let the image, with the head to the east, be bathed with an infusion of wavy-leaved fig, Pîpal, glomerous fig, Sirîs, and banyan, mixed with all sorts of auspiciously named plants, with sacrificial and other grass, with clay dug up by elephants and bulls from mountains, ant-hills, confluences, river banks, and lotus-grown lakes, joined to water from holy bathing-places and the five products of cows,¹ the whole combined with scents and water containing gold and jewels. Let the bathing be performed amid the sounds of various musical instruments, solemn shouts, and the recital of holy texts.

11. Eminent Brahmans have to mutter prayers addressed to Indra, in the east ; prayers to Agni, in the south-east ; for doing which they ought to be honourably rewarded.

12. Let the special priest make an offering also to Fire, with prayers addressed to the god whose idol is being consecrated. The symptoms of the fire have been indicated by me in treating of the raising of Indra's banner.

13. A fire wholly shrouded with smoke, turned to the left and casting sparks at every instant, is not auspicious. The reciting priest's failing in his memory or stepping forward is pronounced to be unpropitious.

¹ Viz., cow's stale, dung, milk, curds, and ghee.

14. When the statue has been bathed, clad in a new garment, smartly adorned and honoured with flowers and perfumes; let the person, whose function it is to set it up, put it on a nicely-spread bed.

15. After the sleeping idol has been consecrated with wakes, dancing, and song, they have to proceed to its setting up at a period indicated by the astrologer.

16. Let the image, worshipped with flowers, unguents, amid the sounds of horns and musical instruments, be led, with all precaution, round the shrine, in such a manner that the latter is always kept on the right side.¹

17. Thereupon, make a copious oblation to treat Brahmans and fashionable people, and, after a piece of gold has been deposited in the cavity of the seat, let the image be placed upon the base.

18. By particularly honouring the setter-up, astrologer, Brahmans, fashionable people, and carpenter, one shall inherit good things in this world, and heaven in the next.

19. The priests of Vishṇu are generally styled Bhâgavatas; those of the Sun, Magi; of Çiva, Ash-smearred priests;² those of the divine Mothers, are termed Adepts in the rites of the Mothers' circle; those of Brahman, Priests; the followers of the all-benevolent Saint (*i.e.* the Buddha) are known as Çâkyas; those of the Jinas, as Naked Monks. These different priests have to perform, agreeably to the rule peculiar to each sect, the ceremony in honour of the god of whom they are the devotees.

20, 21. The raising of idols is favourable when the sun is in his northern course, the moon during the bright half of the month being stationed in a sign, half-sign, etc., of Jupiter's domain, an immovable sign and immovable³ ninth-

¹ Comm. अधिवासनमण्डपान्निष्क्रम्य प्रादक्षिण्येन प्रासादस्य गर्भगृहं प्रवेशयेत् ।

² Comm. पाशुपतानित्यर्थः ।

³ Comm. वृषकुम्भयोरन्यतमे । तथान्यस्मिन्निथुनकर्कटकन्यातुलाधन्वि-
मीनानामन्यतमे स्थिरनवांशकोदये ।

part being on the horizon, the benevolent planets standing in the fifth, ninth, first, fourth, seventh, or tenth House, and the malign in the Houses of Increase (*i.e.* third, sixth, tenth, and eleventh), whilst the lunar asterism of the date may be some of the fixed or mild ones,¹ Çravana, Tishya or Svâti, on a fit day of the week, Tuesday excepted.

22. Here have I given in succinct form a general description of a ceremony that tends to the weal of everybody, but in the work of Sâvitra's, the inauguration and setting up are treated separately.

CHAPTER LXI.

Signs of Cows.

1. Henceforth I give a brief account of the knowledge of the good and evil signs of cows which Parâçara of yore communicated to Bṛhadratha. As a general rule, all cows are of good omen; yet I will enumerate the divers characteristics in conformity to authoritative lore.

2. Kine with dripping, filthy, coarse, or mouse-like eyes bring no good; nor those that have wavering, flat horns, are dark red or of the colour of donkeys.

3, 4. Cows with ten, seven, or four teeth, with drooping hornless head, depressed back, short thick neck, a middle shaped like a barleycorn, split hoofs, a blackish excessively long tongue, very slender or very big ankles, too large hump, lean body, and having too few or superfluous limbs, are held in bad esteem.

5. A bull, too, exhibiting the same characteristics, brings no luck; nor does one that has too big and excessively hanging testicles, a breast wholly covered with veins, cheeks covered with thick veins, and one that urines in three diverging jets.

6. A bull of russet or dark red colour, with cat's eyes, brings no good, though he has value for a Brahman. An

¹ Comm. उत्तरात्रितयं रोहिणी चेति ध्रुवाणि । मृगशिरश्चित्रानुराधा रेवती च मृदूनि ।

animal with black lips, palate, and tongue, and continually blowing, is pernicious to the flock.

7. A bull that has the colour of a black antelope, has a white belly, makes too much dung, is possessed with a gross gland and huge horns, must be parted with, although he be home-bred; if not, he will bring ruin upon the flock.

8. A bull being partly ashy, partly red of colour, with dark spots on his members and cat's eyes, brings no luck, not even to Brahmans, should they accept such a one.

9. Bullocks that being put to the carriage move on in a manner as if they drew their feet out of the mud, and have a slender neck, timid eyes, and a depressed back, are not fit for carrying loads.

10, 11, 12. But such as have soft yet compact red lips, small buttocks, a red palate and tongue, small, short and erected ears, well-shaped belly and straight legs, somewhat red and compact hoofs, a broad chest, a great hump, a sleeky, soft and thin skin and hair, red and slender horns, a thin tail reaching to the ground, red eye-corners, a long breath, shoulders like a lion's, a thin and small dewlap,—such are esteemed as being good runners.

13. Bullocks¹ showing hair-crinkles which are turned to the left on the left side, and others running to the right on the right side, and having legs like those of a roe, bring good luck.

14. Such as have eyes hued like the beryl-stone, or surrounded by a white circle,² or formed like a water-bubble,

¹ It need scarcely be pointed out that the nomin. case *anaḍuḥaḥ*, is ungrammatical.

² Comm. दृङ्गण्डलबाह्ये मल्लिकाकुसुमसदृश्यो राज्यो यस्य भवन्ति स मल्लिकाक्षः । तथाच शालिहोत्रः

शुक्लराजिपरिच्छिन्ने यस्यान्तर्लोचन शुभे ।

मल्लिकाक्षो महाधन्यः स हयः कृष्णतारकः ।

The corresponding passage of Parāçara, however, has :

मृदुसंहतताम्रौष्ठास्तनुजिह्वास्तनुस्फिजः ।

वैदूर्यमधुवैर्ण्यश्च जलबुद्बुदसन्निभैः ॥

रक्तस्निग्धैश्च नयनैस्तथा रक्तकनीनिकैः ।

and exhibit thick eyelids and unsplit ankles, are highly valued, and all of them fit for carrying loads.

15. A bullock having a wrinkled snout, a cat-like face, being white on the right side, or else resembling in colour the red water-lily, dark lotus, or lac, and furnished with a nice tail, is equal to a horse in speed.

16. An animal with a scrotum hanging low, a sheep's belly, squat groins and breast, is certainly fit for burden and travel, equal to a horse in speed, and conducive of good results.

17. A white one with russet eyes, or with red horns and eyes, with a large mouth, is termed a "swan,"¹ and declared to promise good luck, and to be the increaser of the flock.

18. A motley one with a tail touching the soil, with reddish groins, red eyes, and a big hump, will soon render his owner the possessor of Fortune.

19. Others also, of any colour, but having one leg white, bode good. Where one with absolutely auspicious signs is not procurable, another of partially good promise is acceptable.

CHAPTER LXII.

Signs of Dogs.

1. A dog that has three feet furnished with five nails, but the right fore-foot with six, whose lips and muzzle are red, that has a lion's gait, and smells the ground in going, the tail being shaggy, the look like a bear's, the ears hanging and soft,—such a dog being kept in a house promises ere long great luck to him by whom he is fed.

2. A bitch with five nails on each foot, but six on the left fore-foot, with eyes surrounded by a white circle, with crooked tail, and having a brown colour and hanging ears, protects the domain of the feeder.

¹ In a similar case we should use the term "phœnix." When a learned man is called *paramahansa*, it may be rendered by "a great phœnix." In fact, both *hansa* and 'phœnix' were symbolical names of the Sun.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Signs of Cocks.

1. A white cock with straight wings and talons, with red face, nails, and crest, and crowing sonorously at the end of night, brings weal to the king, his subjects, and horses.

2. A cock with a barleycorn-shaped neck, or of the hue of a ripe jujube fruit,¹ or big-headed, or glittering with many colours, is much prized for fighting, whereas one of the hue of honey or bees insures victory. Any cock differing from such as described, with a weak and small voice, or halting, is not esteemed.

3. A hen with soft and pleasant voice, with sleek body, bright face and eyes, likewise promises to kings fortune, renown, triumph and success.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Signs of Tortoises.

1. A tortoise being hued like crystal or silver, variegated with dark streaks, with a body round as a pot, and with a nice backbone, or having a rosy body speckled with dots like white mustard seeds, promotes, when kept in the house, the grandeur of any prince.

2. A turtle dark-hued like collyrium or bees, variegated with dots, perfect in limbs and body, or one with a thick neck and a head like a snake's, equally tends to the weal of realms.

3. A tortoise shining like beryl-stone, with a thick neck, a triangular shape, a nice backbone, and well-concealed cavities, is likewise of good augury. Let kings, for the sake of auspiciousness, keep the animal in an artificial pond, or in a basin supplied with water.

¹ Comm. यवसदृशश्रीवः । यवशिरा लोके प्रसिद्ध इति । यो वा बदरसदृशो लोहितवर्णः सुपक्वबदरफलाभ इत्यर्थः ।

BENGAL COINS.



1



7



2



3



4



8



5



9



6



ART. XIII.—*The Initial Coinage of Bengal, under the Early Muhammadan Conquerors. Part II. Embracing the preliminary period between A.H. 614–634 (A.D. 1217–1236–7).* By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

THE discovery of an undisturbed hoard of no less than 13,500 coins in Kooch Bihár, inhumed some five centuries since, recently claimed attention both from the number and importance of its representative specimens, which so effectively illustrated the history of the kingdom of Bengal for a consecutive period of some 107 years.¹ The earliest date thus accorded towards the purely Initial Coinage of the country under its newly-installed Muslim administrators did not reach higher than the reign of the Empress Rizíah, A.H. 634–637 (A.D. 1236–1239), or more than 34 years after the first entry of the adventurous *Khilji* and *Turki* troops into the recognized Hindú capital of the lower Ganges.² A still more recent discovery of a comparatively poor man's *cache*, in the fort of Bihár,³ elucidates an earlier chapter of the local annals; and though the contents of the earthen vessel in this case are limited in number to a total of 37 pieces, and restricted in their dates to a term of 13 years, they, in some respects, compete advantageously with the previously-recovered unexampled store, in the value of their contributions

¹ Journ. R.A.S. (N.S.) Vol. II., 1866, p. 145. Reprinted in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxxvi., 1867, p. 1.

² The name of Nuddea, नवद्वीप, *Navadvīpa*, the "new island" (converted into نودية by the Muslims), would seem to imply a southerly movement, in concert with the silt of the Ganges, of the seat of Government down to the comparatively modern occupation of this site, on the abandonment of the successive traditional capitals of earlier dynasties.

³ I have no information as to the exact circumstances of the discovery of this small hoard, beyond the general intimation that it was secured by Mr. A. M. Broadley, C.S., in or near the Fort of Bihár. The coins have now become the property of Colonel Guthrie, who had already contributed the materials for my earlier notice of the Initial Coinage of Bengal. I understand that a description of these pieces is to be included in Mr. Broadley's forthcoming account of his antiquarian researches at Bihár (*Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, July, 1872, p. 120); but I have not considered that such a promised publication need interfere with a completion of my previous article in this *Journal* by the aid of these new acquisitions.

to the obscure records of the Gangetic Delta, and in priority of date bring us more than 20 years nearer to the first occupation of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyár *Khilji* in 600 A.H. As in the larger and almost-regal treasure trove of Kooch Bihár, the specimens in the present instance prove to be essentially of home or indigenous fabric. With the exception of a single northern piece of the supreme *Sultán* of India, they are one and all the produce of the mints of Bengal proper, and mark with singular fidelity the varied incidents of the alternate rise and fall of the provincial governors during the unsettled relations existing between suzerain and vassal from A.H. 614 to 627, when Altamsh came into real and effectual possession of the south-eastern portion of his Empire.

One of the most instructive facts disclosed by these few pieces is, that the rich and comparatively undisturbed territory of Bengal felt the want of a supply of *silver* money long before a similar demand arose in the harassed provinces of the north-west. The southern coins date, as far as can be seen, some nine years prior to Altamsh's earliest effort at a silver coinage in his northern dominions; and even Rizíah's silver money of deferred date bears every token of exclusive manufacture in the subordinate Lakhnautí mint.

I have already quoted the testimony of Minháj-us-Siráj, to the effect, that on the first conquest of Bengal by the Muslims, they found no metallic or other circulating media of exchange except that supplied by *cowries*;¹ even the compromise of the mixed silver and copper *jitals* of the various Hindú dynasties of the central Rájput tribes was unknown in the sea-board marts of the south.

The chronicles of the proximate kingdom of Orissa, whose boundaries touched if they did not often trench upon the ancient kingdom of Gaur,² explain how so infinitesimal

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 148. See also Hamilton's *Hindustán*, i., p. 40.

² Mr. Stirling says, under the Ganga Vansa line, for a period of nearly four centuries (from A.D. 1132), the boundaries of the Ráj of Orissa may be stated as follows: "North, a line drawn from the Tribení or Triveni ghat above Húglí, through Bishenpúr, to the frontier of Patkúm: East, the river Húglí and the sea."—As. Res. xv., p. 164. Hunter, i., p. 280. "To the north of the mouth of the Saraswatí lies the broad and high Tribení Ghát, a magnificent flight of steps,

and largely distributed a currency was able to supply the wants of so rich and essentially commercial a population. It would appear, from the official records preserved in the Temple at Púrí, that although there was no silver money in use, gold in convenient weights, if not in the form of absolute coin,¹ was freely interchangeable with the more bulky heaps of cowries. In these same official *Palm-leaf* documents we find the powerful King of Orissa, Anang Bhím Deo (A.D. 1174–1201), describing the geographical limits of his kingdom, specifying, with close exactitude, its now *proved* superficial area (39,407 square miles); and adding that, as the revenues of his predecessors of the Kesarí line had amounted, with a more limited extent of territory, to 15,00,000 *marhs* of gold, so his own added boundaries had raised the State income to 35,00,000 *marhs*. Mr. Stirling (our most trusted Revenue authority), relying upon still-extant local tradition, defined the *marh* at 5 *máshas'* weight;² while Dr. Hunter, under later and more vague native inspiration, pronounces it to be $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *karishá*, which measure may be assumed to represent the local pronunciation of the old widely-spread *karsha* of Manu, corresponding with the normal weight of the gold *suvarṇa*, i.e. 80 *ratis*.³ Taking the *rati* at 1.75 grains, this will make Mr. Stirling's return amount to 43.75 grains ($5 \times 5 = 25$; $25 \times 1.75 = 43.75$) per *marh*; whereas Dr. Hunter's estimate, under the same figures, would only produce 35 grains ($140 \div 4 = 35$); but, as he assumes the modern *karishá* to be equal to "one *Toláh* or one Rupee" of our modern system,—the amount of which however he does not further define,⁴—and taking the 180 grain total as the

said to have been built by Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orissa."—Blochmann, *As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 282.

¹ On the above occasion, likewise, a new coin and seal were struck by the Rájá's orders, with the titles which are used to this day by the Khúrda Rájás, who claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race. They run thus: *Vira Sri Gajapati, Gauréswara*, etc. "The illustrious Hero, the Gajapati (Lord of Elephants), sovereign of Gaura (Bengal), Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the tribes of Utkala, Kernáta, and the nine forts," etc.—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 272.

² *Asiatic Researches*, xv., p. 271. Mr. Stirling, however, seemed to imagine that the sum named for the total revenues, as tested by this estimate, was too high; but later investigations fully support the reasonable measure of the King's boast.

³ *J.R.A.S.*, II., pp. 169, 170. *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 221.

⁴ "Orissa," a continuation of the "Annals of Rural Bengal," (London, Smith &

test,¹ the result is not far removed from Mr. Stirling's earlier estimate under the old régime;—producing, in effect, a return of 45 grains for the *marh* ($180 \div 4 = 45$). But, singular to say, if we revert to the more ancient standard of the *ṣataraktika*, or 100-*rati*² weight,—a metric division which was reproduced and reaffirmed in the authorized *tankah* of the Pathán dynasty, and to which we have to allow a theoretical weight of 175 grains,—Dr. Hunter's $\frac{1}{4}$ *toldh* will come out to the exact second place of decimals of the 43·75 ($175 \div 4 = 43\cdot75$), obtained from Mr. Stirling's data.

The determination of the true weight of the *rati* has done much both to facilitate and give authority to the comparison of the ultimately divergent standards of the ethnic kingdoms of India. Having discovered the guiding *unit*, all other calculations become simple, and present singularly convincing results, notwithstanding that the basis of all these

Elder, 1872), i., pp. 316, 317. Dr. Hunter, like myself, has endeavoured to make his antiquarian researches instructive in their application to the defects of our own government in India, consequent upon the too frequent disregard of the superior local knowledge and hereditary instincts of the races we are appointed to rule over.

After enumerating the ascertained totals of the revenue of the province at various periods, the author goes on to say, "From time immemorial Orissa, like some other parts of India, has used a local currency of *cowries*. When the province passed into our hands in 1803, the public accounts were kept and the revenue was paid in these little shells." We "however stipulated that the landholders should henceforth pay their land-tax in silver, and fixed the rate of exchange at 5120 *cowries* to the rupee." (In 1804 the official exchange was 5120, and the practical rate of exchange from 6460 to 7680.) . . . "Had our first administrators contented themselves with taking payment in silver at the current rate of the cowrie exchange, the Orissa land-tax would now have been double what it is at present. But had they resolved to collect it at a grain valuation, according to Akbar's wise policy, it would now be more than double; for the prices of food have rather more than doubled since 1804. The system of paying the land-tax by a grain valuation appears to me to be the best means of giving stability to the Indian revenues."—Orissa, ii., p. 172. Dr. Hunter had not seen my notice of "The Revenues of the Mughal Empire" (Trübner, 1872) when this was written. I had equally appreciated the equity and suitableness of the system of estimate by agricultural produce, which had come down to Akbar's time from the earliest dawn of the civilization of the nation at large; but I had to condemn Akbar for introducing a new element in the shape of a settlement to be paid in silver, on the average of the prices of previous years—an assessment he hoped, in defiance of the proverbial uncertainty of Indian seasons, to make immutable; furnishing, in effect, the leading idea we so unwisely followed in that deplorable measure, Lord Cornwallis's "Permauent Settlement of Bengal."

¹ Prinsep's Essays, U.T., p. 7.

² Chronicles of Pathán Kings, pp. 3, 167, 223, 224 (note). Dr. A. Weber, in the Zeitschrift for 1861, p. 139, cites the parallel designation of *Ṣata Krishnala*, from the *text* of the Black Yajur Veda (circa 800 B.C.). The commentator uses the local name above quoted.

estimates rests upon so erratic a test as the growth of the seed of the Gunjá creeper (*Abrus precatorius*), under the varied incidents of soil and climate. Nevertheless this small compact grain, checked in early times by other products of nature, is seen to have had the remarkable faculty of securing a uniform average throughout the entire continent of India, which only came to be disturbed when monarchs, like Shír Sháh and Akbar, in their vanity, raised the weight of the coinage without any reference to the number of *ratis* inherited from Hindú sources as the *given* standard, officially recognized in the old, but altogether disregarded and left undefined in the reformed Muhammadan mintages.

I may as well take this opportunity of disposing of the other technical questions bearing upon the general subject; and, without recapitulating the investigations elsewhere given at large,¹ I may state generally, that I understand the *rati* to have been 1.75 grains, the 100-*rati* piece—reproduced in the ordinary Dehli *tankah*—175 grains. The Rájput *jital*, composed of mixed silver and copper, preserved in the early Dehli currencies of the Muslims, is $\frac{1}{64}$ in value of the 175-grain silver coin; but the number of *jitals* in any given composite piece was dependent upon the proportional amount of the silver added to the ruling copper basis. The *káni*, like the *jital*, is $\frac{1}{64}$ of the *tankah*; but the *káni* is found to be the practical as well as the theoretical divisor, applicable alike to land and other measures, preserving its more special identity in the southern peninsula. Both terms have now been found in conjunction on a single piece of Metropolitan fabric, where the *jital* is authoritatively declared to be of the value of *one káni*.² In more advanced days under the Patháns, immense quantities of pieces were coined to meet the current exchange answering to $\frac{3}{64}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the *tankah*; and under Muhammad Tughlak, amid other useful breaks in the too-uniform descending scale of the small change, a new division was introduced, in the form

¹ Numismatic Chronicle (x.s.), iv., p. 40, *et seqq.* J.R.A.S. (x.s.) II, pp. 150, 166, 168. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, pp. 161, 252.

² Pathán Chronicles, coin No. 207, p. 252. See also pp. 218, 219.

of a $\frac{6}{64}$, or *six-kāni* piece, which subsequently became better known as the *Black tankah*.¹

It would appear that the normal or conventional rate of exchange of the precious metals mechanically accepted in India from the earliest times was as silver to gold 8:1; copper to silver 64:1. Of course these rates were constantly liable to fluctuation.² Indeed, we can trace the effect of the influx of the gold of the Dakhin, after its conquest, in the fall of that metal, evidenced by the obvious readjustment of the weights of the gold and silver coinage at the Imperial seat of Government.³ But the copper rate must have had a very extended lease of immutability, as this ratio of 64:1 was maintained from the most primitive ages up to the time of Sikandar Lodí (A.D. 1488–1517).

As regards the application of these data to the examples specially under review, it would seem that the Bengal silver coinage was, from the first, deficient in weight in reference to the corresponding issues of the Dehli mint; but the Dehli silver coins were avowedly designed to fall in with the concurrent gold pieces of identical weight, and of full standard in metal: whereas we must suppose that the Lakhnautí silver pieces, in introducing a new element, were graduated to exchange *in even sums* against the extant gold currency of Bengal and Orissa. Now the gold *mark* weighed, as we have seen, 43·75 grains, which, with gold as 1 to 8 of silver, would require 350 grains of the latter metal as its equiva-

¹ I was mistaken in my first impression that the Bengal *tankahs* themselves might have a claim to this obnoxious designation. J.R.A.S., II., p. 160.

² In Akbar's time, even, the progressive alteration in the value of gold, since so much accelerated, had only reached the proportion of 9·4:1. Chronicles, p. 424. J.R.A.S., II., p. 63.

³ Pathán Chronicles, p. 235. In my previous article in this *Journal*, I was led by Ibn Batutah's indiscriminate use of the terms "Dirhams and Dinars," in their local application in Bengal, to suppose that his definition of coin exchanges referred to the relative values of gold and silver, and that it in so far supported my estimate of 1:8 (J.R.A.S., II., p. 61, note 1). I now find that towards the close of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign, the exchange had come for the moment to be 1:10 (Chronicles, p. 227), in lieu of the ordinary 1:8. The entire difficulty of the obscure passage in the *Journal* of the African Voyager has, however, been set at rest by the more comprehensive tables of values furnished by the Egyptian traveller Shaikh Mubarak *Anbatí* (Notices et Extraits, xiii., p. 51), which shows that the *dinár* of silver (*i.e.* the *tankah*) was equal to 8 *dirhams* (*hasht-kāni*). See also Elliot's *Historians*, iii., pp. 577, 582.

lent, or *two* 175-grain *tankahs*, reconciling alike the *fours* of the Hindú ideal with the *fives* and *tens* of Muslim predilection; but as there is reason to believe that the local gold was not refined up to a high state of purity, this defective standard may readily account for the corresponding reduction of a few grains on the full total of the silver pieces, equally as it may have justified the acceptance of a lower *touch* in the silver itself.

Later in point of time, under Bahádur Sháh (710–730 A.H.), the progressive fall in the value of gold is more definitively marked by the diminution of the weight of the silver piece to the uniform standard of 166 grains,¹ in contrast to the 169 grains which are preserved in some of the primary issues here described (Nos. 6, 7).

The central figure in the historical tableau, illustrated by these introductory coinages, stands prominently to the front in the person of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz—an outline of whose career I now append.

Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz bin Al Husain.

Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz *Khilji*, a native of Ghór in Afghánistán, on joining Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí in Bengal, was entrusted by that commander with the charge of the district of *Gangautri*.² He was afterwards promoted to the important military division of *Deokót*,³ by Kutb-ud-dín

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 157. The new and unworn pieces in the Kooch Bihár *trouaille* averaged 166 grains; and the earlier issues, of 188, 189 grains, found with them, had generally been reduced in weight to correspond with the later official standard.

² Variants كنگوري—کنگوري Text, p. 158, and MSS. I have preserved Stewart's version of the name in my text, but the site of *Gangautri* has not been identified. There is a town called Gurguri (24° 23', 86° 55') on the line of country between Bihár and Nagore, but it is not known to have been a place of any mark. There is also a celebrated fort of high antiquity on the same line of communication, named Ghidúr (24° 53', 86° 55'), which may have served as an outpost of the Bihár head-quarters.

³ Deokót (lat. 25° 18', long. 88° 31'), the chief place in Gangarámpúr (district of Dinájpúr), is now known by the name of Damdamah. Hamilton states that "it received its present appellation from its having been a military station during the early Muhammadan Government" (p. 50). Muhammad Bakhtyár,

Aibeg's representative commissioner in the South-east, and with his aid eventually defeated Muhammad Shírán and the other confederated Khiljí chiefs.¹ On the definite appointment of 'Ali Mardán Khiljí to the kingdom of Bengal by Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg, he paid his devoirs to the new Viceroy by meeting him on the Kúsi, and accom-

after his first success against the King of Bengal at Nuddea (lat. 23° 25', long. 88° 22'), contented himself with destroying that town, and withdrew his troops nearer to his base of communications, to a position about 90 miles to the northward, somewhere about the site of the future Lakhnautí, Deokót again being some 50 miles N.N.E.

Minháj-us-Siráj, in describing Lakhnautí, at a later date (641 A.H.), mentions that habitations were located on both sides of the Ganges, but that the city of Lakhnautí proper was situated on the westerly bank. The author adds, that an embankment or causeway (پل) extended for a distance of ten days' journey

through the capital from Deokót to Nagore in Bírbbúm, (lat. 23° 56', long. 87° 22').—Stewart's Bengal, p. 57. Persian text of Tabakát-i-Násiri, pp. 161, 162, 243. Aín-i-Akbari, ii. p. 14. Elliot's Historians, ii., p. 318; iii. p. 112. Rennell's Map, p. 55. Wilford, As. Res. ix., p. 72.

The subjoined curious notice of the distribution of the boundaries of the kingdom of Bengal shortly before the Muhammadan conquest has been preserved in Hamilton's Hindústán. The compiler does not give his specific authority.

"During the Adisur dynasty the following are said to have been the ancient geographical divisions of Bengal. Gour was the capital, forming the centre division, and surrounded by five great provinces.

"1. Barendra, bounded by the Mahananda on the west; by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges, on the south; by the Kortoya on the east; and by adjacent governments on the north.

"2. Bangga, or the territory east from the Kortoya towards the Brahmaputra. The capital of Bengal, both before and afterwards, having long been near Dacca in the province of Bangga, the name is said to have been communicated to the whole.

"3. Bagri, or the Delta, called also Dwípa, or the island, bounded on the one side by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges; on another by the sea; and on the third by the Hooghly river, or Bhagirathi.

"4. Rarhi, bounded by the Hooghly and the Padma on the north and east, and by adjacent kingdoms on the west and south.

"5. Maithila, bounded by the Mahananda and Gour on the east; the Hooghly or Bhagirathi on the south; and by adjacent countries on the north and west."

"Bollal sen, the successor of Adisur, is said to have resided partly at Gour, but chiefly at Bikrampúr, eight miles south-east of Dacca." Bollal sen was succeeded by Lakshmana sen, who was defeated by Muhammad Bakhtiyár. The author continues, "It is possible that the Rája only retired to his remote capital, Bikrampúr, near Dacca, where there still resides a family possessing considerable estates, who pretend to be his descendants. We also find that Soonergong, in the vicinity of Bikrampúr, continued to be a place of refuge to the Gour malcontents, and was not finally subjugated until long after the overthrow of Rája Lakshmana."—Hamilton's Hindústán (1820), i., p. 114.

۱ وچون او [محمد شیران] پھر امرای خلیج بود همکنان اورا

خدمت می کردند و هر امیر بر سر اقطاع خود می بود.—Text, p. 158.

Stewart's Bengal, p. 51. Elliot's Historians, ii., p. 315.

panied him to Deokót, where he was formally installed in power. When Kutb-ud-dín died at Láhor, in 607 A.H., 'Alí Mardán assumed independence under the title of 'Alá-ud-dín; but after a reign of about two years, he was slain by the Khiljí nobles, and Hisám-ud-dín was thereupon elected in his stead (608 A.H.). History is silent as to when he first arrogated kingly state, and merely records Shams-ud-dín Altamsh's expedition against him in 622 A.H., with the object of enforcing his allegiance to the Imperial crown, when, after some doubtful successes, peace was established on the surrender of 38 elephants, the payment of 80 *laks* [of *tankahs*?], and the distinct recognition of Altamsh's suzerainty in the public prayers, with the superscription of his titles on the local coinage. The Emperor, on his return towards Dehli, made over the government of Bihár to 'Alá-ud-dín Jáni, who, however, was not long left undisturbed, for the Southern potentate speedily re-annexed that section of his former dominions,—an aggression which was met, in A.H. 624, by the advance of Náşir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in force, who, in the absence of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz on distant enterprises, succeeded in obtaining possession of the new seat of Government. In the subsequent engagement the Bengal army was defeated, and Ghíás-ud-dín killed, after a reign estimated by the local annalist at 12 years.¹

This is all the information we are able to gather from the incidental biographical notices furnished by our sole authority, Minháj-us-Siráj, that most intelligent employé of the Rulers of Dehli, and welcomed visitor at the Court of Lakhnautí in A.H. 641, where he saw and appreciated the material undertakings of this self-made king, whose memory he lauds enthusiastically. A tribute Altamsh had virtually anticipated, when he was at last permitted to behold the glories of his adversaries' capital, in 627 A.H., and then conceded the tardy justice of decreeing, that in virtue of his good works, Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz should, in his grave, be endowed with

¹ Allowing 'Alí Mardán from 607-8 to 609-10, this leaves an interval up to 612, during which Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz was content to remain head of the Khiljí oligarchy and local governor.

that coveted title of *Sultán*, which had been denied to him while living.¹

We have now to examine how far the recently discovered coins will fill in this defective historical outline.

COINS STRUCK IN THE NAME OF ALTAMSH, *in Bengal*.

No. 1. Silver. Size, 7½. Weight, 168 grs. *Unique*, in this date.

Pl. i. fig. 1. A.H. 614.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
<p>السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر السمش القطبي ناصر امير المؤمنين</p>	<p><i>Device.</i> Horseman at the charge. <i>Margin—</i> لا اله الا الله * * * [محمد] رسول الله بتاريخ سنه اربع عشر وستماية</p>

The date of A.H. 614, this earliest numismatic record contributed by the Bengal Mints, is further remarkable as the epoch of Altamsh's final assertion of supremacy on the defeat of his last powerful competitor in Hindústán, Násir-ud-dín *Kubáchah*, after he had already disposed of his other prominent rival, Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, in 612 A.H. The issue of these provincial coins, at this conjuncture, would seem to attest the first voluntary recognition of Altamsh by Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz, who was at this time in undisturbed possession of Bengal and its dependencies. The adoption of the Cavalier device on the obverse may have been suggested by the conventional acceptance of that design on the money of the

¹ *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, Text, p. 163. Dr. Blochmann has an interesting paper in the September number of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 259), on Muhammadan Titles. Among other questions discussed is the derivation and early application of the title of *Sultán*. The author remarks that "the first clear case of *Sultán* having been used as a title belongs to the time of Rukn-ud-daulah, deputy over Fárs, under the Khalifah Al Muti'billah," A.H. 338, or A.D. 949. MM. Oppert et Ménant were under the impression that they had discovered the title so early as the time of Sargon, who, in his grand inscription at Khorsabad, is said to speak of Subaco as "*Siltan*, or *Sultan d'Egypte*."—*Journal Asiatique*, 1863, p. 9, and *text*, p. 3. *Commentary*, 1864, p. 10. Some doubt has, however, since been thrown upon this identification, as the designation reads optionally, if not preferably תרתן.—Schräder, *Cuneiform and Old Testament Studies* (1872), p. 157.

native princes of the North-west, whose hereditary types were copied by Muhammad bin Sâm, and retained for a long period by Altamsh himself. In the new mintage, however, the Rájput horseman with his spear is superseded by the Túrki Cavalier with the historical mace,¹ and the general outline of the coarse Northern steed may perchance have been heightened to record a triumph, or to carry a menace to the subjected Bengális,² who had left their king to escape ignominiously, and virtually surrendered their capital to the eighteen troopers of Muhammad Bakhtyár's advance guard.

Among other peculiarities of these coins is the tenor of their legends, which differ from the ordinarily adopted Imperial intitulations of the Sultán, who is here designated as القطبي, the slave or freedman of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg,—a term which may have concealed a latent taunt to one who was now supreme in the chance virtue of his arms, or may otherwise indicate the independent Khiljí method of discriminating the followers of Kutb-ud-dín as opposed to the Mu'izzi faction of the nobles of Hindústán, who had already tried conclusions with each other, to the disadvantage of the latter.

¹ Mahmúd of Ghazni's favourite weapon. Tradition affirms that it was preserved in all honour by the guardians of his tomb at Ghazni.—Atkinson, Expedition into Afghánistán, p. 222. So much credence was attached to this ancient legend, that we find Lord Ellenborough in 1842 instructing his generals, in sober earnestness, to "bring away from the tomb of Mahmúd of Ghazni his club which hangs over it." Muhammad Bakhtyár himself had also won glory by the use of his mace in his gladiatorial encounter, single-handed, with an elephant, who was compelled to retreat before the first blow of his powerful arm.

² The name of *Aswapatis*, "Lords of Horses," was subsequently applied specifically in Orissa to the Muhammadan conquerors. Mr. Hunter remarks, "The Telugu Palm Leaf MSS. state that between (Saka 895) A.D. 972 and A.D. 1563 three great powers successively arose. During this period the *Gajapatis*, 'Lords of Elephants,' ruled in Orissa and the north of Madras; the *Narapatis*, 'Lords of Men,' held the country to the southward. The Lords of Horses were the Musalmáns, who, with their all-devouring Pathán cavalry, overthrew the two former."—Orissa, ii., p. 8. Stirling, Asiatic Researches, xv., p. 254. Ain-i-Akbari, Gladwin's translation, i., p. 319. Abúl Fazl, in describing the game of cards affected by his royal master, speaks of "*Ashweput*, the king of the horses. He is painted on horseback, like the king of Dehli, with the Chutter, the Alum, and other ensigns of royalty; and *Gujput*, the king of the elephants, is mounted on an elephant like the king of Orissa."

No. 2. Gold. Weight, 70·6 grs. *Unique. Gaur, A.H. 616.*¹



OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر السمش
القطب برهان
امير المومنين²

REVERSE.

Horseman at the charge.

In the field—ضرب كور

Margin—

لا * * * رسول الله بتاريخ سنه

ست عشر وستماية

This unique gold coin of the period, put forth under Muslim auspices, is of more than usual value in confirming the locality of the Mint of its counterparts in silver, which are deficient in any geographical record; indeed, none of the Bengal coins, which form the bulk of the *trouvaille* to which the present notice is devoted, bear any indication of the site on which they were struck. Found, however, in company with so many clearly local pieces, there would have been little hesitation in assigning them to the southern division of the new Muhammadan empire; but the distinct announcement of the place of issue of the gold piece is of importance not only in fixing definitively the then head-quarters, but in presenting us with the name of *Gaur*,³ regarding the use of

¹ Reproduced from the original coin, in the collection of Col. Guthrie, already published in the *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 78.

² Kılıj Arslán, the Seljúk of Anatolia (A.H. 656), uses this title of برهان امير (Fræhn, p. 156). The three sons of Kai Khusrú (A.H. 647) employ the term in the plural براهين .

³ I need have no hesitation in admitting that on the first examination of this piece, as an isolated specimen of a hitherto unknown mintage, I was disposed,

which, at this epoch, there was some controversy.¹ Advantage has been taken in this, to the native comprehension, more elaborately-finished piece, to insert in the vacant spaces on the field, above and below the main device, the words, ضرب بگور, "Struck at Gaur," and although the requisite dot below the بگور has escaped definition, there need be little doubt as to the purport of the entry, which it was not thought necessary to reproduce on the less-esteemed silver money, whose status with the Mint officials, as equally with the public at large, ranged at a lower level.

The date of 616 A.H. on this coin, supported and in a measure explained as it is by the marginal legend on No. 3, proves that the professed allegiance of the local ruler of Bengal to the head of the followers of Islám at Dehli, was no momentary demonstration, but a sustained confession of vassalage extending over one complete year, and portions of the previous and succeeding twelve months.

The topographical record on No. 2 would further seem to show that Hisám-ud-dín had not as yet transferred his capital to the new site of *Lakhnauti*, to the west of the river, whose designation first appears in a definite form on the coins of the Empress Rizíah, in A.H. 635.²

in the absence of any dot either above or below the line of writing, to adopt the alternative reading of بگور instead of بگور, while confessing a preference for the latter transcription, on account of the need of the preposition ب (Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 79); but, at the time, I was unprepared to expect that Altamsh's sway had extended to the lower provinces, which were avowedly in independent charge of the Khiljí successors of Muhammad Bakhtyár. This difficulty is now curiously explained by the concurrent silver pieces, and the supposition that the local chieftain found it expedient to profess allegiance, nominal or real, to the preponderating influence of the master of Hindústán. In like manner, the recently discovered silver coins have supplied a clue to the more satisfactory decipherment of the marginal legend, and the explanation of other minor imperfections in the definition of the exotic characters of the gold coin, which it is useless to follow in detail.

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 187. Cf. also Albírúní; Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 298, quoted in J.R.A.S. (N.S.) I., p. 471. As. Res. ix., pp. 72, 74; xvii. 617. Wilson's Glossary, *sub voce*, etc. Rennell, *Map of Hindústán*, p. 55. Stewart's Bengal, pp. 44, 57.

² Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 107. J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 187, coin No. 14 *infra*.

No. 3. Silver. Size, 7. Weight, 168 grs. *Very rare.*

Pl. i. fig. 2. A.H. 616.

OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم

شمس الدنيا والدين

ابو المظفر السمش

القطبي برهان

* *

REVERSE.

Horseman at charge.

Margin—

لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله

بتاريخ سنه سته عشر وستمايه

No. 3a. Variety. Weight, 162 grs. Pl. i. fig. 3. Date illegible. The Persian legend on the obverse is given in very imperfectly defined characters, and offers the peculiarity of the insertion of the Hindi letters **श**, for *Sháh*, above the name of the king, thereby indicating that both die-engravers and the local public were naturally better versed in the old alphabet than in the newly-imported letters of the conquerors.

COINS OF GHÍÁS-UD-DÍN 'AWZ.

No. 4. Silver. Size, 7½. Weight, 161 grs. (full weight.)

Pl. i. fig. 4. A.H. 616. (7 specimens.)

OBVERSE.

السلطان

المعظم غياث الدنيا

والدين ابو الفتح

عوض بن الحسين ناصر

امير المومنين

REVERSE.

لااله الاالله

الله محمد

رسول الله

Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في

شهور سنه ست عشر وستمايه

Coin No. 4 teaches us that in the same year 616 A.H., in the early part of which Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz had confessed allegiance to Altamsh, he seemingly grew weary of such

pretences, and openly declared himself *Sultán* in his own right, assuming the regal title of *Ghiás-ud-din*, and the quasi-hierarchical function implied in the designation of *Násir Amír Al Muaminín*, "Defender of the Commander of the Faithful." Whether this overt assertion of independence was suggested by his own growing power, or was due to the imagined weakness of the suzerain, is not clear; but there can be no question as to his success in the extension and consolidation of his dominions, or to his vigorous administration of a country, fertile in the extreme, and endowed with such singular commercial advantages of sea and river intercourse.

At this particular juncture Altamsh does not seem to have been pressed by any important home disturbances, but there were dark clouds on the N.W. frontier. The all-powerful 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *Khárizmí*, whose outposts extended over so large a portion of Asia, had been coining money in the inconvenient proximity of *Ghazni* throughout the years 613, 614–616 A.H.;¹ and no one could foretell when he might follow the ordinary precedent, and advance into Hindústán. As fate determined, however, it was left to his son *Jalál-ud-dín* to swim the Indus, at the risk of his life, as a fugitive before the hosts of Changíz Khán, in 618 A.H.

The mention of *Changíz Khán* suggests to me the desirability of repeating a correction, I have already recorded elsewhere, of a singular delusion, shared alike by native copyists and English commentators, regarding one of the supposed incidents of the sufficiently diversified career of this scourge of the world, to the effect that his unkempt savages had penetrated down to the impossible limit of the lower Ganges. The whole series of mistakes, Asiatic or European, may now be traced back to a simple clerical error in the transcription from a chance leading copy of the ordinarily rare work of Minháj-us-Siráj—where the name of *Changíz Khán* جنگیز خان has been substituted for the more obvious designation of the ancient town of *Jáj Nagar* جا جنگر.

¹ J.R.A.S. IX., p. 381; XVII., p. 202; Chronicles of Pathán Kings, p. 86.

Modern authors, examining a single passage, might well have felt reserve in reconstructing at hazard a primary version; but the editors of the Calcutta official printed text have gone so far towards perpetuating the enigma they were unable to unravel, as to add to the difficulties of solution by making Changíz Khán fight (so far on his way to Lakhnautí) the memorable battle of Perwán [35° 9' N., 69° 16' E.] on the conveniently converging site of Budaon (p. 348), which was situated on one of the favourite main lines of transit to the south, east of the Ganges. This conglomeration is, however, the less excusable, as Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, had already pointed out Ferishtah's palpable mistake to the same effect; and the editors themselves unconsciously admit the preferable variant of جاجنكر inserted in the foot-note, p. 199. Dr. Hunter, I see, in his new work on Orissa (ii. 4), incautiously follows Stewart's first impressions, in the notion that the "vanity" of Muhammadan historians had intentionally "converted the attack of the humble Orissians into an invasion of Tartars" (Stewart, p. 62).¹ I myself prefer the

¹ Mr. Stirling, in his most exhaustive memoir on Orissa, published in the *Asiatic Researches* in 1822, observes:—"Major Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, places an invasion of Orissa by the Mussalmans of Bengal during this reign, that is A.D. 1243. The *Chronicles* of the country contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to, but strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jajipur, for Jajipur in Orissa. He expresses himself thus: 'In the year 614 (A.D. 1243), the Raja of Jagepur (Orissa) having given some cause of offence, Toghan Khan marched to Ketasun, on the frontier of Jagepur, where he found the army of the Raja had thrown up intrenchments to oppose him.' . . . Now, in the first place, Jajipur was never a separate principality, as here described; and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun. Ferishtah is altogether silent on this subject in his *history of Bengal*, but in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chítta, Thibet, etc. Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin pursue the rebel Toghral into Jajagar (A.D. 1279), which he calls *Orissa*, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon as lying on the road, that Jajagar is some place beyond the Ganges."—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 274.

It seems to have escaped Mr. Stirling's notice, that Stewart had already corrected his own error in speaking of "Jagepore" as "Orissa," pp. 61 and 65, by placing that town in its proper position in "Tipperah," in a later passage (p. 70); and he further improved upon his advanced knowledge by saying in a note, at p. 72, "Jagenagur is said to have been a town in Orissa, near Cuttaek; but this passage proves it to have been situated on the eastern side of the Burhampooter. The Jagenagur mentioned by Ferishtah should have been written Jagepore." [?] Stewart, *Hist. Bengal*, p. 72. Dow, i., p. 202 (4to. edit.). Briggs, i., p. 260. See also *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 121.

more obvious and direct explanation above given, which perhaps reflects more upon our defective criticism than upon Muslim vanity.¹

No. 5. Silver. Size, 8½. Weight, 165 grs. A.H. 617.
(2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا
المعظم غياث الدنيا	الله محمد رسول
والدين ابو الفتح عوض	الله
بن الحسين ناصر امير	Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في
المومنين	التاريخ السابع عشر وستمايه

No. 6. Silver. Size, 8. Weight, 169. (Coarse badly formed legends). A.H. 617. (2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
غياث الدنيا والدين	محمد رسول الله
ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين	الناصر لدين الله
ناصر امير المومنين و	امير المومنين
ولي عهده علا الحق	Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في
والدين	شهور سنه ا سبع عشرة وستمايه

¹ Cf. Elphinstone (new edit. by Professor Cowell), p. 377. Elliot, Muhammadan Historians, ii., pp. 264, 344. Dr. Lee's Ibn Batutah, Oriental Tr. Fund, p. 97. Ferishtah, *Bombay Persian Text*, i., p. 122. Badaoni, *Calcutta Persian Text*, p. 88. Tabakát-i-Násirí, *Calcutta Persian Text*, pp. 157, 163, 199, 243, 245.

No. 6a. Variety. One example gives the altered marginal reading of

ضرب هذه السكه في ربيع الاخر سنه سبع * * ستمايه

Al Násir-le-dín Illah was invested in the Khiláfat in A.H. 575, and died on the 1st Shawwál, A.H. 622 (5th October, 1225 A.D.). Bar Hebræus, *Abulfaraj*, pp. 269–301. Ibn Asír, p. 285, fixes his death at the end of Ramazán. Price, *Muhammadan History*, ii., p. 210.

The tenor of the legends of the consecutive issues of A.H. 617 disclose an increasing confidence in his own power on the part of *Ghiás-ud-dín 'Auz*, in the addition made to his previous titles, and in the assumption of the superlative *Al 'Azam*, “the highest,” as the prefix to the *Al Sultán* in place of the heretofore modest adjective of *Al Mu'azzam*, “the great.”¹ Here, for the first time in this series, we meet with the official or regnant designation of the Khalif of Baghdád, who has hitherto been referred to by the mere generic title of “Commander of the Faithful.”

It would appear from this innovation, as if *Ghiás-ud-dín* had already, indirectly, put himself in communication with the Pontifical Court at Baghdád, with a view to obtaining recognition as a sovereign prince in the Muslim hierarchy,—a further indication of which may possibly be detected in the exceptional insertion of the *month* in addition to the ordinary *year* of issue on the margin of No. 6a; a specification which will be found more fully developed in the succeeding mintages, where it admits of an explanation which is not so obvious or conclusive in this instance.

¹ Altamsh himself seems to have been indifferent to this distinction, but its importance is shown in the early coinages of Muhammad bin Sám, who invariably reserves the superlative prefix for his reigning brother, while he limits his own claims to the virtually comparative *المعظم*. And further to mark these gradations, he prominently adopts the higher title after his brother's death. Chronicles of Pathán Kings, pp. 12, 13, 14. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx., figs. 29, 35.

No. 7. Silver. Size, 9. Weight, 169 grs. Pl. i. fig. 5.¹ Dated 20th of Rab'ul ákhir, A.H. 620. (7 specimens.)

OBVERSE.

غِيَاثُ الدُّنْيَا
وَالدِّينِ أَبُو الْفَتْحِ عَوْ
ضُ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ قَسِيمُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
سُلْطَانُ السُّلْطَانِينَ فِي الدُّنْيَا
وَالدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ عَلِيُّ يَدُهُ
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ

REVERSE.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
الْوَاصِلُ لِدِينِ اللَّهِ
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
في التاريخ العشرين—Margin
من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
عشرين وستماية

No. 7a. Variety. Weight, 165 grs. Coin of the same date and similar character, which transfers the complete name of عوض into the third line; the dubious prefix to the second الدين والدنيا reads more as معزز, while the suggested يده, above given, appears as بدو.

If the preceding coins had left any doubt as to Ghíás-ud-dín's designs in regard to the assumption of sovereign power, the tenor of the legends on Nos. 7 and 7a, would conclusively set that question at rest. Here, not content with the recently-arrogated title of السلطان الاعظم, we find him calling himself "*Sultán of Sultáns*," by direct appointment of the Khalif,² associated with which is the entry

¹ See also Marsden, No. DCCLVII. p. 564. There are two coins of this type in his collection in the British Museum. Marsden remarks, "The date of this coin, the earliest of those belonging to the princes who governed Bengal in the name of the Kings of Dehli, but who took all opportunities of rendering themselves independent, is expressed distinctly in words. . . . The titles and patronymics of the Sultán by whom it was struck are for the most part illegible; not so much from obliteration, as from the original imperfect formation of the characters."

² The term علي يدي is of frequent occurrence on the early Muslim coinages, and is usually associated with the name of the officer—whatever his condition—responsible for the mint issues, as علي يدي أحمد which is translated by Fræhn as "*manibus*" (*i.e.* curâ et operâ), *Ahmadis* or "*curante*,"—a definition accepted in later days on the Continent as "*par les mains de, par les soins de,*" etc.

of a specific date, with the still more unusual definition of the day of the month, which is preserved constant and unvaried throughout the entire issue. More remarkable still is the abnormal departure from the conventional form of coin legends, in the omission of the preliminary "*Al Sultán*," and the abrupt introduction of the regnal title of the once probational *Hisám-ud-dín*, under his more ambitious designation of *Ghiás-ud-dín*. In short, the entire drift of the altered superscription points to an intentional reproduction of some formal phraseology, such as would be eminently consistent with an official transcript of the *revered* precept emanating from Baghdád.

I should infer from these coincidences that a formal diploma had by this time been conceded by the Supreme Pontiff, admitting the newly-erected kingdom of Bengal within the boundaries of Islám, and confirming the reigning monarch in possession, with added titles and dignities. The date so prominently repeated may either be that upon which the patent was originally *sealed*, or more probably it points to the auspicious moment of the reception of the ambassadors, who conveyed the formal document and paraphernalia of investment, at the Court of Lakhnautí. This assignment in no way disturbs my previous attribution of the inaugural piece of Altamsh,¹ marking his attainment of the like honours in A.H. 626. The very concession to the Bengal potentate possibly led his once suzerain to seek a parallel sanctification of his own rights, which he had previously been content to hold by the sword: and the difficulty of communication with Baghdád over alien kingdoms and disturbed frontiers would account for a delay of the emissaries on the one part and the other, which would not affect the open ocean passage between the mouths of the Ganges and the sea port of Bussorah.

In the present instance it would seem to imply a more or less direct intervention by the Commander of the Faithful himself in favour of his nominee.

¹ Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 154, No. 1, *note*; Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 46. Of course this exceptional issue will now have to cede priority of date both to the Bengal coins of A.H. 614, etc., and likewise to the northern piece of Altamsh, No. 8, which must be taken as anterior to No. 10.

COIN OF ALTAMSH.

No. 8. Silver. Size $8\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 168 grs. Square Kufic characters, which seem to belong to Lâhor or some northern Mint.¹ Pl. i. fig. 6. A.H. 62*?

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا الله
المعظم شمس	محمد رسول
الدنيا و الدين	الله الناصر لدين
ابو المظفر ايلشمش	الله امير المو
السلطان يمين خليفه	منين
الله ناصر امير	Margin— هذا الضرب ؟
المومنين	عش[ار]ين و ستة مايه

BENGAL COINS OF ALTAMSH SUBSEQUENT TO THE RE-ASSERTION OF HIS IMPERIAL SWAY.

No. 9. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 168 grs. Bengal type of Coin. A.H. 622.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	As in Nos. 6 and 7,—Coins of Ghíás-ud-dín, with the name of the Khalif <i>Al Nâsir-le-dín Illah.</i>
المعظم شمس الدنيا و	
الدين ابالمظفر ايلشمش	
السلطان يمين خليفه	Margin—
الله ناصر امير المو	هذا الضرب ² في شهر سنة اثني
منين	عشرين و ستمايه

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 15. Pl. i. figs. 4-8.

² This word as designating the coin is unusual; but we have the term

Altamsh does not seem to have found it convenient to proceed against his contumacious vassal, who was now ready to meet him on almost equal terms, till A.H. 622, when the coinage immediately attests one part of the compact under which peace was secured, in the exclusive use of the name of the Emperor of Hindústán on the money of Bengal.¹ That the issue, represented by No. 9, proceeded from the local Mints, is evident alike from the style and fabric of the pieces, their defective metal, and the uncouth forms of the letters of the legends.

No. 10. Silver. Size 8. Weight 168 grs. (2 specimens.)
Plate i. fig. 7. A.H. 624.

OBVERSE.

السُّلْطَانُ الْعَظْم
شَمْسُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ
أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ أَيْلَسْمَشْ
السُّلْطَانُ نَاصِرُ أَمِيرِ
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

REVERSE.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
الظَّاهِرُ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ
أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
Margin—شهور—* * *
سنه اربع وعشرين وستة مائه

دارالضرب for the Mint, and the ضرب هذه etc., as the ordinary prefix to the الفضة or السكه of the Pathán monarchs. The letters on the Bengal coins look more like القرب, which, however, does not seem to make sense. Fræhn long ago suggested that the word ضرب ought to be received as a substantive, especially in those cases where the preposition ب did not follow it, in the given sentence, as a prefix to the name of the Mint city.

¹ غياث الدين عوض خلجی رقبه خدمت در رقبه انقياد آورد و سي [سي و هشت 162 p.] زنجير پيل و هشتاد لك مال بداد و خطبه و سكه بنام مبارك شمسي كرد—Calcutta text, pp. 163, 171.

Al Zāhir beamrillah, the Khalif whose name is inscribed on this coin, succeeded his father on the 2nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 622, and died on the 14th Rajab, A.H. 623 (July 11, 1226 A.D.). Bar Hebræus, *Abulfaraj*, p. 302.

No. 11. Silver. Size 7. Weight 167 grs. *Unique*. Pl. i., fig. 8. A.H. 624.

Square area, within double lines, following the pattern of some of the examples of Muhammad Ghori's coins.

السلطان الاعظم

شمس الدنيا والدين

ابو المظفر ايلشاه

السلطان ناصر

The words *امير المومنين* are inserted in the interstices between the square area and the circular marginal line, as in the Delhi coins of Bahram Sháh.¹

REVERSE.

Legend in the area as in the last coin, with the name of the Khalif *Al Zāhir*.

ضرب * * سنة اربع—Margin

وعشرين وسة مائه

It might be supposed to be an open question as to whether Ghíás-ud-dín 'Auz or Násir-ud-dín *Mahmúd*—the eldest son of Altamsh and his viceroy in Bengal—presided over the Mints which put forth the coins classed under Nos. 10 and 11. As regards the latter, at present *unique* piece, there can be little doubt, from its assimilation to the ordinary Delhi models, that it formed a portion of the revised and improved coinage of the south after Mahmúd's defeat of Ghíás-ud-dín in 624 A.H. In like manner, the introduction of the term *الاعظم* on No. 10, as a prefix to the title of

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 118.

Sultán Altamsh, points to a feeling of filial reverence, which is altogether wanting even in Ghíás-ud-dín's repentant manifesto in the legend of No. 9. Mahmúd's appointment to the Government of Oudh dates from A.H. 623,¹ and the tenor of one of the narratives of Minháj-us-Siráj would imply that he proceeded southwards with but little delay; so that all coins bearing the date of 624, with the name of Altamsh, might preferentially be assigned to his interposition, more especially as Ghíás-ud-dín at and prior to this period had placed himself in a renewed attitude of insurrection.

Coin of Náşir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh, as Viceroy in Bengal.

The administration of the Bengal Mints under the official auspices of Náşir-ud-dín *Mahmúd*, as developed in the issues Nos. 10, 11, leads up to and confirms with more full effect an identification I have hitherto been obliged to advocate in a less confident tone—that is, the attribution of the piece, reproduced in the woodcut below, under No. 12, to the eldest son of Altamsh, at some period towards the close of his brief career.² With these newly-discovered evidences of his overt intervention in the local currencies, the transition to a subdued and possibly paternally-sanctioned numismatic proclamation, in his own name, would be easy, more especially if that advance was made simultaneously with the effusive reception at Dehli of the reigning Khalif's earliest recognition of Altamsh's supremacy, coupled with the desirability of making this Imperial triumph manifest in those southern latitudes, where other dynastic names had already claimed a prior sanctification.³

¹ Persian text, 180.

² Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 182. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 81.

³ Minháj-us-Siráj, after completing his account of Náşir-ud-dín's conquest of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz, and the transmission of the spoils to the Sultán at Dehli, continues—

وچون تشریفات دارالخلافه بحضورت سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه

Such an authorized augmentation of the Prince's state is rendered the more probable, as Altamsh in a measure shared with his favourite son the honours and dignities conferred by the Khalif, and simultaneously extended to him the right to use an umbrella with the tint of Imperial red.¹ Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the contemporary biographer remarks, was from that time looked upon as the recognized successor to the throne of Hindústán. Equally, after Mahmūd's premature death, his father still so held him in honour that his body was brought to Dehli, and enshrined under one of the choicest domes that Eastern Saracenic art could achieve, which to this day, amid its now broken marbles, stands as a monument of the virtues of this prince, and preserves in its decaying walls the remains of² the *first* royal tomb of the

رسید از انجمله یکت تشریف گرانمایه با چتر لعل بظرف لکهنوتی
فرستاد ملک ناصرالدین علیه الرحمة بدان چتر و تشریف و اکرام
مشرف گشت و همکنان را از ملوک و اکابر مملکت هند نظر بدو بود
که وارث مملکت شمسی او باشد فاما * * بعد از یکسال و نیم * *
برحمت حق تعالی پیوست.—۱۸۱. p.

(See also Elliot's *Historians*, ii., pp. 326, 329.)

The Khalif's emissary arrived at Dehli on the 22nd of Rabí'ul awwal, (3rd month of) A.H. 626, p. ۱۷۹, and news of the death of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd reached the capital in the 5th month of the same year, p. 174.

¹ The founder of the Ghaznavi dynasty, the Great Sabuktigin, assumed regal state under the shadow of a *red* umbrella. Altamsh's ensigns are described as *black* for the right wing *رایات میمنه سیاه* and *red* for the left wing *رایات* *میسره لعل* p. ۱۷۴. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sám's standards bore the same colours, but the discrimination is made that the *black* pertained to the Ghóris, and the *red* to the Túrks, p. ۱۲۷. Ghíás-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sám used *black* and *red* for the two wings respectively, p. 83.

² INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SULTÁN GHÁZI [NĀṢIR-UD-DÍN MAHMŪD] AT DEHLI, DATED A.H. 629.

امر ببناء هذه القبة المباركة السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم

slave kings erected near the capital,¹ on the shattered entrance arch of which we can still trace the devotional prayer of the father for the soul of his son, whose mundane glories he briefly epitomizes as “King of Kings of the East,” implying, in the conventional terms of the day, all India beyond the Gogra.

And still further to secure a contemporary memento of his lost heir, Altamsh conferred the same name and title upon a younger son, who, in his turn, was destined to occupy the throne of Dehli for twenty years, and the name of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd was perpetuated anew in the next generation, under another dynasty, as the designation of Balban’s heir, who carried it back to Bengal, where he was permitted to found a new family of southern kings,² who for half a century succeeded in maintaining a fitful sovereignty, seldom disturbed by the more powerful Sultáns of Hindústán.

مالك رقاب الامم ظل الله في العالم ذو الامان لاهل الذمه سلطان
السلطين شمس الدنيا والدين المخصوص بعنايت رب العالمين ابى
المظفر ابلمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه لروضه
ملك الملوك الشرق ابى الفتح محمود تعمده الله بغفرانه واسكنه
كنف نعيم جنانه في شهر سنه تسع وعشرين وستمائة

This Tomb, which is known as the Maqbarat of Sultán Gházi, stands amid the ruins of the village of Mullikpúr Koyi, about three miles due west of the celebrated Kutb Minár. *Asár-us-Sunnadíd*, Dehli, 1854, pp. 23, 30 (No. 12, 18, Faesimile), and 60 (modern transcript revised). See also *Journal Asiatique*, M. G. de Tassy’s translation of the *Urdú* text; also *Journal Archæological Society of Dehli*, p. 57, and *Hand-book for Dehli*, 1863, p. 85.

¹ Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, another son of Altamsh, who for a brief period held the throne of Dehli, found a final resting-place on the chosen site of Mullikpúr; and his brother in deferred succession, entitled Mu’izz-ud-dín *Bahrám Sháh*, followed him into the Tombs of the Kings in the same locality.—*Asár-us-Sunnadíd*, pp. 25, 26. *Elliot’s Historians*, iii., p. 382. *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 290.

² See p. 35 *infra*.

No. 12. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 163·1 grs. *Unique.* British Museum.



OBVERSE.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ
 نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ
 أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ
 شَاهُ بَنِ سُلْطَانَ



REVERSE.

فِي عَهْدِ الْأَمَامِ
 الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ
 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Al Mustansir billah was inaugurated on the 14th of Rajab, 623 A.H.=1226 A.D., the same day that his father Al Z̄áhir died. —Bar Hebræus, p. 303.

I quote in illustration of my previous remarks, the legends on the special issue of Altamsh on the occasion of the receipt of his diploma of investiture in A.H. 626.

Weight of the B. M. Coin, 164 grains.

OBVERSE—لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ وَرَسُولُ اللَّهِ

REVERSE—As above, in No. 12, with similarly formed characters.¹

It may be noted that on a like occasion of the reception of the Egyptian Khalif's diploma at Dehli in 744 A.H., Muhammad bin Tughlak adopted a similar method of exhibiting his respect by introducing the pontiff's name on the coinage to the exclusion of his own.

The identification of the individual, who styles himself Daulat Sháh, with many high-sounding prefixes, on the subjoined coin, demanded a certain amount of patient patch-

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 46.

work, which I have relegated to the note below.¹ Suffice it to say that *Daulat Sháh bin Modúd* is the person who is spoken of elsewhere as Ikhtiyár-ud-dín BALKÁ² *Khiljí*, and who appears in history on the single occasion of his possessing himself of the Kingdom of Bengal on the death of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, and his subsequent suppression and capture on the advance of Altamsh's forces in the self-same year, 627 A.H., he was unwise enough to record on his unauthorized coinage.

در ماه جمادي الاولی سنه ست و عشرين و ستمائه خبر فوت
 ملك سعید ناصرالدین محمود برسد بلکا ملك خلجی در ممالک
 لکهنوتی عصیان آورد و سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه لشکرهای
 هندوستان بطرف لکهنوتی برد و در شهر سنه سبع و عشرين و ستمائه
 آن طاغی را بدست آورد و تخت لکهنوتی بملك علاء الدین جانی
 داد علیه الرحمة و در رجب همین سال بحضرت جلال دهلی بار
 آمد Calcutta Text, p. ۱۷۳.

سلطان سعید شمس الدین چون بدیار لکهنوتی رسید بعد از فوت
 ملك ناصرالدین محمود طاب ثراه و دفع فتنه ملك اختیار الدین
 بلکا Calcutta Text, p. ۱۶۲

In the printed text, under the *first* Court Circular list of the ملوک و اقرباء of Sultán Shams-ud-dín, we find the following entry, دولت شاه خلجی; and in the *second* document, purporting to be a variant of that official return, we read, ملك اختیار الدین ایران شاه بلکا خلجی (pp. ۱۷۷ and ۱۷۸), which latter version is greatly improved by the Oriental Lord Chamberlain's list preserved in a MS. in the B. M. (Addit. No. 26,189), which associates more directly the *title* with the *name*, and identifies the individual as ملك اختیار الدین دولمشاه بلکا

² The word *Balká* has exercised the commentators. It may be found, however, in the early Ghaznavi name of *Balká-Tigín*. بلکا means a "emal colt," and تکین is "handsome."

No. 13. Silver. Size 9¼. Weight, 168. *Unique.* Plate i. fig. 9.
A.H. 627 ?

OBVERSE.

المستنصر بالله

امير المؤمنين السلطان

الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين

أبو الفتح ايلتمش السلطان

برهان امير المؤمنين

REVERSE.

السلطان

العادل شهنشاہ باذل

علا الدنيا والدين ابو الغازي

دولتشاہ بن مودود

عزاد خليفه الله

ظهیر امير المؤمنين

Margin—* * شهور سنه سبع

وعشرين وستمايه

The reading of ابو الغازي is speculative: the letters العا are distinct, as are also the two dots of the ي, but that letter *itself* cannot be traced, and the visible remains of the character succeeding the العا are more like ا or لي than the suggested زي.

Inscription of Altamsh.

Among the numerous inscriptions of Altamsh already known, no one possesses greater interest than the subjoined, which has lately been published in the J.A.S. Bengal.

Budáón was one of Altamsh's earliest charges, and from thence he was called to supreme sovereignty at Dehli on the death of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg.

Inscription of Altamsh, on the gateway of the Jám'i Masjid at Budáón.¹

ادخلوها بسلام آمنين السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم شمس

¹ Deciphered by Mr. Wilson, C.S., Budáón.—J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 112.

الدنيا و الدين غياث الاسلام و المشلمين اعدل الملوك و السلاطين
 ابوالمظفر ايلتمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه في
 شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ستمايه و ثمانيه عشرين

Dated, *Ramazán* A.D. 628 [Nov. 1230 A.D.].

Coin of Rizīah.

I conclude this limited series, and complete this section of the numismatic history of the south, by the reproduction of the sole available *dated* coin of Rizīah, minted at Lakhnautī, in A.H. 635. After this epoch there follows an interval of more than half a century, during which we discover no coins of Bengal proper. But the year 691 A.H. may be said to inaugurate a new era, represented by the mintages of the more firmly-established local kings of the family of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the son of Balban, who, perhaps wisely, preferred the placid repose of a *quasi*-vicerealty at Lakhnautī, to the turmoils of the Imperial throne, to which he was the acknowledged heir. He does not seem to have arrogated to himself the right to coin; and it was left to his second son Kai Káús to resume that symbol of independent power.

No. 14. Silver. Weight, 164·5 grs. Size, 7. Lakhnautī, A.H. 635.
 The late General T. P. Smith.¹

OBVERSE.

السلطان الاعظم
 جلالة الدنيا والدين
 ملكه ابنت التمش السلطان
 مهرة امير المومنين

REVERSE.

في عهد الامام
 المستنصر امير
 المومنين

Margin—

ضرب هذا الفضة بلكنوتي سنة
 خمس و ثلثين وستمايه

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, No. 90, p. 107. A similar coin (wanting in the date) is figured and described in the J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 186.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to extend this paper beyond the exact limit covered by Mr. Broadley's collection, in order to gather up such later antiquarian gleanings as chance to illustrate the obscure section of the history of Bengal during the first half-century of the 107 years comprised in the Kooch Bihár representative accumulations, which formed the subject of my previous paper on "The Initial Coinage of Bengal," or, in effect, to follow up the local changes, of which we have occasional monumental records, down to the time when Ilías Sháh attained independence, and expanded his boundaries and his power into imperial proportions.

The energy and research of our fellow-labourers in the East has been largely rewarded in these days by the number of inscriptions brought to light in various parts of the country, which have been deciphered, and more or less completely published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the supervision of their critical and indefatigable secretary, Dr. Blochmann, to whom we are indebted for such comprehensive analyses of the learning and traditions of the Court of Akbar and subsequent Mughal monarchs.

INSCRIPTION A.

The first mural record in point of date of which at present only a brief outline is available, consists of the

INSCRIPTION OF TUGHRIL KHÁN AT BIHÁR,

which is described as pertaining to "an edifice built in A.H. 640, or A.D. 1242, by 'Izz-ud-dín Abulfath Tughril Khán, who styles himself Sultán, and assumes other regal epithets, as *Kháqán-ul-Mu'azzam*, *Khallada-lláhu mulakhu*," etc.¹

This is a most suggestive contribution to the other revelations of the condition of the country at this time, from which, on the full decipherment of the original text, we may perchance gain new knowledge of the ever imminent revolutions

¹ J.A.S.B. Proceedings, November, 1871, p. 247.

of regnant vassals *in partibus infidelium* against absent Muhammadan Emperors.

There is nothing, however, to cause surprise in the assumption of royal titles by Tughril on this occasion, as, although he had been a firm adherent of the Empress Rizíah, had been endowed by her with the honours of the *red umbrella*, and had coined assiduously the only silver money bearing her name hitherto discovered, his devotion to the Imperial throne was confessedly shaken after her death, and in this self-same year, 640 A.H., taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning monarch at Dehli, he proceeded to annex the province of Karra Mánikpúr, which in itself constituted an overt act of rebellion against his Suzerain.¹

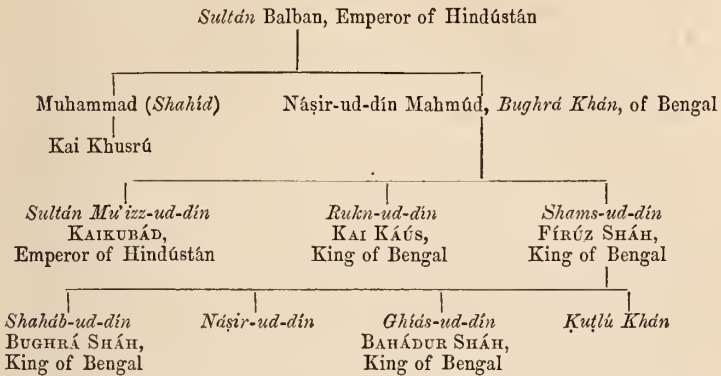
The next division of the Initial Coinage of Bengal brings us into much more definite contact with the realities of mediæval remains, and reminds me that on my first endeavour to identify the Kai Káuś of the Kooch Bihár coins, I was obliged to crave indulgence in the mere reading of the dates so incoherently defined on his mintages. I had, for the time, to abandon all faith in the units, to claim only dubious credence for the *decimals*; though the *hundreds* necessarily remained beyond cavil, even had the Bengal Mint-officials blundered in the definition of the alien Semitic legends with more than their accustomed licence.

I was, however, venturesome enough on that occasion to suggest—in dotted lines and duly reserved *square* brackets—that the then obscure *Kai Káuś* ought to have a place in the family tree of the house of Balban, a claim which had escaped the record of contemporary biographers, or the knowledge of later commentators on the local events in Bengal. I have since found abundant testimony towards establishing his true place both under the one and the other aspect.

On a recent occasion of reviewing my previous Essay on the Initial Coinage of Bengal, I embodied, with more confi-

¹ Minháj-us-Siráj, Persian text, p. 243. Stewart's Bengal, p. 61.

dence,¹ the restored genealogical tree, of which the following is a transcript :



In support of this direct line of descent, I can now quote evidence from two confirmatory sources, the incidental mention of Kai Káús as “the second son” of Náşir-ud-dín Mahmúd, on the eve of the interview of the rival monarchs, Kaikubád, the eldest son, *Sultán* of Hindústán, and their father, the occupying Lord of Bengal, which forms the subject of Mír Khusrú *Dehlavi’s* celebrated poem the “*Kiránus-S’adain* ;”² and, also, the inscription reproduced *in extenso* below, which conclusively identifies the same prince in the paternal relation, and simultaneously attests his eventual regal succession in Bengal.

INSCRIPTION B.

Inscription of KAI KÁÚS in Gangarámpúr, Dínájpúr, at Damdamah, the old Deokót,³ dated Muharram, 697 A.H. [Oct., 1297 A.D.]

بنی هذه العمارة المسجد في عهد السلطان السلاطين ركن الدنيا
والدين ظل الله في الارضين كيكوس شاه بن محمود بن السلطان يمين

¹ Chronicles, p. 148.

² Professor Cowell’s article in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1860, p. 234; and Elliot’s *Historians*, iii., p. 530.

³ See Buchanan’s *Dínájpúr*, p. 50; and *antè*, p. 9.

خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بفرمان خسرو
 زمان شهاب الحق و الدين سكندر ثانى الخ اعظم همايون ظفر خان
 بهرام ايتگين سلطانى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و مد الله عمره بتوليت
 صالح جيوند ملتانى فى القرّة من المحرم شهر سنة سبع و تسعين
 و ستمائة J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 103.

DR. H. BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION.

"This mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings, Rukn-ud-dunyá-waddín, the shadow of God upon earth, Kai Káús Sháh, son of Mahmúd, son of the Sultán, the right hand of the Khalifáh of God, the helper of the commander of the faithful—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!—at the order of the Lord of the age, by Shiháb-ul-haqq-waddín, a second Alexander, the Ulugh-i-'Azam Humáyún Zafar Khán Bahrám Itgín—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom, and may God prolong his life!—under the supervision (batauliyat) of Saláh Jíwand of Multán. On the 1st Muharram, 697 A.H. [19th Oct., 1297]."

I have reproduced in full the above inscription, alike in text, translation, and commentary,¹ as it corrects an avowedly imperfect reading which I had been favoured with by Col. Nassau Lees. Dr. Blochmann was so obliging as to forward me an impression of the original, that I might satisfy myself of the accuracy of the translation now given; but I have unfortunately mislaid the *facsimile* reproduction, and therefore abstain for the moment from any further comments.

¹ Dr. Blochmann continues:—"As mentioned above, this inscription is quoted by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 140, where a 'rough' translation by Colonel Nassau Lees is given. The 'translation' leaves out the name of the builder, and wrongly puts his titles in apposition to the words *Khusrawe zamán*. The absence of a *facsimile* has led Mr. Thomas to state that Kai Káús confessed allegiance to 'Alá-ud-dín of Dillí, who is the Sikandar-uşşání *par excellence*; but the grammatical construction of the sentence, and the *idiom*, show that the words 'Sikandar-uşşání, Ulugh-i-'Azam Humáyún and Zafar Khán,' are merely titles of Bahrám Itgín. He must have been a Malik of high rank, as the titles are high; but my Tribení inscriptions (about to be published in this volume) give Maliks not only similar titles, but also the phrase 'May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom,' and even *julús* names, if I may say so. 'Shiháb-ul-Haqq-wad-dín,' therefore, is merely the *julús* name of Malik Zafar Khán, and shows, moreover, that the Sikandar-uşşání cannot be 'Alá-ud-dín, whose full *julús* name with the *kunya* was 'Alá-ud-dín *Abulmuzaffar* Muhammad Sháh." This inscription is further referred to by Mr. W. M. Bourke (1872, p. 143), who expresses a hope that his new "rubblings," now submitted to the Society, may resolve Dr. Blochmann's doubt regarding a portion of this Inscription, and supply the date in his No. 4 Inscription.

INSCRIPTION C.

Inscription of SHAMS-UD-DÍN FÍRÚZ of Bengal, on Zafar Khán's Madrasah, at Tribeni,¹ dated A.H. 713.

الحمد لوليّ الحمد * بنيت هذه المدرسة المسماة دارالخيرات 'في
 عهد سلطنة والي المبررات' صاحب التاج والنختم 'ظل الله في العالم'
 المكرم الاكرام الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم 'شمس الدنيا و الدين'
 المخصوص بعناية رب العالمين وارث ملك سليمان 'ابو المظفر فيروز
 شاه السلطان خلد الله سلطانه' J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 287.

The text goes on to say that the inscription was engraved under the direction of Khán Muhammad Zafar Khán, on the 1st of Muharram, 713 A.H. Zafar Khán's *Mosque*, in the same locality, bears the earlier date of 698 A.H. (A.D. 1298).

¹ Tribeni or *Triveni* (as Mr. Money writes it, J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 393), N. of Húgli. Dr. Blochmann adds, "Tribeni is often called *Tripáni* ("three streams"), and by the Muhammadans *Tripáni Sháh-púr*, or *Firúzábád* (see also *Kín-i-Akbari* (Gladwin), ii., p. 5; J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II. (1866), p. 202, *Note 1*, and *Note 1*, p. 205). Dr. Blochmann, in adverting to Marsden's coin of Táj-ud-dín *Firúz Sháh* (No. DCCLXXVIII., and Laidley, J.A.S.B., 1846, pl. v., fig. 17), has followed the old authorities in attributing the piece to a Bengal king of that name, and does not seem to be aware that the coin was minted in the Dakhan in 807 A.H., during the reign of the *Bahmáni* *Firúz Sháh* (A.H. 800 to 825). See my *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 345. On the other part, I have to thank Dr. Blochmann for a rectification, to which he seems to attach an undue importance.—J.A.S.B., July, 1872, p. 119. In my recent work just quoted, I had occasion to notice, *en passant*, the contemporary coins of the local dynasties more or less connected with the central Muhammadan Imperialism. Among other hitherto unpublished specimens, I described a coin of "Ahmad Sháh bin Ahmad Sháh, Alwali, *Al Bahmani*," (p. 343), dated 856 A.H., and I submitted, without any reserve, in illustration of the piece itself, a facsimile of the original, designed and executed by an independent artist—which may be seen to be defective in both the subordinate points, in which Dr. Blochmann has the advantage of me in a better preserved and more fully legible coin lately acquired by Colonel Hyde. I take no blame to myself for reading the *absolutely detached*

رُوق of the one specimen for the improved الرُوف of the other, nor am I surprised at the appearance of the concluding word الميميمي when it is to be found in the very next page of my work, where I had full authority for its citation.

INSCRIPTIONS D. E. F.

Further Inscriptions of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz.

Dr. Blochmann contributes the following remarks towards the elucidation of some unpublished records of this king :

“The inscriptions at Tribení near Húglí mention the same king (Shams-ud-dín Fírúz) as having reigned in 1313 A.D. Two of Mr. Broadley’s inscriptions—and this will show the value of his discoveries—prove—

1. That Fírúz already reigned in 1309 over (Western) Bengal, or Lakhnautí.

2. That South Bihár under him belonged to Bengal, whilst other inscriptions show that Bihár in 1352 again belonged to Dehlí.

3. That Shams-ud-dín had a son of the name of Hálim Khán, who in 1309 and 1315—and hence most likely during the intervening years—was governor of Bihár.”¹

As respects the later numismatic accessions to this henceforth *second* period of the Muslim annals of Bengal, they may be said to be confined to minor varieties and repetitions of known types, whose dates are, as yet, imperfectly ascertained. A single coin of mark claims attention, in the shape of a gold piece of Bahádur Sháh, part of his tribute or recognition money (similar to the silver piece No. 9, O.S.) coined in his own name, but with the full acknowledgment of the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The piece itself is the property of Mr. Delmerick—to whom we owe the first notice of the *unique* coin of the Bactrian king *Plato*, which has lately been secured for the British Museum;²—a medal, I may remark, *en passant*, that contributes the most striking testimony to the value of numismatic inquiries perhaps ever adduced, in confirming by the single date, hitherto known in the entire Bactrian series, which appears on its surface, the

¹ “The two inscriptions of Hálim Khán contain the dates 1309 and 1315; the former inscription seems to have belonged to a Saraf, the latter to a Mosque.” J.A.S.B., Proceedings, 1871, p. 246.

² J.A.S.B., February, 1872, p. 34.

exact epoch of Eukratides' death in B.C. 165, which had already been speculatively fixed from less definite data.¹ The specific determination of this era is of the highest importance as giving us a standpoint, so to say critical, towards the close of a dynasty, whose members left so few positive traces behind them, and whose annals were little likely to have been preserved either by the hostile races who succeeded them, or their indifferent cousins who remained in the ancestral homes of the West.

I have little left to say, in conclusion, beyond momentarily adverting to one of the confessed difficulties of the day, the identification of the easily-shifted sites of Eastern cities, whose removal, apart from the caprice of the rulers, was, in this locality, at all times liable to be suggested, if not enforced, by Nature herself, in the ever-changing channels of the waters of the Delta of the Ganges.²

With regard to the emplacement of *Pundua* or "Fírúzpúr," a possible claimant has appeared in the shape of the "Pundooah" (23° 3'–88° 18') near Húghlí, which is in a measure connected with the area of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz of Bengal's extant memorials at Tribeni, one of the subordinate villages of which still retains the alternative name of "Fírúzábád."³

But I am satisfied that the Pandua, near Maldah,⁴ is the

¹ Prinsep's Essays, ii., p. 175. J.R.A.S. (o.s.) XX., p. 119. Gen. Cunningham Num. Chron. ix. (1869), p. 230. I am now, apart from other reasons, the less inclined to accept the author's "83 of the Bactrian era"—which he derives from a *quasi*-monogram on the coins of Helicæles.

² This is a description of the local peculiarities published in 1820. "In tracing the sea coast of this Delta, there are eight openings found, each of which appears to be a principal mouth of the Ganges. As a strong presumptive proof of the wanderings of that river, from one side of the Delta to the other, it may be observed, that there is no appearance of virgin earth between the Tiperah hills on the east and the district of Burdwan on the west; nor below Dacca and Bauleah on the north. In all the sections of the numerous creeks and rivers of the Delta, nothing appears but sand and black mould in regular strata, until the clay is reached, which forms the lower part of their beds; nor is there any substance so coarse as gravel either in the Delta, or nearer the sea than 400 miles (by the course of the Ganges) at Oudanulla, where a rocky point, part of the base of the neighbouring hills, projects into the river."—Hamilton's Hindustan, i., p. 123.

³ J.A.S. Bengal, 1870, p. 282, and note, p. 37, *antè*.

⁴ Rennell and Stewart were alike convinced that the northern city of that name was the scene of Fírúz's contest with Ilías Sháh. Rennell remarks: "Pundua, or Purruah, mentioned as a royal residence in Bengal, in the year 1353 (Dow, i. 340), [4to. edit. i., 326; Briggs, i., 449], is about seven miles to the north of Mauldah, and ten from the nearest part of Gour. Many of its ruins yet remain,

real place of mintage of the coins bearing the royal designation of this prince, which later in point of time supersedes the discarded record of "*Lakhnauti*" on the local currency. While the group of "Seven Villages" or Townships in Lower Bengal is defined solely by the appropriate mint term of "*Satgaon*," whose leading centre perhaps oscillated according to the progressive changes of the convenient wharves and landing-places of that emporium. If I could be equally certain of the very reasonable identification of "*Jugdula*" (25° 10'–87° 58') of our recent surveys,¹ with the "*Akdalah*" of the Muhammadan historians,² the case would be complete and final in favour of the northern metropolis.

Colonel Haughton's recent investigations enable him to say that *Ghíaspúr* is also "near Gaur, about one mile N.W. of Maldah."³ And Dr. Blochmann very safely affirms that *Muazzamábád* is in Sonargaon.⁴ A small incidental note will be found at p. 9 *antè*, on Deokót and the Muslim Lakhnauti, but the subject under its geographical aspect, promises to repay more ample investigation.

particularly the Addcenah mosque, and the pavement of a very long street, which lies in the line of the road leading from Mauldah to Dinagepour."—Rennell, Map, etc., p. 56.

Stewart's understanding of the localities may be traced in the following passage: "Ilyas took post himself in the fort of Akdala; leaving his son to defend the city of Pundua (near Mauldah), which for some time past he had made his capital. The Emperor advanced to a place now called Firozpúrábád, and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua."—Hist. Bengal, p. 84. See also Hamilton's Hindustan, i., 230.

¹ Surveyor General of India's latest Maps.

² These passages are given at large in my previous paper. J.R.A.S., II., p. 206. See also pp. 203–210, and Stewart's Bengal, pp. 84 *note*, 86 and 87; as well as Elliot's Historians, iii., pp. 294–308.

³ See Chronicles of Pathán Kings, 153. *Aín-i-Akbari*, ii., p. 3, *suppt.*, and Grant's Report, p. 372.

⁴ Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p. 121.

ART. XIV.—*The Legend of Dīpañkara Buddha. Translated from the Chinese (and intended to illustrate Plates XXIX. and L., 'Tree and Serpent Worship').* By S. BEAL.

FROM a brief examination of a work in the India Office Library, called "*K'ai yuen shi kiau*," (one volume of which is unfortunately missing), I find that the number of books included in the Chinese Buddhist Canon, down to the time of Tchi-Shing, the compiler of the work in question (who lived A.D. 730 during the Tang dynasty (618-904 A.D.), and shortly after Hwen-Thsang), amounted altogether to 1076, divided into 5048 chapters (*kiouen*), and included within 480 wrappers (*chih*). Of these, 330 belong to the "Little vehicle," and 968 to the "Great vehicle," leaving 108 miscellaneous and unclassified. Of the "Little vehicle," 240 are Sûtras, in 618 chapters, and 48 wrappers; 54 belong to the Vinaya Piṭaka, in 446 chapters and 45 wrappers; 36 belong to the Abidharma Piṭaka, in 698 chapters and 72 wrappers. Of the 968 belonging to the "Great vehicle," 515 are Sûtras, in 2173 chapters and 203 wrappers; 26 belong to the Vinaya Piṭaka, in 54 chapters and 5 wrappers; and 97 belong to the Abidharma Piṭaka, in 518 chapters and 50 wrappers.

Amongst other works named in this valuable Thesaurus is one bearing the title "*Fu-pen-hing-tsi-king*," *i.e.* "Miscellaneous Notices respecting the Birth and History of Buddha," translated by Djinakûta (or Djñanakûta), a native of Gandhâra, in Northern India, who lived in the time of the Sui dynasty (581-617 A.D.). From this work I have selected the following legend of Dīpañkara Buddha, to illustrate two of the sculptures occurring at Sanchi and Amravati, and represented in Pl. XXIX. and Pl. L., "Tree and Serpent Worship." I can have little doubt that these

identifications will be allowed to be plausible at least, and perhaps more than plausible.

The legend begins with the previous history of Dipaṅkara, when he was an attendant on Ratnabhava Buddha:—

At this time the world-honoured one addressed Ananda as follows:—“Ananda! I remember in ages gone by, too numerous for me to utter, that there was a sacred Chakravartī Râja, called Sudarsana, who, having subdued the four regions (*i.e.* the world), governed men according to law. During his reign there were no punishments of whipping or death—no soldier’s weapons to torture or destroy, but all was prosperity and peace, and the people lived virtuously and religiously. Ananda! the city in which Sudarsana lived was called Jambunada, the walls from east to west were twelve yôjanas in length, and from north to south seven yôjanas. Ananda! that city of Jambunada was in a remarkable degree beautifully adorned and clean. The four precious substances were exclusively used in the garniture of it,—to wit, yellow gold, white silver, crystal and cornealian. Around the city there were seven distinct walls, each wall seven ‘*sin*’ (*i.e.* 56 cubits) in height, and three ‘*sin*’ (24 cubits) in breadth. Around this city, moreover, were seven successive railings beautifully carved, etc. [Here follows the usual description of a perfectly adorned city.] At this time, Ananda! there was a Buddha born called Ratnabhava, etc. This Buddha had formerly as a Bôdhisatwa lived in this city of Jambunada; and now he approached the city one day early in the morning to beg, at which time countless Devas descended to do him honour, and surrounded him as with a retinue, etc. At this time there was a certain village outside the city, one of whose inhabitants was going to be married to a person within the city, and on entering within the walls, he saw the place fully adorned and swept. Being filled with astonishment and reverence, he asked some one he met—‘What is going on here?’ The person replied—‘There is a Buddha born called Ratnabhava, etc.; he is just going to enter the city to beg his food, and therefore these preparations have been made.’ And then he went on to tell

the villager all about the excellences, etc., of Tathâgata, and of the Law and the Church. The villager, having heard the glorious nature of the three gems thus described, was filled with joy. He exulted amazingly, and reflected thus, 'Ratnabhava, etc., is seldom seen in the world. I will now go straight to him.' So thinking, he forthwith mixed with a crowd of citizens, and went together with them to the place where Ratnabhava was. Having arrived there, he thought within himself, 'If this Tathâgata has indeed acquired entire wisdom so as to know all hearts, he will know mine, and therefore he ought first of all to address himself to me in some consolatory figure or parable.' At this time Ratnabhava Buddha, knowing that man's heart, took the lead, and immediately addressed him and spoke. Then that villager was filled with joy; he exulted exceedingly. And because his vow was thus fulfilled, he respectfully requested Buddha to partake of his hospitality on the succeeding day. Then Buddha remained silent, on which the villager, accepting this silence for consent, was filled with joy, and went back to his house to make due preparations. Then the four Devarâjas, Brahmâ, Sakra, and the rest, and all the multitude of Devas, bearing every kind of offering, came to present them to Tathâgata. At that time the villager, coming to his house, on that very night arranged every kind of delicate food, of exquisite flavour and most pleasing taste. Having arranged it thus, he got up very early the next day, and began sweeping his house and sprinkling all sorts of perfumed water about it, and scattering all round flowers of the greatest beauty and choicest odor; then having arranged a seat, he sent messengers to tell Buddha, saying, 'All things are ready, oh, would that you would come to my humble dwelling!'

"Then Ratnabhava, early in the morning, putting on his robes, and taking his alms-bowl, surrounded by numberless followers, went to receive the proffered hospitality. Arrived there, his disciples took their seats in due order. The villager, having seen Ratnabhava seated, immediately with his own hand offered to Tathâgata every kind of exquisite food and drink, speaking thus, 'Eat, my Lord, and all the

congregation, according to your desire.' When they had so eaten, still the provisions remained unexhausted, on which the villager thought thus, 'The meats and the drinks remain undiminished; doubtless this is in consequence of the miraculous power of Tathâgata adding continually to them according to the decrease from consumption. Now, then, I will go call my relatives to come and behold Tathâgata, so that when they have seen and have eaten, and are full, I may have further joy.' Again, he thought thus, 'Wonderful! wonderful, indeed, beyond all calculation, is the extent of the power of Buddha: for here come all my relatives, unbidden by any one, to assist and help me; there is no need for me, therefore, to invite a single person; and without using any effort, all things again arrange themselves as I would have them do.' Then Ratnabhava, after the feast, repeated such portions of the Law as were appropriate, for the sake of the villager, to his great joy; [the result of which was that he attained a new heart and entire peace.] Thus the villager and his friends, having heard the Law, arrived at Supreme Wisdom, and each went to his home. (This happy result having followed, the villager then said :) 'Oh, may I in future attain to the perfect knowledge of this Ratnabhava Tathâgata.' And again he said, 'Oh, would that I, in the midst of the great congregation, might thus be able to deliver the Law, and cause the hearts of men to rejoice, just as this Ratnabhava Tathâgata has preached among his congregation, and caused the Bhikshus to arrive at peace and unity of conduct!' Then that villager, having paid full and repeated reverence to Tathâgata, entered the community, shaved his head, left his home, and became a Bhikshu.

"Ananda, after an innumerable number of *asaṃkhyeyas* of ages, this Bhikshu again encountered a Buddha, who was born in the world under the name of Prabhâkara Tathâgata. Then this Bhikshu, paying religious worship to this Buddha, and observing the precepts of personal purity, became one of his disciples, as before. In this condition he once more prayed, 'Oh, that I, in virtue of the merit I have acquired, may, during my future births from age to age, escape being

born in the inferior paths!’ At this time Prabhākara Buddha, well acquainted with his prayer, delivered this prediction in reference to him, and said, ‘Virtuous one, in ages to come, after endless *asaṃkhyeyas* of *kalpas*, you shall attain the condition of Buddha Tathâgata, etc., and your name shall be Dīpaṅkara.’ [And so he was born, after the manner of every Buddha, from the right side of his mother.] Meantime Dīpaṅkara Bôdhisatwa, with every faculty and function perfect, and of great grace of person, day by day grew up to manhood. Dwelling in the palace provided for him, he indulged himself in every pleasure [the five pleasures]. But, in the midst of all, a thought arose in him that all these joys were but for a moment. Having thought of this, he left his home, shaved his head, and became a recluse; he put on the *kashâya* garments of a hermit, and left all connexions with the world. Then he sought the attainment of Supreme Wisdom, and arrived at complete emancipation. Afterwards, using his Divine faculty of sight, he reflected thus: ‘Who will be the first to hear and receive the true Law?’ Immediately he saw that the world was without any one fit for so high a privilege. Again he reflected (looked) three times, but still found no one. Thus he lived in the world three thousand years, but still remained alone without any disciple. After three thousand years, Dīpaṅkara thought thus: ‘All men are sunk in sin, and fascinated this long time by the deceptions of sense. I must now convert them, and give them understanding.’ Reflecting thus, he caused the appearance of a city to proceed from his lamp and fix itself in space. He made all the buildings to appear as if constructed of crystal, and outside the city every kind of Tâla-tree made of the seven precious substances, and avenues and gardens (as before described). Suddenly the people of Djambu (*i.e.* of the world) saw this city from its four walls emit very fierce flames, bright and burning hot. Then great fear filled their breasts, and they congregated together and spoke thus—‘Alas! alas! see how yonder abode is burning in flames, surely it will be soon entirely destroyed!’ Then they looked for some Buddha to appear to convert and save

those wretched people. But they only saw the flames still burning, and the people in vain seeking for refuge and shelter. Desiring protection, there was none to protect; they looked for salvation, but there was no one able to save! Then they said again—‘Oh, would that that city could be brought near to us, or we to them, that we might extinguish the conflagration!’ Just then they saw Devas, Nâgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, those who were men and not men (Kinnaras),¹ come forth from that city, and cry out, ‘Why do the flames burn so? Whence comes this fire?’ Then there appeared three porchways, one of gold, another of silver, the third of crystal; in the middle of the way were Tâla-trees made of the seven precious substances; from the midst of these trees there came a voice, which said, ‘Oh, all ye men! Assemble ye in one place, if ye indeed desire to see Dipañkara Buddha Tathâgata, etc., for that Buddha not long hence will descend to Jambudwîpa.’ Then all the people of Jambudwîpa went straightway towards those covered ways to see Dipañkara coming forth from the city and descend to Jambudwîpa. At this time Dipañkara, having appeared, took his seat on the Lion throne, and for the sake of those people began to deliver the Law, *i.e.* in praise of charity, purity, abstinence, and in recommendation of the merit of the religious profession; and then seeing that there were signs of conversion, he delivered the whole Law, as former Buddhas had done, *viz.* that relating to the four Truths—sorrow, accumulation, deliverance, and the paths. Then on the first day of this preaching there were 6000 myriads of men converted, who became Rahats, and their hearts freed from all external laws. The second day he converted 5000 myriads of men; the third day 4000 myriads, till the seventh day. After this Dipañkara remained in the world one *kalpa*.”

Again, Buddha spoke thus to Ananda :—“I remember, in countless ages gone by, there was a king called ‘Niang-nu,’ (Satruñjaya), of the Kshatriya caste, and duly anointed, accord-

¹ *Vide* Jul. ii. 390, *n.* Compare this account with pl. xxix. fig. 1, Tree and Serpent Worship. The horned figures on the right of the plate evidently represent Kinnaras. (*Vide* Jul. *ut supra*.)

ing to the rule of his ancestors (*shan*). He lived in a great city called Padma (or Paduma), twelve yôjanas long, seven yôjanas broad; the ground even and smooth [here follows the usual description of a city], equal in every respect to the city Arka of Vaisravana, the Northern Ruler,—on every side equally glorious, so perfectly adorned and beautiful was it. Ananda! that Satruñjaya Râja had a certain rich and eminent Brahman, whose name was Sûryapati, brave and strong, possessed of every species of wealth—gold, gems, elephants, horses, slaves, cattle of every kind, without stint. Within his treasure-house was found every kind of precious substance—yellow gold, white silver, true pearls, lapis lazuli, crystal, cornelian, coral, all entirely complete as the (treasury of) Vaisravana, the Northern King.

“Ananda! at this time Sûryapati, the great Brahman, on account of the exceeding affection he bore to the King, constantly had conversation with him; and every day, for a short time at least during the day, went to visit him, with scarce any deviation. Ananda! that Satruñjaya Râja at this time had a certain business in hand, which he entrusted to the Brahman Sûryapati to settle, desiring him to decide and judge concerning it well and truly. Sûryapati having equitably disposed of the case, it afterwards entered into the King's head that he would do something to double the prosperity and happiness of this Brahman, and so he divided his kingdom with him, and built him a city called Yen-chü [lord of the boundary], with streets and gates perfectly adorned, and lovely even as the city Padma itself. Ananda! that Sûryapati Râja [called Râja, because he now possessed half the kingdom] had a queen called Chandrottara. Ananda, when Dipaṅkara Buddha descended from the Tusita heaven, he was incarnated in the womb of Chandrottara, entering through her right side, in the palace of Sûryapati. Ananda, after a time Satruñjaya Râja got to hear the news that the chief lady of Sûryapati had brought forth in the royal palace a boy called Dipaṅkara, very beautiful to behold, and able to give great joy; unequalled in the world, endowed with all the characteristic marks, pure as a golden

figure. The young child having been born, his horoscope was taken, and the Brahmans declared that he would be either a Chakravarti or a Buddha; if the former, he would possess the seven insignia, viz. a golden discus, a Divine pearl, a priceless woman, an elephant, horse, lordly minister and treasurer, and every prosperity would attend his reign; but if he be a recluse, then he would arrive at complete enlightenment, and be known by the ten names belonging to a Buddha. Ananda! this child became a recluse, and fulfilled the functions and mission of a Buddha. At this time, Satruñjaya reflected thus:—‘Seldom indeed does a “Lord of the World” come to be born; it is difficult to hear such a one, and difficult to see him.’ So Satruñjaya sent messengers to the abode of Sûryapati to speak to him thus: ‘We hear now that the queen of your majesty has borne a beautiful boy, endowed with all the peculiar marks. We desire to invite that Dipañkara Buddha, etc., to come and live at our city of Padma, and to receive our offerings, and we will send an escort to meet him.’ Then those ambassadors, thus instructed, went to the city Yen-chü, and delivered their message. Then Sûryapati Râja, having received the message, was sorrowful, and quickly assembled his council and ministers, and spoke thus:—‘Consider well, I pray you, what answer is to be given to this message.’ Then all the ministers addressed the King, and said: ‘Concerning this matter, we think Dipañkara Buddha himself should be consulted; for he has great charity and compassion.’ The Râja Sûryapati replied: ‘Such also is my opinion.’ Then the Râja and all his ministers went in a body to the place where Dipañkara Buddha was, and having arrived there, (they delivered the message). Then that Buddha assayed to tranquillize the King, and said: ‘Mahârâja! compose your heart, and be not distressed; have no fear or grief on this score; for in truth I myself at this time wish to go forth and travel abroad through the various places of the earth, to teach and convert men; for my love extends even to the whole human race.’ Then Dipañkara Buddha set out, surrounded by an innumerable body of disciples, and departed.

Meanwhile Sûryapati escorted him to the borders of his territory, and then, having worshipped at his feet and performed three circuits round him, with many tears, he left him, and returned to his own palace.

“Now Satruñjaya Râja, hearing that Dipaṅkara was coming to his dominions, even to the city of Padma, surrounded by clouds of followers, was filled with joy, and ordered forthwith all the roads to be swept, watered, and garnished, even like the fairy city of the Gandharvas. Then the King Satruñjaya published an edict to all within and without the city for a distance of twelve yôjanas, to the effect that whatever persons there were within such distance, none whatever should purchase for themselves flowers or perfume; but in whatever places such were to be bought, that they should be reserved for the King as offerings to Dipaṅkara Buddha. Then Satruñjaya Râja, accompanied by the four kinds of military escort, in great display, went forth out of the city to meet that Dipaṅkara Buddha.

“At this time, on the southern face of the Himâlayas belonging to that country, there was a certain Brahmachâri called Ratna(?). His father and mother belonging to the caste of Brahmans, for seven generations past, without the least defilement or reproach, perfectly versed in the four Vedas, etc. His pure birth was affirmed by the horoscope of a talented soothsayer, and 500 children of illustrious families were present on the auspicious occasion to present him with offerings. [Ananda! you must know that this Ratna, the Brahman, was none other than Maîtreya Bôdhisatwa that now is.]

“Now amongst the 500 young men who ever attended the person of Ratna, to hear from his mouth the mode of reciting the Sacred Books, there was a particular Brahmachâri called Megha, conspicuous among the rest, almost equal to his master in learning, sixteen years old, and of very graceful appearance, of pure birth during seven generations, his family without reproach, his horoscope also a perfect one. He was incomparable in the world, his body like yellow gold, and his head-dress (or hair) the same; his voice soft and sweet, as

the voice of Brahmâ. This youth, having learned from the mouth of Ratna the mode of reciting the Sacred Books perfectly, desired at length permission to return home. Ratna, being loth to let Megha go, addressed him thus: 'My son (*manava*), I have yet one Shaster handed down from Rishis of old times, unknown by sound or by sight to heretics and Brahmans; wait with me, and I will teach it to you.' The youth replied, 'Oh, would that you would instruct me in it!' Then the Brahman taught him this also. Afterwards the youth requested once more to know what else he had to acquire. The Brahman replied, 'There are certain household rules peculiar to the Brahman caste, these also you must learn from my mouth for your own guidance and profit.' The youth replied, 'Would that you would teach me these rules!' [The Brahman gave his consent on condition the youth would in return make certain offerings to him.] Then the youth replied, 'I have no such gifts as these to offer to my lord; but I will, by your permission, go beg them all over the world, and then come back and give them to you.' On this the Brahman gave him permission to go even as he desired. Then Megha, having prostrated himself before his master, and having walked round him three times in token of respect, departed.

"At this time Megha heard that there was a place 500 yôjanas off from the Snowy Mountains called Survacha (?). In that city there was a distinguished Brahman called Tsaitse-tai, exceedingly rich. This Brahman desired to make offerings to the 60,000 Brahmans who, according to appointment, were met together in assembly called Môcha. Accordingly he had prepared for each individual a parasol, etc., and for the head Brahman (Sthavira) very excellent gifts of gold, together with 1000 cows with their calves, 500 damsels, their bodies beautifully ornamented, among whom Shen-chi was chief. And now the year of the Pañcha assembly having expired all but one day, the Brahman youth Megha arrived from the Snowy Mountains, and came to the city, even to the place where the assembly was being held. Then those 60,000 Brahmans, seeing the youth afar off, immediately raised a

great cry, and said, 'Bravo! How well selected is this place for the Pañcha assembly, for here comes Brahmâ Deva himself to receive the offerings of this congregation!' Then Megha, the young man, replied to these 60,000 Brahmans, and said, 'Call not out in this way, as if I were Brahmâ Deva, for I am in truth a man, and not Brahmâ.' Then the Brahmans said, 'Then who are you?' To which he replied, 'Is it possible that you have not heard of the Brahmachâri who resides on the southern side of the Snowy Mountains, whose name is Ratna, so thoroughly versed in every kind of religious works, with his 500 disciples, of whom Megha is the chief, a youth of sixteen years of age, completely instructed, and equal to his master, with a voice as sweet as that of Brahmâ Deva? Have you Brahmans heard of this before or not?' Then they all answered, 'We have.' Then said Megha, 'Well, then, I am that well-instructed youth.' On this those Brahmans were filled with joy, and cried with a loud voice, 'Bravo! bravo! This assembly is well constituted now that Megha has come to receive its offerings!'

"At this time the wife of the Brahman Tsai-tse-tih, with Shen-chi and the other damsels, from the top of the balcony saw afar off this youth, so beautiful in appearance, and beyond compare for grace. Then having seen him they conceived great joy in their hearts, and turning to the four quarters of the heavens they did reverence to all the Devas and Spirits, and their hearts secretly entertained this thought, 'Oh, would that this fair youth might overcome in his discourse the Sthavira and all the Brahmans, so that we might get rid of these ungracious companions, and not be given to such contemptible people in marriage!' Then Megha, advancing into the assembly, respectfully turned round three times, after which he advanced straight up to the Sthavira, and, with soft and courteous voice, addressed him thus, 'Venerable sir, what Shaster can you recite?' Then all the 60,000 Brahmans cried out together, 'Megha, respectable youth! ask not such a question of our President, as to what Shaster he can recite; for in truth he is able, according to the rules of our caste, to recite thoroughly from beginning to end all

the Shasters [or it may be 'recite and maintain']. Then the youth Megha replied, 'Ye Brahmans, your President may indeed be able to recite from memory all the medical and polite treatises [or works on mechanical arts], but it is only my master who possesses the scarce and rarely found literature of the Brahmans. For instance, let me ask you, have you a Shaster called "Sien-yeou"¹ or no?' Then the 60,000 Brahmans all replied, 'As yet we never heard of such a treatise even by name, much less have we got it, and still less are we able to recite it.' Then Megha replied, 'My master, teaching me the different works of the Law, amongst others instructed me in this Shaster of the Veda called Sien-yeou; and, moreover, I can recite it.' Then all those Brahmans composing the assembly said, 'Be pleased to explain and give us the pleasure of hearing this new Shaster.' Then the youth Megha, occupying a place appointed by the President, with the voice of Brahmâ, recited that Shaster of the Veda known as Sien-yeou. Then all those Brahmans, filled with joy, cried out with one voice, 'Precisely according to our own heart and mind!' Then they joyously requested him to become their President, and partake of the best drink and food provided for such a dignified office. Then Megha, pushing the President, commanded him to come down from his seat, and take his place below; and then himself ascending the seat of honour, received the water and food, after which also he accepted such of the offerings as were fit.

"Then the great Brahman Ts'ai-tse-tih was distressed with the thought that he had not arranged the laws of the assembly according to the rules of the highest doctrine, forasmuch as the youth Megha declined to accept some of the offerings, whereupon he spake thus, after a profound reverence, to Megha, 'My Lord will surely receive these my gifts, and not cause me to be deficient in my duty to the assembly!' On which Megha replied, 'Illustrious Brahman, your gifts are superabundant; it is not that there is anything wanting,

¹ Sien-yeou is equivalent to "Former Existence," the work therefore would be one of the Pûranas.

but only that some things are good for me to accept, and others not; and therefore I decline the latter.'

"Then the vanquished President thought thus within himself, 'For a long time have I coveted these gifts, and now this stripling has come and pushed me down from my place of honour, and taken my reward. If in future births, in return for my present merit, I am born in the world with this youth, then may I have an opportunity of returning him a due recompense!' [Ananda! at that time I was Megha, and the Brahman was Daṇḍapâni, and the Sthavira was Devadatta, and so in every birth Devadatta through his ignorance has opposed and hated me.]

"Then Megha, taking with him the various gifts he had received, desired to return towards the Snowy Mountains, in order to offer them to the Brahmachâri there. And so he passed through various villages, towns, cities, and countries, staying and going as he list, observing men and things, till at last he arrived at the city of Paduma and entered it, when lo! he beheld it adorned and beautified to a degree that cannot be described (as we have mentioned above). Then the youth thought thus within himself, 'Why is this city of Paduma thus adorned? Is it possible that some one desires to hold a Môcha meeting here? Or perhaps there is about to be a public sacrifice made in honour of the stars and heavenly mansions; or perhaps there is a public thanksgiving for prosperity, or some distribution of reward; or perhaps this is the time for the assembly of Brahmans; or perhaps the people of this city have heard of my fame, and reported that I am coming, and so desire all the Brahmans to hold a disputation with me; and yet there is no one here who seems to recognize me, or to do me reverence.' Then I¹ asked a man I met, and said, 'My good fellow, why is this city so beautifully adorned and decorated?' To which he replied, 'Most learned youth, is it possible that you have not heard that Dipaṅkara Buddha Tathâgata, etc., has lately expressed a desire to come to this city of Paduma, to declare the Law and

¹ The Legend is now narrated in the first person, as Megha is one with Sâkyâ Buddha in a former birth.

convert the people, and that on his account all these preparations are being made, and that our King Satruñjaya has ordered all the people to assist in advancing these decorations, and so the inhabitants, wishing to promote their own merit and to honour Dipañkara, have adorned the city as you see ?’

“At this time, Ananda ! I remembered that in our Law it is thus written, ‘Whatever man possesses the thirty-two signs of supereminent beauty, he will either be a Chakravarti or else a Buddha, of this there can be no doubt.’

“Then, Ananda ! I thought thus, ‘I will go straight to the resting place (and examine and see, and if satisfied I will worship and offer an offering to this Dipañkara Buddha, and ask for myself that in future time I may arrive at the same state of perfection, then afterwards I will go and present my offering to my master the Brahmachâri.’

“Then again I reflected thus, ‘What sacrifice can I offer to this Buddha, and by what means can I increase in myself the seeds of virtue?’ Then I considered that all the Buddhas, honoured of men, desire not offerings of money, but only such holy donations as are prescribed in the Law, and that I as yet had no acquaintance with the true meaning of the Law. Nevertheless, I thought I will go and seek to purchase the most beautiful flower I can find, and then offer it to him with the prayer ‘that in future time I also may become a Buddha.’ Forthwith I went to a hair-dresser’s house, and spoke thus to him, ‘Sir, can you sell me that flower?’ Whereupon he replied to me thus, ‘Respectable youth, is it possible that you have not heard of the orders given by our King Satruñjaya that “whatever chaplets of flowers there are in the city that not one of these shall on any account be sold, because the King himself desires to obtain all such flowers to present them to Buddha”?’ On hearing this, I went again and again to the different hair-dressing shops, to try and purchase a wreath of flowers; but in vain, for I got from them no other answer than that I had before received, and could obtain none. Then, as I passed from street to street, making every private inquiry to accomplish my end,

I chanced to see a dark-clad water girl, whose name was Bhadrâ, secretly take a seven-stalked Utpala flower and put it inside her water pitcher, and then go onwards upon her way. Seeing this I was greatly rejoiced, and forthwith went up to her, and said, 'What are you going to do with that Utpala flower which I saw you put in your pitcher? I will give you 500 gold pieces for it if you will sell it to me.' Whereupon the girl replied, 'Virtuous youth, have you not heard that Dipaṅkara Buddha, honoured of men, Tathâgata, etc., is now about to enter the city in consequence of the King's invitation? For so it is, that Satruṅjaya, our King, has conceived a peculiar reverence for him; and being desirous to establish firmly in himself some ground of merit, has issued orders to all within the city and twelve yôjanas round it, that whatever scented unguents or flowers there be, on no account should these be sold to any private individual, as the King himself would buy up all for the purpose of presenting them (to Buddha). Now in our neighbourhood there is a certain hair-dresser called Satrusaha; he has a wife who privately took from me 500 pieces of money, and gave me in return this seven-stalked flower; and the reason why I thus transgressed the edict of the King was because I wanted very much to make an offering to Dipaṅkara Buddha Tathâgata, etc., and was unable except in this way to obtain the means of accomplishing my wish.'

"Then I addressed the girl again, and said, 'My good girl, the explanation you have just given, and made known to me, will justify you in taking my 500 gold pieces, and giving me five stalks of the Utpala flower, and keeping two yourself.' Then the young girl replied, 'Respectable youth, what will you do with the flowers if I give them to you?' Then I replied, 'It is a difficult thing to see a living Buddha (Tathâgata), and difficult to meet with him when born. Having now the good fortune to encounter Dipaṅkara, I wish to buy this flower to honour him therewith, and to sow for myself some seeds of merit, that hereafter I may arrive at the condition of perfection also.'

"Then the young girl spake to me thus again, 'I perceive

from your external appearance, and also from the qualifications of your mind, so resolute in your love of the Law, that you will certainly hereafter obtain complete enlightenment. Mânava! if you will promise me that up to the time of your perfection in every successive birth you will take me as your wife, and that if you arrive at perfection you will permit me to follow you as a disciple, and devote myself to obtain the condition of a Rahat in your retinue of followers,—if you will promise me this,—then I will give you five stalks of this Utpala flower; but if you will not make such a promise, I will not give them to you.’

“Then I replied, ‘My good girl, I am of the Brahman caste, perfectly pure, and thoroughly conversant with the four Vedas (or discourses of the Vedas, or perhaps Vedangas). In these Vedas it is thus said, “If a man wishes to obtain perfection or the condition of a Bôdhisatwa, then that man should nourish in himself a principle of love and pity for all creatures, and seek his object in perfect tranquillity whatever may betide him, so that he should not even grudge to sacrifice his body, but be ready to give it up for the sake of men, and much more (to give up) his wife and his children, his maidens and his riches, not to desire to retain them for a moment.” My good girl, I now desire and pray that I may obtain supreme wisdom, prompted by my desire to give peace and joy to all creatures; and therefore in pity for them, if a man should come and ask of me my wife and children as a sacrifice, and you through any love to me should throw an obstacle in the way, then you would break my heart, and my vow would be unfulfilled; whilst you, on your part, would be exceedingly guilty. But if you also will promise and vow that through all time you will make no difficulty in letting me give up everything I possess in charity, then I will enter into a contract with you that you shall ever be my wife.’

“Then she replied to me thus, ‘Mânava! suppose there came a person to your side, and begged my body of you, I would not grudge to give myself up, much less would I grudge children or riches.’ Then I said, ‘Let it be even so then; according to your vow I promise through future time

to have you as my wife.' Then that maiden received from me the 500 gold pieces, and gave to me the five stalks of the Utpala flower. 'The other two stalks,' she said, 'offer for my sake, that we may together have the same destiny.' Adding this, 'You wish now to establish a ground of merit for yourself: take these two flowers also, and offer them for my sake, and pray that we may be ever born together and not separated through lapse of days.'

"Then Dipaṅkara Buddha began to enter the city Paduma from without, whereupon I, taking in my hands these seven stalks of the Utpala (five in one and two in the other), beheld from far Buddha approaching,¹ his body beautiful and upright, shining with splendor and grace, his mind calm and at rest, his senses collected and peaceful as a glassy lake; thus with steps like the king of the elephants, he advanced, surrounded by countless disciples and Devas, who scattered around him endless flowers of every variety and scented perfumes. Then Satruṅjaya Râja, accompanied by the four sorts of military escort, proceeded from the gates of the city to meet Dipaṅkara Buddha. At this time the concourse of people was simply innumerable, with all sorts of diverse beings, Kinnaras, Kumbhandas, and Dragons, who brought flowers and every sort of scented wood, and scattered them above the person of this Tathâgata. These flowers, instead of falling to the earth, formed a canopy over the head of Dipaṅkara, moving with him as he went, and standing still as he rested. Then, on witnessing this, I conceived much reverence in my heart for the person of Buddha, and taking the seven stalks of the Utpala flower, I cast them above Dipaṅkara, making this vow, 'If in future time I shall become Buddha, and teach the Law just as this Buddha, and receive the reverence of all men in like manner, then let these flowers remain in mid-air, the leaves hanging downwards and the flowers standing upwards, crowning the canopy that shades the head of Buddha, and moves as he moves, and

¹ There can be no doubt, I should suppose, that this legend is intended to be perpetuated on the right hand pillar of plate L., "Tree and Serpent Worship." The Legend is alluded to by Fahien (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 43).

rests as he rests.' And so it was, when I beheld this portent fulfilled, that I conceived much faith in my heart as well as reverence.

"Ananda! at this time the countless multitudes of people were spreading their priceless garments in the way, made of Kâsikâ (wool of Kâsi), fine white wool, etc.; they covered the earth with them completely. Then I, Ananda! seeing this, and having on me only a deer-skin doublet, I took this off to spread on the ground. Then all the people in anger took my poor garment from the place where it lay and dragged it away and flung it on one side; whilst I in grief thought, 'Alas for me! Will not the world-honoured Dipaṅkara pity my case and think of me in my distress?' No sooner had I thought thus, than Buddha, knowing my heart, took pity on me. Accordingly, by his Divine power, he caused to appear on the ground as it were a portion of the road covered with mud,¹ on which those men in astonishment looked at one another, but not one of them entered the muddy place to help Dipaṅkara across. Then I, after some thought, spread out my skin garment on the muddy spot, and undoing my hair, covered the garment with my hair, so that Buddha might cross over in perfect comfort, as on a bridge. So, none of the people having put their foot on this covering, Buddha first crossed over, and then I made a vow, 'Oh, that all the disciples might likewise pass across!' And then I prayed again that I might in future ages become a Buddha, even as Dipaṅkara, possessed of the same miraculous power, and worshipped alike by gods and men; and then I vowed again if Dipaṅkara does not now give me a prediction of becoming Buddha, I will not rise from out this mud, but I will remain even as I am. Then the earth quaked six times (in prospect of the coming prediction, and in consequence of the earnestness of my vow)."

[Dipaṅkara then passes over, but permits none of the

¹ This fable is alluded to in Julien, ii. 97. I think the left hand pillar, plate L., "Tree and Serpent Worship," represents Gôpâla (or rather Gôpî) with her dishes of cream; whilst the central figure represents the dragon Gôpâla. *Vide* Jul. ii. 99.

Bhikshus to follow on the same path. He then predicts that Megha will become a Buddha (Sâkya Muni), on condition that he leaves all his wealth, shaves his head, and follows him as a disciple. Then Megha ascended into the air the distance of seven Tâla-trees, and did reverence to Dipaṅkara.]

[These Legends, when all are translated, will explain many obscure references in Buddhist literature, and also throw some light on the rise of Romance literature in Europe. I have not added any explanatory notes to the above translation, as I hope to be able to publish the entire work from the Chinese.]—S. B.

ART. XV.—*Note on Art. IX., antè pp. 213–274, on Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

SINCE the above paper was printed off, it has occurred to me that the Konkanapoura mentioned at page 266 has nothing whatever to do with the Concans now below the Ghâts, as I was inclined to think was possible, but may have been the capital of the Kongadesa or Chera kingdom, which we know, at the period of Hiouen-Thsang's visit, was one of the three great kingdoms occupying the south of the peninsula.¹

The most northern capital of this kingdom we are acquainted with was Tâlakâd, east of Seringapatam; but their dominions extended northward beyond this, as the seventh king of this race, certainly before Hiouen-Thsang's time, ruled over the greater portion of Karnâta; and it is said, "Muganda Pattana, at which the twenty-first and twenty-second kings are said to have resided, was, according to the introductory note, 48 miles north-east from Seringapatam,"²—no great distance from the locality where I have placed Konkanapoura; but their residence at Hiouen-Thsang's time may have been anywhere well within their dominions. There is therefore every probability that the capital of the Konga kingdom in the seventh century may have been at least as far north as I have placed it, but by no power of stretching can it be shown that the permanent dominions of the Cheras extended northward beyond the limit of the present Mysore kingdom. Though, therefore, this identification may not help us much in fixing the site of Konkanapoura, it seems fatal to the idea of Conjeveram being the Kantchipura of the Pilgrim. Any place 2000 *li* north-west from that city would fall beyond the Tungabhadra river, and therefore quite outside the Kongadesa; but starting from Nâgapatam, the route is perfectly intelligible, and may be considered certain within very narrow limits.

¹ Wilson's Mackenzie MSS. i., p. 199, *et seqq.* Dowson, in J.R.A.S., VIII., p. 1, *et seqq.* Taylor, Analysis, Madras Journal, etc.

² J.R.A.S., VIII., p. 14.

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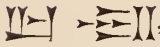

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END OF VOL. VI.




PART III.

292. Urmakh. , a Lion.—The meaning of this word is ascertained by four bas-reliefs (see R, plate 7), one of which represents the King pouring a libation on four dead lions before an altar, which he calls *Urmakhi sha adduku*, the lions which I had slain.  *adduku*, is the pluperfect tense; the perfect would be *adduk*, I slew.

The second bas-relief represents a lion seized by the ear and killed with a spear; and the inscription says, *Urmakh as uzni-su azbat*, I seized by his ear, *as ashmar esha gati-ya*, and with the spear which was in my hands (I destroyed his life).

The third represents a lion seized by the tail and killed with a mace. The inscription says, *Urmakh*, a Lion, *as kun azbat*, I seized by the tail, *as khutbul esha gati-ya*, and with a mace which was in my hands, *eli-su umatti*, I put him to death. The verb  *umatti*, is no doubt derived from *mut*, death (see No. 239).

The fourth represents warriors spearing lions—unfortunately a great part of this inscription is defaced and illegible. I read however  *illat urmakhi suatunu uparriru (?)*, “the rest of those lions they slew.” The meaning of *Urmakh* is therefore well established.

I think, however, that the true name of the Lion was *Ur*, as in Hebrew, where it is named *Ari* ארי; and so in Syriac *Aria*;

and that *Urmakh* meant properly a full grown lion. The syllable *makh* (great) is similarly added to various words, as 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 *khar-makkhu*, “a finely grown tree,” from 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 *khar*, “a tree,” Bellino 58, and *ga makhi*, a great ox, from *ga* an ox.

¶ Does the adverb *urish* mean “like a lion”? *urish lu-amdakhiz*, I fought like a lion. Tig. vi, 2, written 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 .

293. **Kurra.** 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 , a Horse.—This word occurs continually, but it is uncertain how it ought to be pronounced; because the spelling never varies, and the first syllable 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 has a great many different values. I consider the value *kur* the most probable in this word, for two reasons; *first*, because *kurra* is very like the Sanskrit *ghora*, a horse: and *secondly*, because the horse bears the same name 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 *Karra* in the Medo-Scythic language—according to Oppert—and in that language the syllable 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 has *only* the value *kar*.

Its form is 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 , being slightly different from the Assyrian letter.

294. **Gammal.** 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 , a Camel.—Norris, p. 180, also gives the form *gammalu* 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 . The origin of this most ancient and widely diffused word has not been ascertained. Some derive it from the Semitic *Ihamal*, to carry: which is not bad, since the camel is one of the most useful beasts of burden. But since the Sanskrit word is *kramêla*, Furst suggests that this form may come from the Sanskrit *krama*, strength, and may mean “an enduring powerful animal.”—Dict. p. 293.

¶ Perhaps *gammal* may have originally meant the “great” animal; for I find that *gamal* meant *great* in the old Assyrian language; at least I think that this may be inferred from two glosses which succeed each other in 2 R 39, lines 41 and 42, *gishlu gamalu*, great danger—*gishlu turru*, little danger. And again from 2 B 30, 23, *Subat elitu* ‘a lofty house,’ translated *ku sha eli gamma* 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 . I also think that in 2 R 32, 69 and 71, there is an opposition between 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 *gamma* (great) and 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 *tarda* (small). The latter is explained by 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 *ildu* (young).

295. **Aabba.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, a kind of Camel: probably pronounced *yobba*.—The meaning is ascertained by two epigraphs of the Obelisk.

𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *sha sunai tsiri-sin*, Camels with two humps.

296. **Utrati.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Bactrian Camels.—I think this word may be cognate with Pers. *Ustur* a Camel. The meaning is ascertained by the following passages cited by Norris, p. 185:—
VII *utrati sha* 𐎠𐎶 *gungulipi-sin*, seven Camels having two humps. The other passage is similar.

¶ There is a difficult passage in the third Epigraph of the Obelisk, in which the word 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *pirati* occurs. Perhaps we should read 𐎠𐎶 instead of 𐎠𐎶, in which case the word would be *utrati*, and the passage would stand thus: “Tribute of the land of Mutsirri, *aabba sha sunai tsiri-sin; alap nari Sakie itzutzu utrati*, Camels with two humps; the tribe of the river Saki call them *utrati*.”

In support of this translation I may observe, that the two passages which I have quoted from Norris, p. 185, are a proof that *utrati* were really two-humped camels. I think the Epigraph says that they were so called *by the tribe of the Sacæ*. There is nothing improbable in this, and if my translation is correct, it helps us to find the position of the land of Mutsirri—which will be the territory of the Sacæ, or at any rate somewhere near it.

I am aware that previous translators of this passage have rendered 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Alap* “a Bull,” but this gives no satisfactory meaning, and I prefer to view it as being the Hebrew אֵלֶפֶס *alap* “a tribe” [see Furst’s Lex. p. 97]. *Itzutzu* or *izuzu* ‘they call it,’ is a frequent verb—it is the Heb. יָצַע, the reduplicate or more forcible form of יָצַע ‘to utter.’

297. **Anakati.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, She Camels. B.M. 68, 2. —This word has the sign 𐎶 “female” prefixed, as well as 𐎶𐎵 “animal.” The word was first recognized by Dr. Hincks and was one of the first proofs given that the Assyrian was a Semitic Language. אֲנָקָה *Camelus fœmina*, Buxtorf, p. 147, and he says more about the word in p. 1387. In modern Arabic a she-camel is *Nakat* without the vowel.

298. **Alap.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥, a Bull.—Agrees with the Hebrew אֵלֶפֶת. In Syll. 174 *Alap* is rendered by 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧 which usually means the sacred image of a Bull. The plural is *Alpi* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩, see 2 R38, 29, where it is rendered by 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 *ga* “oxen.” Mr. Norris (Dict. p. 647) gives a good example of this word from 2 R16, 28, *pan ālpi*, ‘the front of the oxen,’ rendered in P.C. by 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩.
299. **Ga.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, an Ox.—This is a very common word. At first sight it seems an example of an Indo-Germanic word used in Semitic. Sans. *gá*, *go* (bos). But this supposition is not necessary, for we find the same root in Hebrew.—See Gesenius געה *mugiit bos*.
300. **Am.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, a Buffalo.—A Proto-Chaldæan word; in Assyrian *Riema*.
Miri bulthuti sha 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧 *uzabbit*, Young buffaloes I captured alive, R28, 6; *Anaku kima am ikdi panússun azbat*, I myself like a fiery bull, took the lead (of my army), Sen. T. iii, 74. I believe *ikdi* ‘fiery’ is the Chald. יקר ‘ardens.’
301. **Riema**, a Buffalo. Heb. רימי *bubalus*.—*Kima riemi rabi garna-su ittanassi*, like a great buffalo he raised his horn—(tablet 133 otherwise 102*b*). Of this there is a P.C. version. *Kima riemi rabi*, is rendered *Am rab kim*.
302. **Zini.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧, Sheep.—Agrees with the Heb. צִנּוֹת or צִנּוֹת a flock (either of sheep or goats). *Marsit lu-zini*, the young of sheep, Annals i, 52; see also Obelisk 137 and Tig. vii, 12. Other inscriptions, as R28, 22, and R37, 50, write the word in the form 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩.
- ¶ The singular of the word צִנּוֹת ‘a flock’ is צֶנֶה or צֶנֶה ‘a sheep;’ for which the Ch. and Syr. substitute עֶנֶה, עֶנֶה or עֶנֶה, by a remarkable law of permutation of the letters צ and ע which occur in many other words, as ארע for ארצ (terra), עמר for צמר (lana), &c. This Syriac word עֶנֶה resembles the Greek (accus. case) *Οἷν* ‘a sheep.’
- ¶ The word *Zini* is usually preceded by *Lu*, which appears to mean ‘animal;’ but sometimes it stands alone, as in one copy of Tig. vii, 12.

303. **Giná.** 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, a Sheep; plural *ginie* 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 Sheep.—I think this word is the Chaldee and Syriac ܓܝܢܐ, which is equivalent to the Hebrew גִּנְיָ (see the preceding article). Instead of the letter *y* *Ain* the Arabic substitutes the aspirate *Ghain* in this word [Arab. *Ghanam*, a sheep].

This word occurs in Phill. ii, 36. "Every day I presented eight sheep to the god Nergal." And again ii, 39, *eli ginie labri giná usatir*, to the former sheep I added one sheep more.

¶ Nebuchadnezzar's inscription in the Chaldee of Babylon uses *ginie*; the Assyrian inscriptions of Nineveh use *zini* (No. 302).



304. **Hukludi.** 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫, Sheep. Chald. ܠܘܬܐ. Bellino lines 17, 18, 23 and 31.—The parallel passage in Sen. T. i. 50 and following lines, three times substitutes 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 *tsieni* "sheep."

In 2R38, 26 the word *hukludi* seems to be represented by its first syllable 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 alone. Three explanations are given, one of which is 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 *Rubutz*. I think this is the Heb. רבצ a flock of sheep or herd of cattle (properly *lying down*, or feeding in great tranquillity).



305. **Kupi.** 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫, Monkeys.—*Pagie u kupi tarbit saddi sun*, (. . . .) and monkeys, natives of their mountains.—Opp. Eg. p. 79 [part of the plunder of Thebes]. Oppert translates *kupi* by *simias*, which I think probable, since the Hebrew agrees; קופ *kup*, simia.

306. **Nakhira.** 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫, Dolphins.—So called from their spouting water from their nostrils. From Heb. נַחַר *nakhar*, to snort: Syriac *nakhira*, a nostril. *As elippi sha Arvadaia irkab, nakhira as yabba rabi iduk*; on ships of Arvad he embarked, dolphins in the Great Sea he slew.—R28, 3. The Great Sea is the Mediterranean. Arvad or Aradus was an ancient and celebrated seaport. In the long lists of presents and tribute offered to the Assyrian Kings we find mentioned *ka nakhiri binuta yabba*, the teeth of dolphins, creatures of the sea.

¶ I gave this translation of the passage in October, 1859 (Journ. R.A.S. Vol. 19, p. 127), but I have since found that the curious word *nakhira* had been previously recognized by Oppert.

307. **Namzu.** , Crocodiles.—The king of Egypt sent to the king of Assyria a number of rare animals for his museum or menagerie.—R 28, 29. Among these are mentioned “Namzu fish; creatures of the River” .


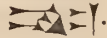
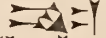
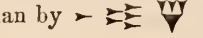
I offered a conjecture in 1859 (*Journ. R.A.S.* Vol. 19, p. 133), that *Namzfa* was the Egyptian plural of *Xamzfa*, which we know from Herodotus was the native name of the Crocodile. M. Oppert has accepted this explanation of the word. Egyptian plurals often begin with N (vide Champollion's grammar).

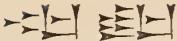
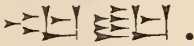
















308. **Aribi.** , Locusts.—Heb. *Aribah*, a locust .




In the description of the great invasion of the Elamites, which preceded the battle of Khaluli, the following fine simile occurs (R 41, 43): “Then, as a mighty swarm of locusts covers the face of the earth, they rushed in destroying multitudes against me *kima tibut aribi mahadi sha pan matti, bitkharish ana epish dukmati tibuni tsirú-ya.*”






This recalls to mind the description in the prophet Joel of the utter desolation of Judæa by the Assyrian armies, who spread over it as a cloud of destroying locusts, obscuring the face of heaven—“That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left, hath the canker-worm eaten For, a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness.”—Joel ii. 3.












Then the simile of the locusts is still further continued: “They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall; they shall climb up into the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief.”—Joel ii. 9.







309. **Ishati.** , Fire. Flames.—“140 villages which are on Mount Arzabia I took, and burnt with fire,” *in ishati ashруп.*—Botta 76, 11. Often expressed by the monogram . Thus, in a short prayer to the god of Fire [tablet K 44 side 2, lines 10, 11], the P.C.  *illa*, is translated in Assyrian by  as *ishati-ka illiti* “with

318. **Kasar.** , a King.—This very curious word appears to me to be the origin of the German *Kaiser*. This idea was published by Norris in his *Dict.* p. 624, but it has been known to me for some time. Mr. Norris's reference to 43 II 42 *c* is wrong. It should be 33 II 42 *c*. The passage referred to is  .  *i.e.* “*Kasar* signifies a King.” This stands among a number of other terms, each of which signifies a King. Mr. Norris has given no other example of the word: I will therefore add one, which is found in the same page and column, l. 18.     .    .         *Kasar mu I kan, kitsir matti-su, VI thu kaspa salali*: “The King's first year. Abundance in his land. Six *thu* of silver” According to Hincks (Norris's *Dict.* p. 461) six *thu* would be one-tenth of a *mana*.

 Perhaps however  should be read *shatti-su* ‘in his year,’ *i.e.* ‘in his first or regnal year;’ which would correspond in meaning with the P.C. .

319. **Bil.**  , a Lord, a Chief. Often written  . Heb.  .—In 2 R 36, lines 7, 8, 9, we find three names for the Leader of an Army, or the General in command: *alikh makhri*, *bil pani*, and *bil emuki*, to which correspond the P.C. terms  and  . Norris has given a copious account of the word *Bil* and its derivatives (*Dict.* p. 84).

320. **Biltu.**  , Government. Lordship. 2 R 36, 61.—The orthography agrees with that of the preceding article *Bil*  .—Several variations of the word are given in the opposite column, namely   *bilitu*,   *bilatu*,   *ebiltu* (in which the initial vowel is remarkable), and    *bahilatu*.





















321. **Bahilat.**  , sometimes  , Government. Province. City.—Same as    *bahilatu* in the last article, meaning ‘government: lordship.’ It agrees exactly with the Heb.  ‘a City,’ see Gesenius p. 163. “Of all the kings of former days, my fathers who went before me, who reigned before me over Assyria, and governed the city of

from B.M. 73, 16 has been well explained by Oppert (Khors. p. 78). I agree with him, except as to the feminine verb *titiku*, which I would derive from Heb. עתיק 'antiquus,' from verb עתק 'antiquus esse.' We have here the Hiphil of this verb, 'ex antiquo tenet.' [Schindler renders עתק perseverare 'to continue.'] This queen of the Arabians *Samsi* 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 evidently took her name from her deity *Samas* the Sun, of which it is a female form. 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲 for 'worship' is found in several other passages.

325. *Tamu*. 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵, a Day.—This word is so important and common that I will add a few more examples of it [see No. 24]. 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *sha tamu* 'of a day,' i.e. 'every day.'—Phill. ii, 36. "Every day I gave 8 sheep unto Nergal and Lash the gods of the temple of Mislam and Tigga."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Tami uma* 'on the same day.'—In 1 Mich. iii, 23 (R pl. 70) a curse is pronounced on him who shall destroy the landmark. *Ishtar billat shamie u kiti, Tami uma ana makhar Ili u Sarri ana silikti lirtidad-su*, "may Ishtar queen of heaven and earth, on one and the same day before both god and the king, plunge him into ruin." Here the P.C. word *silik* (evil) is of doubtful pronunciation: I think Norris reads *hul* (Dict. 419): the spelling is *si-lik*. *Lirtidad* is the opt. of the T conjugation of a verb *radad*. The root in its simplest form may be the Heb. רטה otherwise ירט (aliquem) præcipitavit, conjecit, præcipitem dedit. (*Ges.*) The LXX have ερριψε. Job xvi, 11. But the Hiphil of ירד also means 'deorsum misit,' ex. gr. 'in Orcum.' *Ges.* I suppose therefore that the two roots ירט and ירד are cognate. A similar imprecation in Tig. viii, 87 says, 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *I tama lu titzu likbi*, 'may he not call one day happy!' This is nearly Rawlinson's translation (in 1857), and it seems to be undoubtedly correct. In E.I.H. viii, 64 Nebuchadnezzar boasts that he built the temple of Babylon in fifteen days. 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *In XV tamu sibir-sha usaktil*. This is the famous passage which shows the truthfulness of the historian Berosus, who relates this fact in his history. This remarkable confirmation of the results of Assyrian decipherment was first

announced by Sir H. Rawlinson at a lecture at the Royal Institution in May 1855.

326. **Kharran.**                    

fudit (put to flight) *Ges.* 967. *Bukhar* 'an army' is from the Assyrian verb *pakhar* 'to assemble.'

¶ See also Gloss. No. 53.

327. **Asbut.** 𐎠 𐎢𐎽𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎽 Oracles; or *adj.* Oracular. Ch. 𐎠𐎢𐎽 Magus.

On Sargiua's invasion, Merodach Baladan hastily collected the holy images, to prevent them from falling into the invader's hands and being carried off to Nineveh. "Iri-su asbuti u ili asib libbi-sun ki istiu upakhir, ana Dur-Yakin usarib; *the gods dwelling in the Oracle-Cities he collected them every one, and brought them into the city of Dur-Yakina.*"—Opp. Khors. pl. 14. The translation of 'iri-su asbuti,' *urbes ejus oraculis insignes*, is due to Oppert. I think it is correct, and if so it is of great importance, because some modern scholars have supposed the word 𐎠𐎢𐎽, which occurs repeatedly in the book of Daniel, to be a corruption of the Greek *σοφος*,—whereas we now see it in an Assyrian inscription of the eighth century B.C.

¶ The city of *Asbit* or *Asbat*, 𐎠 𐎢𐎽 is mentioned 2 R 67, 11 among the *makhazi* (holy cities) of Babylonia, where great sacrifices were offered on solemn occasions. Perhaps *Asbat* means 'the oracle.'



¶ Moreover, if we turn to 2 R 15, 5 we shall find that 𐎠 𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *Assabut* is explained by 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *namga* (the Oracle) 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 (of the divine *Kua*). This *Kua* was a famous shrine of Marduk, mentioned in the E.I.H. inscription and elsewhere. *Namga* may be the well known Hebrew word *Nam*, 'a divine voice,' which occurs so often in the Old Testament in the phrase *נאם יהוה* 'saith the Lord:' (*ga* being merely a P.C. case ending, which is added to many words, as 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 for 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 'good, fortunate, holy:.' and 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 for the Assyrian 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 'a field' in 2 R 15, 18). The text 2 R 15, 5 after explaining that *Assabut* means the divine *Kua*, adds 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *ushatzi* 'it spoke.' If we now turn to line 4 of the same plate, we find another form of the word 𐎠𐎢𐎽, namely *ussab* or 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *ussabi* (in the gen. case). The *Bit ussabi* is explained 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *Bit galla* 'the great Temple,' *Kua* 'of the Oracle.'

preters. Yet I think the account is pretty clear. On the approach of Sargina's army, Merodach Baladan withdrew into his city, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The first thing he did was what the commandant of an attacked fortress generally does at the present day. He threw down and levelled everything within a certain distance of the Citadel. In this level space he then dug a broad and deep fosse, and filled it with water from the neighbouring Euphrates. At first there were bridges over it, (no doubt for convenience), but on Sargina's approach he cut them down. Nevertheless the city was taken by storm, but Merodach Baladan escaped during the darkness of the night.











“Ashlatân lapan dur-su rabi unissi, *he levelled everything to the distance of a rope's length from his great citadel.*” The verb 𐎠𐎢𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 *unissi* or *unitsi* stands here for the very common verb *unitsi* ‘he levelled.’ The substitution of N for M is frequent in Assyrian words. Thus, for instance, we find *khansha* ‘fifty’ instead of *khamsha* 𐎧𐎻𐎲 ; and *mitzut* for *nitzut* ‘hostile.’

333. **Misikhta.** 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 also written 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 and 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 𐎠𐎢𐎢 , Measure. Agrees exactly with the Heb. *misikh* מִשַׁח ‘mensuravit.’ “Amsukh misikhta, *I measured the measure.*”—Bellino line 52. I will take the occasion of this word to call attention to some very curious speculations of Mr. Norris on the measurement of Sargina's palace (see Dict. p. 524). He seems not to have been aware that I proposed a similar theory (though the details are very different) in a paper read before the R. S. of Literature in March, 1861. I will therefore reprint a portion of it, from Vol. 7 of the Transactions, p. 178.

“In line 45 of the same inscription [Sargina's cylinder] when Sargina was about to build his palace at Khorsabad, we find, what is very curious, that he was prompted by a superstitious feeling to build the palace of such a size that the number of cubits contained in its area corresponded exactly with the number of his own name!—So ancient was the idea that the letters in a man's name, translated into numbers, had a mysterious influence over his destiny, and so

far was it from being only a late Jewish superstition.—It follows, that Sargina must have used habitually an alphabetic and not the cuneiform writing; for, can we suppose that numerical values attached to all the cuneiform signs, so that a Cuneiform name could be read with certainty as a number?" And again in p. 181 I said, "I now proceed to another portion of the text (line 55), where we find a series of numbers. The sign  is four times repeated; then  three times; then follows one *vas* (or *sus*), three *kani*, and two *hu*, which last we know to be *cubits*, since the word is explained by *amma* in the E. I. H. inscription, Heb. *amma* אַמָּה 'a cubit'—I am unable to say what sum these numerals when added together amount to. But there immediately follows: "Nibit mu-ya, *the number of my name*, misikhti dur-su ashkunu, *I determined should be the measure of the palace.*" Nibit is sometimes used for 'name' (as, 'ashkira nibit-zu') and sometimes for 'number,' as in the phrase *la nibi* 'numberless.' 'The number of a man's name,' brings to mind a passage in the Apocalypse."—Transactions R.S.L. Vol. 7.

These speculations, being now supported by the concurrent opinion of Mr. Norris, will I hope be further examined.

334. **Kizir** or **Kitzir**.          .—This word has various meanings. Mr. Norris has an excellent article upon it (Dict. p. 549). I will at present only consider one of its meanings. In No. 318 I have translated it 'abundance,' a sense which it bears in Arabic. But on further consideration of the passage, compared with one in 2R15, 20 I suspect that *Kizir* in Assyrian is equivalent to *Kasar* 'a King' in Proto-Chaldean. The text of 2R33, 17 is obscure, but if we suppose that the scribe wrote *sar-ka* by mistake for *ka-sar* it becomes all right. I will give this line (so altered) and the following line, to show this.




Line 17. P.C. *Kasar tuta-uddu*. Assyrian. *Kizir ushatzi* (the King spoke, or decreed).

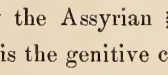
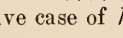
Line 18. P.C. *Kasar mu I kan*. Assyrian. *Kizir shatti-su* (the King in his first or regnal year).

N.B.—The P.C. verb *tuta-uddu* (usually *tutan-uddu*) is very common; it always answers to the Assyrian *ushatzi*.

I now proceed to the passage 2 R 15, 20.

The P.C. text has *Lib kasarda bita kuntu turri*; of which the Assyrian version is *In libbi kizir, bit uzakhar* (within the palace I built a small new house): *i.e.* within the precinct of the palace, which usually contained many separate buildings.

N.B.—These are words of frequent occurrence, namely  *kum* 'new'  *turri* 'small,' answering to the Assyrian  *zakhar* 'small.' With respect to *kasarda*, since we have from *sar* 'king' the adjective *sarda* 'royal' or 'crown,' I presume that *kasar* 'king' has the adjective *kasarda* 'anything royal' *ex.gr.* 'a royal palace.' If these remarks are correct, *Kizir* must have meant 'a Palace' in Assyrian. Surely this must be identical with the Arabic word *قصر* *kasr* 'a Palace.' If so, we must either give up the connexion of the word *Kasar* with the German *Kaiser*, or suppose that both of them had the same origin as the Arabic *Kasr*.

¶ In the fourth line of the same plate 2 R 15 the P.C. *Bit kasarda* is translated by the Assyrian  *Bit kizri*. This word *kizri* is the genitive case of *kizir* . This passage confirms the other.

¶ It will be said that *Kaiser* is derived from the Latin *Cæsar*. The connexion is of course evident, but some think that the Roman patronymic *Cæsar* meant originally that the family was 'of royal descent.'

¶ The beautiful building at Seville, known as the *Alcazar* or Royal Palace (Arab. *al kasr*), much resembles in its name the cuneiform *Kasar*.

¶ The Czar of Russia bears the same eastern name. The derivation from *Cæsar* is now generally rejected, because in the Russian bible *Czar* or *Tzar* signifies 'a King,' as in the Lord's Prayer 'thy kingdom' is rendered *t.ar-stvoe tvoe*.—Old Russian books speak of the *Tzar* of Kasan, the *Tzar* of the Krim, the *Tzar* of the golden horde, and other petty Tartarian and Siberian kings are named *tzars*. Therefore, says Mr. Tooke (quoted in Rees's Cyclopædia)

338. *Dapanu*. $\Sigma\Upsilon\Upsilon \neq \neq$, a Yoke.—This occurs in 2 R 27, 23 along with the two preceding words *zamad* and *elû*. That they have all the same meaning seems scarcely doubtful. $\Sigma\Upsilon\Upsilon \neq \neq \nabla \neq \Upsilon \boxplus$, *dapanu sha rukubi* ‘yoke of a chariot.’

This word *Dapanu*, if I mistake not, is a *metathesis* or transposition (and a very remarkable one) of the Chald. and Syr. *Padanu* ‘a yoke,’ $\Upsilon\neq\neq$. Such permutatious are frequent in Hebrew, and also in Assyrian, as *tikbi* for *tibki*, a measure of length (both of which forms are in use); and *bidmuk* for *midbuk* ‘an altar,’ the former being the Assyrian, the latter the Hebrew form.

¶ I think I find the same meaning of *Dapanu* in the following passage. *Lib libbi sha* (....) ‘descendant of (....);’ *sarri dapini nakur Ashur* ‘the king who subjugated (or yoked) the enemies of Ashur.’—Tig. vii, 56. $\neq\Upsilon \neq \neq$ *Nakur* for *Nakiri* ‘enemies.’

339. *Nabû*. $\neq\Upsilon \neq \neq \langle$ a Prophet. Also a Prophecy, Oracle, or Oracular Voice. The Hebrew agrees.— $\neq\neq$ *naba* ‘to prophecy’ (etiam *insanire, furere*, ut *μαντις* a *μαινομαι*. *Ges.*) $\neq\neq$ ‘a prophet.’ This interesting word is in common use at the present day. Arab. *Nabi*, the Prophet. In 2 R 7, 36 there is an important list of the various meanings of the word *nabû* $\neq\Upsilon \neq \neq \langle$. It was, in the first place, identified with the name of the god *Nebo* or *Nabo*, written $\neq\neq \neq\Upsilon \neq \neq \Sigma\Upsilon\Upsilon$ or $\neq\neq \neq \boxplus$. It is also explained by the word $\neq \neq$ *Asbat* ‘an Oracle.’ This important verification of the word *Asbat* was accidentally omitted in its proper place in No. 327.

340. *Nabi*. $\neq\Upsilon \neq \neq$ the Gods.—In Sargon’s cylinder line 45 (or line 55 of Oppert’s folio edition) the King says: “In a great crowd and affluence of the people of every rank, I lifted up my hands (*attali kati*) to the gods dwelling at Niniveh ($\langle\Upsilon \neq \neq$ *sibat Ninua*).—*Sikri pi-ya kinû ki uluni eli Nabi tsiri bili-ya*, ‘when the prayers of my zealous lips had arisen to the great gods my lords, *mahatish ikhibu* ‘they were greatly pleased;’ *epish ar, khirie nahar ikbuni* ‘and commanded me to build the city and excavate the river.’—Here *sikri* $\Upsilon\Upsilon \neq\Upsilon\langle$ or $\langle\Upsilon\langle \neq\Upsilon\Upsilon$ is the Arabic *shukr* prayer, praise, thankgiving—*shakar Allah* ‘to praise God.’ (This



word may be related to the Latin *sacra* 'religious rites,' which originally came to Italy from the East.)





Nabi tsiri bili-ya 'the great gods my lords.' *Nabi* was therefore a Proto-Chaldaeian name for the gods. It is evidently the plural of *Nabû* (see last article), but I do not find *Nabû* used in Assyrian for 'a god' simply, though it sometimes means the god *Nebo* in particular. But if we turn to the Scythian language we shall find proof almost certain that *Nab* or *Nabo* meant 'a god' in that dialect. The ancient symbol for 'a god' was a star. This must have been invented by a nation who worshipped the stars, and all the host of heaven, as their gods. In process of time the star * degenerated into the form $\rightarrow\star$ (which we find in the Assyrian writing). And the plural word $\star\star$ 'the gods' degenerated into $\rightarrow\star\star$. This latter form the Assyrians used (writing it $\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$) to express the syllable *Nab*; for the simple reason that *Nap* or *Annap* meant 'gods' in Scythic. This curious discovery was made by Mr. Norris some years ago. Similarly 'the stars' $\star\star$ came to be written $\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$. But the Michaux stones in the British Museum preserve the ancient form.










Annap is used both for 'a god' and 'gods.' This word however reduces itself to *Nap* or *Nab* since the first syllable $\rightarrow\star$ *An* is the sign of 'divinity,' perhaps not pronounced (see Mr. Norris's Scythic Vocabulary, p. 199).


341. **Munnabta.** $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ $\rightarrow\star$, a Ventriloquist. Inspired Man. Prophet. In 2R7, 47 this is placed among the words derived from *Nabu* a Prophet, or Oracle. Among the various explanations there given of *Nabu* one is especially remarkable in line 38, where it is rendered $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ *Ka Kabal*, or *Ka Kabli* 'Voice within,' or 'Internal Voice.' And, as if to prevent doubt, the Assyrian scribe has altered $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ *ka* into the full word $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ *kagu* which in P.C. means 'a Voice;' (see Syll. 476-481 where *kagu* becomes *ka* by reduction, and is then explained (*inter alia*) by $\rightarrow\star$ $\rightarrow\star$ *pi* 'the voice'). Now if we turn to line 47 we shall find that *Munnabta* is explained $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\star\star$ 'a man possessing an Internal Voice' *i.e.* 'a Ventriloquist.' It is unnecessary to observe that ventriloquism might have played an

important part among the tricks by which the pagan and idolatrous priests deceived their votaries. See Rees's Cyclopædia, art. *Ventriloquus*. The LXX call such a person *Εγγαστριμυθος*, other authors have *Εγγαστριμαντις*, showing that he was supposed to have a *prophetic* or *oracular* spirit within him.

342. *Nibitta*.  an Oracle. In 2 R 7, 42 this word is placed among the words correlated to *Nabu* 'an Oracle.'—This gloss enables us to explain the names of certain cities, as  *Nibit Laguda* 'the Oracle of Laguda;' which is frequently mentioned in Sargon's inscriptions.

343. *Zamat*. , A kind of precious stone.—In No. 30 I have offered the conjecture that this stone was the *Onyx*. I have since found the following strong confirmation of it. In 2 R 40, 48 is the gloss  from which we learn that the *zamat* stone was also called the *tsibru*. Now if we consult Schindler's Lexicon we shall find that  *tsipra* means the *Onyx* stone; therefore I think the *zamat* is proved to be the *Onyx*. But  *tsipra* has yet another meaning, that of *unguis* 'a nail.' So in Greek the word *Ονυξ* signifies both the precious stone and the nail. Some say, this was because the stone is semi-transparent, but this is uncertain. At any rate, the resemblance holds good in both languages.

344. *Kabaz*. , a Furnace . The Hebrew word is , but the final N is merely formative, as is evident from the Arabic *khabbāz* 'a baker,' whence *khubz* 'bread.' In 2 R 27, 47 we find *kabaz sha ishati* explained by  *kum tintin* 'a fire-furnace.' Here  *kum* 'fire' is explained by  *ishati* as in Gloss. No. 309 (of which it affords another useful example); and *kabaz* is explained by *tintin*. This is the Heb.  'a furnace,' from  *tannan* 'to smoke' in Syr. and Ch. (see Gesen.) The reduplicate  arises naturally, as in many other verbs.

¶ Hence, if I mistake not, we may perceive the true origin of the name of Mount *Etna*, viz. that it was so called by the Phœnician sailors  *Etnan* "the Furnace," or "the Smoking Mountain."


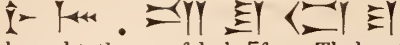
[Greek *Αιτταν* (acc. case).] The similarity of the verb *αιθειν* 'to burn' may be fortuitous.


345. **Kishti.** Thorns. Heb. קוצים 'thorns.' Exod. xxii, 6—from root קצה 'to cut.'—*Ikhlibu kireb kishti*, 'they hid themselves among the thorns': (flight of Tivumnan king of the Susians and his son—bas relief in the British Museum). This passage has a very singular resemblance to 2 Chron. xxxiii, 11, "The Assyrians took Manasseh *among the thorns*, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon."—The Hebrew text has חוהים 'thorns.'
346. **Isku.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠, a Weapon. It would take too long at present to examine the various meanings of this word. I will therefore confine myself here to giving a passage in which it has clearly the general meaning of a 'weapon.' Ursa king of Urarda, having been defeated by Sargina, slew himself with a sword of iron which he held in his own hand (see the passage which I have quoted in No. 104). Now the same event is more briefly related in Botta 36, 14 in these terms: "I caused the death of Ursa king of Urarda, who in despair ended his life with his own weapon," *in isku ramani-su usutá napishtu's*. We know from the other passage that this 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 was a sword of iron.
347. **Urrut.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 Hasty, sudden, eager, violent.—From the Heb. הרר or הרה a root which denotes any *ardent* passion of the mind, as zeal, anger, indignation, &c.




Urrut is used in Assyrian more as an adverb than an adjective.





Oppert's Egyptian campaign p. 65 [When I heard that Egypt had revolted] *instantly* I gave command to my army to march thither, *urrut táemu askun sunuti, kharranu Mitsur usaskin*. The next line says: '*eagerly* and in haste they went,' *urish khantish irdu*.



By the help of this clear and unmistakable passage we are enabled to translate three others which occur in R pl. 41, and which until now have offered difficulty. In line 2 "Shadu-nakhundi king of Susiana, after his defeat, did not complete three months (*i.e.* did not live three months). Deprived of his Crown, he died a *violent death*," (*urrut imtu*).—In line 53 of same plate; "I prayed to the gods to give me Victory. They heard my prayers *eagerly*




where *salmish* is written . Also in same work p. 80,  *salmish issunu-mma*, 'they brought them safely' [from Thebes to Niniveh : viz. the spoils of Egypt.]


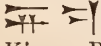
350. **Kamish.**  *adv.* For ever. Heb. קרם *manere, durare.*



'May the gods put him for ever under the power of his enemies,' *liskasibu-su kamish*  Sarg. 67, also Botta 61 l. ult. and many other inscriptions. Here  has the value *mish* as in the preceding article *salmish*. But in other texts we find *kamish* written at full length  as in Esar. ii, 5 'In front of the great gate of the entrance of Niniveh I placed them to remain for ever,' *usasib sunuti kamish*.



351. **Azmish.**  *adv.* Nobly : or Strongly.—This is another example of  used for *mish*. E. I. H. iii, 62, *Bit azmish udammik*, 'I built the temple grandly.' Porter's transcript of the same passage in the cursive character replaces  by  *mish*. *Azmish* may mean 'nobly,' from *izmi* which more than once replaces in the texts *Rubu* 'a nobleman': or 'strongly' from Heb. עזים *fortis fuit : potens fuit* : which is the root of *izmi*.





352. **Labbish.**  or  *adv.* From the Heart. Heartily. From Heb. לב 'the heart' (same in Arab. and Syr.).










 *labbish annadir* 'I vowed from my heart,' Opp. Khors. l. 40. The verb *annadir* is the Heb. נדר *nadar* 'vovit.' *Again*, R 41, 54. I prayed to all the gods to give me victory. They heard my prayer, and came to my assistance. Then I vowed from my heart  *labbish annadir*  *atribi-sha* 'their sacrifices.'—The vow of the King is, to increase the number or beauty of the victims offered to the gods. *Atribi* from טרפ *esca, cibus*. The gods were supposed to eat the altar-offerings.

353. **Nisakku.**  or more simply *Nisak*  The King's lieutenant. A Prince representing the King. Perhaps the Chald. נסיד 'princeps,' but of this I am










not certain.—In art. 287 of this glossary I translated the line *nisak nigut lá eli-sun usakin*, ‘a Chief of the assembly I did not impose on them.’—I was led to this translation by the context. The king did not wish to unduly influence the Assembly, or overawe its deliberations.—I have since found the following confirmation. In 2R32, 7 *Nisaku* is explained   *Nuab*. Now I have shown in No. 179 that *Nuab* meant a Viceroy or Vicegerent. The word remains in Arabic to the present day: *نواب nuab* ‘lieutenant, substitute, viceroy, vicegerent,’ Catafago’s dict. p. 291.





354. **Lisik.**   a Cell, a closed strong chamber.—In B.M. 33, 16 Sargina restores an ancient Palace, and replaces its *timin* or sacred clay cylinder in a strong cell, which he fences round with large stones. *Eli pili danni timmin-su kima Lisik sadi zakri asbuk*. Although I have only met with this word once, yet it agrees so very well with the Hebrew that I think it worth pointing out. Heb. *לשך* or *לשנה* *Cella, conclave.* plur. *לשבות*. Often used in Hebrew for cells where treasure was kept. The LXX render it *γαζοφυλακτιον*.

355. **Illat.**     Armed force, an Army. This is apparently the Heb. *חיל Hil* ‘an army.’ Yet it may possibly be the Heb. *קוח* ‘force,’ ‘strength.’

         *upahir illat-zu* ‘he collected his forces,’ Opp. Eg. p. 77. The verb *pahir* or *pakhir* is especially used of assembling an army; whence *buhar* is ‘an assembled army.’

Uparriru illat-zu ‘I had destroyed his forces,’ Sen. T. iii, 53. Same phrase in Opp. Eg. p. 78, but with the meaning ‘they destroyed his forces. Similar expressions are *uparrir buhar-su*, Sen. T. iv, 42 and *uparrir kharranat-zun*, Bavian 39 (Norris 82). In fact *Buhar*, *Kharranat* and *Illat* all mean ‘an army.’

356. **Nasik.**    a Prince. *pl. Nasikkan*
      Chald. *נסיד* *Princes.*

In R20, 24 a man named     is said to be *Nasik* of the land of *Dagara*, and that he revolted *itabalkat*. The other copy has simply *balkat*; the first seems a *Hithpael* form.—In R42, 15

we read that the king of the Susians, and the kings of Babylon, and the princes (*nasikkan*) of Chaldæa fled from the battle.—See also No. 353.

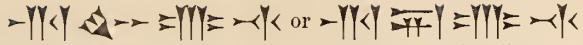

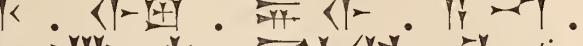


357. **Rihu.** $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠}$ < a King or Governor. This word is explained in Syll. 345 by the monogram 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 which is known to mean 'a King.'—The pronunciation of the monogram is also given as $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠}$ *Siba*, which can also be proved by various other texts.—If $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠}$ is another form of the word (which is uncertain), Sargina calls himself *Rihu sha sarrut mati kilallan ukinnu*, the king who wields the sovereignty of all nations. (Sarg. 31.) The plural appears to be *Ri'eti*. In B.M. 40, 52 the king commands to make for the adornment of his palace sacred bulls of stone, and $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠}$. $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠}$ *zalmat ri'eti*, statues of kings. But there is another form of the word *Rihu* much used, which appears to read *Rihamu*, *Riham*, or *Rihum*, just as we find indifferently written *Rubu* or *Rubam*, which is another term for 'a king.' The Assyrian form of *Rih'm* or *Rihû* is $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣}$. *Rihû kinu sha Ashur Marduk sarrut la-shanan usatlimu-su*, the glorious king to whom Ashur and Marduk have given an unequalled kingdom.—Sarg. 3.




The Babylonian form is $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎠}$. In R 51, 2 Nebuchadnezzar is called *Riham kinu*, &c. &c. The same phrase is found in R 52, 3 and R 65, 2.


It will be observed that in the word *Rihu* the letters 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 (usually *bit*) and 𐎠𐎢𐎠 (usually *mal* or *bit*) take the unusual sound of *hu*. This is said to be because *mal*, *bit*, and *hu* all signified 'a house' 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 or 𐎠𐎢𐎠 . In fact, I find that *Hu* is 'a house' in all the Turkish family of languages.

¶ Since 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 in this word has the value of *U*, which is generally expressed by 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 (a nearly resembling form) it may be surmised that these forms were originally the same, and that ancient usage alone was the reason why 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 was retained in this word.




¶ *Rihu* is the Heb. רעה *Rex*, but which originally meant *Pastor gregis*. So Homer calls a king *ποιμενα λαων*.

358. **Rihut.**  a Kingdom, or Government. In the Senkereh inscription R 51, 8, Marduk  *Shik ili*, 'Chief of the gods;'  .   *mati u nisi ana rihuti iddina*, 'has given the land and the people unto my governance.'

But in R 65, 10 we find *Marduk bil rabu* 'Marduk the great Lord,'  .   *nisat rabsati ana rihuti itinam*, 'has given the wide world into my governance.'—Observe the two different ways in which *iddina* or *itinam* is spelt. The final M is merely emphatic.

359. **Irtihu.**  . This verb has two different meanings, being used by the Assyrians to express the T conjugation both of ראה 'to see' and רעה 'to rule.' But this very circumstance gives it a great interest, for it illustrates both the *acumen* of Gesenius and the utility of the Assyrian language in explaining the Hebrew.—Gesenius says, p. 942, "I suspect that the verbs רעה and ראה had the same origin—that of viewing or overlooking"—(*suspicio ejusdem stirpis esse verba רעה et ראה et propriè adspiciendi vim habere*). That such is the case appears very probable from the examples which I am about to adduce.

Irtihu 'he rules,' from רעה, R 15, 59 *Ummanat Ashur kinish irtihu*, Nobly did he reign over the loyal people of Ashur.

Irtihu 'he beholds,' from ראה, Botta 169 l. penult. 'Men of all the lands whom the Sun beholds, I placed in my new City,' *Nisi mati mal Shams irtihu*  .  .  This is repeated in more poetical language in Oppert's Sargon (folio edition, p. 20, l. 2) *Bahilat arbahi lishan akhitu, admie la mitharti, asibut sadi u mati mal irtihu Bir Ili bil gimri*, People of mingled foreign languages, men quite uncivilized, dwellers in all the hills and plains which the Light of the Gods the lord of the universe beholds. The same phrase is found without variation in p. 8 of the same book l. 103.

360. **Aklū.** 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 Wise. Prudent. Intelligent. This is the Arabic عاقل *Akil*, or عقلي *Akli* 'prudent,' 'wise,' &c., from عقل *Akl* intellect, knowledge, prudence, wisdom, &c. Catafago's dict. 162: with whom Schindler agrees, who writes and transcribes the word 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *aqal*, prudens, sapiens from 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *aql*, 'mens,' &c. &c.

This word occurs frequently in the accounts of the Assyrian parliament or assembly of notables. Along with the men of rank, senators, &c., assembled in the king's palace, we always find mentioned 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *Akli, Sapiri*, the Wise men and the Learned men, who are sometimes described (*ex. gr.* Botta 51, 95) as *mudut ini kala-ma* knowing (or skilled) in arts of every kind.






361. **Sapiru.** 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 a Learned man. From the Heb. and Chald. ספר *scriba regius*, γραμματεὺς, *librorum sacrorum peritus*—amicus regis qui ei *ab epistolis* est (the king's private secretary). *Ges.* which is from ספר any book or writing, in Hebrew, and likewise in Assyrian, *ex. gr.* 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *siprati* 'letters,' Opp. Eg. p. 61, l. 5.

362. **Khaipá.** 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 Chiefs. Botta 75, 4. 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *Khaipá Arbaia rukuti, asibut mat bari sha aklu sapiru la idu, sha ana sar yamma bilat-zun la ishmama*; 'Chiefs of the distant Arabiaus, inhabiting a savage land, which my wise men and my learned men knew nothing about; and who had paid tribute to no former king.'—The word *Khaipa* for 'an Arabian Chief' is interesting, being still retained in the Arabic *Kabba* a King or Chief (Richardson's dict. p. 1112).





363. **Kipi.** 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 a Chief.—Bellino l. 18, "I received the tribute of Nebo-bil-mu Chief (*Kipi*) of Ararat."—This chief's name may mean 'Nebo lord of uames,' 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁. The plural is *Kipani* 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 which is chiefly found in the account of Ashurbanipal's Egyptian wars.

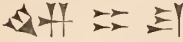
364. **Kaga.** 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 (*Accad.*) Voice. Speech. Explained in Syll. 477 by the Assyrian 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *Pi* 'the voice,' which is the Heb. פה or פי the mouth. The shorter form 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *Ka* is



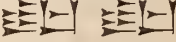
more frequently used. It has the same meaning, as appears from 2 R 8, 29 and also l. 31 where *ka mu* is translated *pi-ya*. In 2 R 10 the Assyrian *iktabi* 'he shall say,' or 'he shall speak,' is rendered in P.C. *bannan ka* he shall utter? speech (or voice).

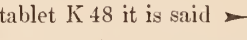










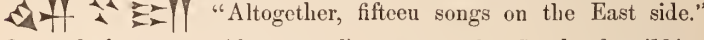
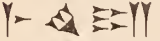

365. **Kagasuni.**  They call it.—A verb derived from *Kaga* 'speech' (*Accad.*) B.M. 17, 6 *In eli Til kamri sha Ar-khumut kagasuni Ar ebus, Ar Kar-Ashur mu-su abbi*. "On the ruined Acropolis of what men call the *New Town* I built a city: *Kar Ashur* was the name I gave to it." *Khumut* means 'new.'—The old Acropolis being destroyed, probably in some former war, the inhabitants having rebuilt some of the houses below, naturally called it the *New Town*. Tiglath rebuilt the upper city or Acropolis and called it *Kar-Ashur*, "Ashur's fortress."—Another account of this transaction is found in 2 R 67, 10. Instead of *kagasuni* we find  *igabbusuni* 'they call it.' This verb explains the other: There is a third account but greatly mutilated in B.M. 52, 1, which evidently had *igabbusuni*, and after *Kar Ashur mu-su abbi*, it adds  *isku Ashur bil-ya in libbi arsib* the religion of Ashur my lord in it I established. *Arsib*  seems connected with *Arzip*  'I raised up.'







¶ The verb *kagasuni* clearly shows that the P.C. *kaga* 'speech' was commonly used in Assyrian. The ancient language of the early Chaldaeus died out slowly, and many of its words remained in use for a long period.

366. **Id or It.**  The Hand. This word is the same in all three languages, P.C., Assyrian, and Hebrew. In the latter it is . I have already given an example of the P.C. word in No. 47, *It zida mu*, in my right hand. The word *It* also means 'side,' that is 'direction.' In tablet K 50 there are five carefully written lines, the first of which begins  *It* 'on the side of the South.' The three next lines begin respectively 'on the side of the North'—'East'—'West.' After which comes another line  *It im arba* 'on all four sides,' or 'in the direction of each of the four cardinal points.' This last

expression is found in col. 1 of the Senkereh inscription (R 51, 20) where the king says that former persons had made searches  *im arba* 'in all the four directions,' and had turned up the very foundations of the temple in order to find the clay tablets (*ussurati*). Very similar to this statement is that which I have quoted in No. 46, 'They dug right and left, before and behind.'

367. **Sar.**  a Song or Hymn to the gods. Heb. שִׁיר, as in the well-known 'Song of Solomon' or 'Song of Songs' שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים. Plural  or else by reduplication  *Sar Sar*.

In tablet K 48 it is said  'On the West side' (*i.e.* of the Library)  'there are nine songs.' These are then all specified in order. The first is to Ashur, called  which I believe meant 'the good god' ( often stands for  'good'). Then follow the names or titles of eight other gods. The four last are the  *Bil sha hukma*, Lord of knowledge; and  *Nin sha hukma* Lady of knowledge: and after them the Lord and Lady  and  of  which is Accadian and unknown to me. In another part of the tablet there was a much longer statement, but it is defaced. There remains however a recapitulation in one line   "Altogether, fifteen songs on the East side." One of the songs (the second) was to the Lord of *mikhira*  and I rather think it is preserved. For, the reverse of the tablet begins *Suan bil mikhira bil kiti*, Ode to the Lord of Heaven? and Lord of Earth.—This passage identifies the meaning of the very common Accadian word  *Suan* 'an Ode' with *Sar* 'a Song.'

368. **Ailu.**  a Stag or Deer. Heb. אֵיל cervus, אֵילָה cerva. Occurs in a list of animals 2 R 6, 11. Also in R 28, 20 we find, "he caught in hunter's toils (*tsadirati*) many *armi*, *turakhi*, *nali*, and *aili*. spelt     .

369. **Urku.** 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 a Dog. Not found in Hebrew, which employs the word *Kaleb* כַּלֵּב.—In a list of animals 2R6, 13 (quoted by Norris p. 511) we find the Assyrian 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 *Kalbu* rendered in P.C. 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 *Urku*. But the first syllable 𒍪𒍪 being broken off, this example is inconclusive. The next line has 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *miranu* ‘the young of any animal,’ and the P.C. has 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *tur* ‘young,’ the rest being broken off. Then comes *Kaleb Elamti*, a dog of Elm or Susiana, spelt 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *Kaleb*; and *Kaleb Parasi*, a dog of Persia. This name 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 is very uncommon. Next follows *Kaleb mie*, *kaleb urtsi* ‘a water dog,’ and an earth dog, i.e. terrier.—𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 ‘water’ is the usual spelling, but 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 for ‘earth’ Heb. ארץ is unusual, and perhaps the word has not that meaning. Lower down the column we find the interesting word 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 . 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *Kalbu Sagu* ‘the Sagu dog.’ This is the Persian word *Sag* ‘a dog.’ Then we have 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 P.C. 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 ‘a wicked dog,’ and 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *zaidu*, perhaps ‘a hunting dog’ Heb. ציד *zid* ‘venator’ a hunter. Next comes 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *Kaleb illati* (meaning uncertain), and 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *Kalbata* ‘a female dog.’ Elsewhere 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *natru* ‘a watch dog,’ from Heb. נטר *natar* ‘to watch,’ custodivit, and 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *nadhirta*, probably ‘a female watch dog.’—In line 33 we have 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *munasikta*, or rather *munasikat* ‘a biter;’ feminine, from masc. *munasik* Heb. נשך from נשך ‘to bite.’ This epithet of a dog was known to us before. Several small clay models of dogs are in the British Museum. They have all got names. One of them is *Munasik gari-su* ‘Biter of his enemies.’ I will return to this little inscription further on.

Tablet K 236 has 20 lines, each of which commences with the word 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 ‘dogs,’ followed by a short sentence, different in each line, but for the most part hard to decipher. Some of them however have analogy to what I have quoted from 2R6. Thus, in the first line I find 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *Sagu*, which differs but little from 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪. Then, 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 *ema babati*, ‘the dogs close to the gates’ (*ad portas*). This preposi-

tion *ema* 'juxta' is frequent.—It seems to be the Heb, עַם 'propè.' In two lines (which are consecutive) we find $\rightarrow\text{I}\triangle\rightarrow\text{III}\text{I}\leftarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ *kuni-sun* 'their tails.' This is a useful example of the rare word *Kun* 'the tail,' which occurred in No. 292, *Urmakh as kun azbat*, I seized the Lion by his tail.

Line 3 of this tablet 236 begins *Urku ibtanakhuru istanazzu . . .* The last of these verbs occurs three times on the tablet. They are examples of the curious Assyrian *tan* conjugation, which had an *intensive* force. I have mentioned the little models of dogs; one of these is named $\rightarrow\text{I}\triangle\rightarrow\text{III}\text{I}\leftarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ *mushazzu limutti* (or *sini*) 'he that barks at evil doers.' The verb *shazza* or *shatza* is used for 'clamare,' to make a loud noise of any kind. I should not be surprised if the verb *istanazzu*, which as I have said, occurs three times on this tablet, were the *tan* conjugation of *shazza*. In that case it may mean 'they barked loudly, or often.' As to the verb *ibtanakhuru* it may be the *tan* conjugation of that verb of which *ibkhuru* 'they assembled' is the simple form. *Bukhur* 'an assemblage or troop,' is a frequent word. Hence I would render line 3 'the dogs assembled in troops and barked loudly.' The two verbs are thus written in the original, $\rightarrow\text{I}\triangle\rightarrow\text{III}\text{I}\leftarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ and $\rightarrow\text{I}\triangle\rightarrow\text{III}\text{I}\leftarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$.

Another of the model dogs is called $\rightarrow\text{I}\triangle\rightarrow\text{III}\text{I}\leftarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ *Kasid aibi* 'Conqueror of his enemies.' A third is called $\rightarrow\text{I}\triangle\rightarrow\text{III}\text{I}\leftarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ *Munasik gari-su*, 'Biter of his enemies,' I have referred to this by anticipation.

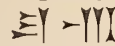
$\rightarrow\text{I}\triangle\rightarrow\text{III}\text{I}\leftarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ 'the Dog' is mentioned as one of the Constellations in 2 R 49, 43—perhaps the Canis Major of modern astronomers.


$\rightarrow\text{I}\triangle\rightarrow\text{III}\text{I}\leftarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ is sometimes used as a term of contempt, see Norris, p. 511—where two kings, who turned out ungrateful rebels, are called 'dogs brought up in my palace.'

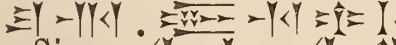
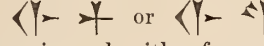

¶ Among the imprecations in one of the Michanx tablets is the following. *Kima urku libtakhit in ribit arki-su*, 'like a dog may he bark in the streets of his city!'—*Ribit* from רִבִּית a wide street or place (platea, via lata). *Libtakhit* is evidently the opt. of the T conjugation of the verb *bakha*, בָּחַ, the syllable *it* or *id* being

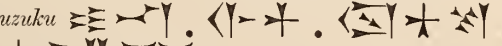


added *euphonic causâ*, as in many other verbs, *ex. gr. ipparsid* ‘he fled,’ from פּרַשׁ ; *usarsit* ‘he laid the foundation’ from שָׂרַשׁ.

On referring to Buxtorf p. 1287 it will be seen that בַּח or נַבַּח meant to bark like a dog, ‘latrare ut canis.’ It is an *onomatopœia*. בַּח *bâkh* and the English *bark* are both of them imitations of the sound. The passage referred to will be found in 3R 42, 24.


370. Bar.  Savage.—*Arbaia rukuti asibut mat bari*, the distant Arabians inhabiting a savage land.—Botta 75, 4 (see No. 362). Heb. בעיר *brutus*. Ch. בער or בור *brutus, rudis* (*sæpe de hominibus dicitur*).

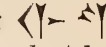
[I attacked the land of Babylonia] and like a wild wind I swept over it.—Bavian 44, quoted by Norris 727.  .

 .
371. Sipar.  or  a Chisel, or graving tool. Heb. צפר *cuspis*, and with a formative N added, צפרן a sharp-pointed graving tool of iron or adamant for writing on stones.

Tig. vii, 94 describes the building of a Treasure-house? ‘whose walls glittered like the stars of heaven, and looked bright and beautiful, sculptured by the chisel of the Architect’—*in sipar bannuti mahatish nuzuku*  .  .  .

 .  .

Bannut ‘architect’ from Heb. בנה *bana* ‘to build,’ has the sign  ‘rank or profession’ put before it. *Nuzuk* is the Syriac נצה ‘to be white, bright, or shining,’ This verb *nuzuku* occurs also 2R 7, E line 4, where it expresses the shining of white alabaster.

I will now give two examples of the other spelling  . Opp. Khors. pl. 19, l. 6. *Darumi mati-tan sha in emuk Ashur bil-ya aksuddu, as sipar gusurrakuti askun. Hekali satina astakkan simati.* ‘The regions of all the world, which in the power of Ashur my Lord I had conquered, I had them engraved by the chisels of architects, and in those palaces I fixed them up.’—Again, in Esar. vi, 13 (which is somewhat defaced, but can be restored by help of the former passage), *Danan Ashur bil-ya sha as mati nakrati itibbusu, as sipar kharrakuti etziba kiréb-sha*; ‘a tablet of Ashur my Lord,

showing what he had done to hostile countries, graven by the tool of the graver, I set up, as a monument, within it,' *i.e.* within my new palace. *Etziba* 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺 'I set up a monument' Heb. הציב, see art. *Atzib*, Gloss. No. 166 (The lithograph has 𐎶𐎺 for 𐎶𐎺, which I take to be an error).

𐎶 In some other texts 𐎶𐎺 is to be read *banut* or *binut*, which is quite a different word.

372. **Kharrakuti.** 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺 Sculptors: preceded by 𐎶𐎺𐎶𐎺 'rank or profession.' From an Assyrian verb 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 answering to the Heb. 𐤁𐤓𐤕 'to sculpture.' Several other verbs beginning with 𐎶𐎶 have the same meaning, as 𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶, whence Gr. 𐀘𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓, 𐀘𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓. The word occurs in Esar. vi, 13 (see the preceding article).

373. **Zap.** 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺 a Stylus, a Pen for writing. Schindler p. 478 has 𐎶𐎺 *Zip* Stylus. Buxtorf p. 665 says 𐎶𐎺𐎶 *Zipa* Stylus: Cælum, sculpendi instrumentum, quoting Exodus xxxii, 4, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *et formavit illud stylo*. This is from the Targum, the Hebrew text has 𐤁𐤓𐤕.




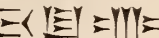
Sargina says of himself, in the sixth line of his cylinder, *Ki ZAP Anu u Dagan isthuru zakut-zu*, "He wrote his laws with the pen of the gods!" This very high compliment, which is quite in character with his title of 'Vicegerent of Ashur' &c. has escaped the notice of Assyriologists.

That 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺𐎶𐎶 *zakut-zu* (which spelling I take from Oppert's edition) signifies 'his laws,' is manifest from other phrases, *ex. gr.* Norris p. 741, Opp. Khors. line 11, 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺𐎶 *Zakut Assur-ki* &c. 'the laws of Assyria which had long been set aside, and their customs neglected, I restored to their place.'—And in the Zaaleh stone (R pl. 66) 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶𐎶 *zakut* 'the statute' *sha uzakku* 'which they established' or 'made binding.' This word is the Heb. 𐤁𐤓𐤕 *zak* 'firmiter obligavit,' which has a reduplicate or more forcible form 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤕 (see Ges. p. 310).

374. **Kisák.** 𐎶𐎺 𐎶𐎺𐎶 𐎶𐎺𐎶 a Band of Adherents. From the Hebrew 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤕 'firmiter adhæsit,' an interesting verb, since from it is formed the name of Hezekiah 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤕 or 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤕 'the firm

adherent of Jehovah,' יהוה or יהוה; a name which in those days when so many kings of Judah had lapsed into idolatry, was more than usually impressive. It may also be rendered 'he who cleaves to Jehovah.'

In 2 R 38, 35 the following passage occurs—I have denoted the lines by numbers.—(1 to 6) *Marduk ana supti-su usari(ma)*. *Kisak turi ummani sunuti* (7) *ka, du, bit, ekil, u khar*, (8, 9, 10) *ana Marduk u Zarpanita uzakki sunuti*. i.e. (1 to 6) "I brought Marduk into his new Temple [or, raised him on his Throne]. A band of Youths who were to be his faithful adherents, (7) at the gate—in the road—in the house—in the field—in the forest, (8, 9, 10) unto Marduk and Zarpanita I bound them firmly." Line 7 means, of course, 'always and everywhere,' I bound them to this service—A band of devotees. I think I have seen the same form of oath in modern times, as taken by some religious brotherhoods, to be faithful to their Order on all occasions, or under every trial. The form of line 7, consisting of five short words, is precisely like what I have quoted in No. 222 from 2 R 13, 28. *Bit, ekil, khar, ardu, shallat*. Indeed three of the words happen to be the same as in that line. But there is a little uncertainty about line 7. *Ka* may be 'speech;' *du* often means 'to walk, or go,' but is sometimes short for *duruk* 'a road.' *Khar* is short for *kharrish* 'a forest,' which is sometimes written at length. Line 7 may therefore mean 'in speaking—in walking—at home—in field or forest,' they devote themselves to the service of their god.

Supti 'a dwelling' or 'a seat, or throne' is spelt  as in several other passages. *Usarim* or *usarma*  (last letter gone) occurs rather frequently, *ex. gr.* black stone (R 50) iv, 26, *Zalam ili rabi uttish* I renewed the images of the great gods; *as bit? iluti-sun usarma*, into their divine temples? I brought them. *Ummani* occurs here in its primitive sense of 'faithful' or 'faithful friends, φίλοι. Heb. מַבְנֵי *fidus, fidelis*. *Uzakki* 'I bound them firmly,' from Heb. זָקַק 'firmiter obligavit:' spelt .—I gave another example of this word in the last article (No. 373) from the Zaaleh stone  *uzakkú*.

¶ There is a curious passage in this same inscription, which says “This stone he himself [the King] chose carefully in the mountains of Nypur: $\Sigma\Sigma\Pi \Xi\Pi \neq \Sigma\Pi . \neq \Sigma\Pi \Sigma\Pi$ *ramani's uddanni*. From Ch. and Syr. *dana* דנא , in another conjugation *uddana*, אדדנא *solicitus fuit*; vel, *attentus, studiosus fuit* (Schindler).


376. *Nuzuk*. $\neq \Sigma\Pi \Sigma\Pi$, or $\neq \Sigma\Pi \Sigma\Pi$. *verb*, to be White, Bright, or Shining. (may also be written *nuzuk* or *nutzuk*). This is the Syriac נצה . The derived adjective נציהא means (1) *purus*, (2) *λαμπρος*, *splendens, albicans, ex. gr.* as an epithet of a star: or of pellucid sparkling water: or of white linen or byssus. Castelli 563. Schaaf's lex. gives a similar account of the word.




Hence, precious stones in general are called *Nisikti* stones in Assyrian, see my No. 170, corrected by No. 250. *Nisikta* occurs in Syriac as a fem. plural נציהתא , see Schaaf p. 357.

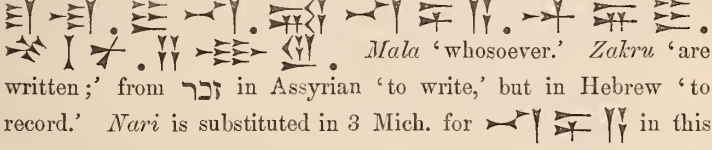
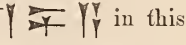
Examples of the verb *nuzuk*. Tig. vii, 95 describes the building of a *Bit illat* or ‘apartment of splendour’ of which the internal walls “*mahatish nuzuku*, were very bright or glistening—by the effect of the sculptor’s chisel.” They were therefore probably of white marble.



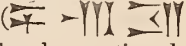
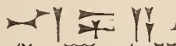


In R 7 E we find: *Shalu-su nuzuku*, ‘its powder was shining white’ (see these passages more fully given in Nos. 371 and 375).

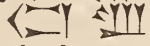

Another interesting example of the word is found in B.M. 40, 5, where Sennacherib says ‘I made *shallat zazati* (bas reliefs) of the stone called *itsir rabu* $\Sigma\Pi \neq \Sigma\Pi \Sigma\Pi$ “*sha zimi nutzuku kima tami*, ‘of which the broken pieces, or chips, were white and glistening like the day (or sky)’ *kilallan in shaddi-sun abduk, ana sipri hekali-ya usalkida kireb ir Niná*, ‘all of them I sculptured in their own mountains, and for the embellishment of my palace I had them carried to Niniveh.’—It is evident how close this statement is to that in R 7 E quoted in No. 375; extending even to the fact that Sennacherib had the slabs of stone sculptured on the spot where they were quarried,

‘cippus,’ a sepulchral monument; and finally,  *Anatu*, which may mean ‘stone of sorrow’ or ‘sorrowful memorial,’ from Heb. אָנָה to mourn or lament.

¶ Examples of the P.C. or Accadian word  Fig. viii, 68. *Sha*  *in bit-illan ashar la mari pisirish inakimu*, ‘he who shall hide my tablets contemptuously in some back building, in a place where they cannot be seen’— *illan* ‘behind.’ *Pisirish* from Ch. and Syr. בסר sprevit, contempsit, neglexit—*Inakimu* ‘shall hide,’ from *nakam*; (hence *Bit nakimmat*, or *nakamti*, a room shut up; a treasury).

The following example is found in 1 Mich. iv, 21 (R pl. 70), ‘May the great gods whose names are written in this tablet, curse him with a curse which cannot be removed!’ *Ili rabi, mala in nari anni mu-sun zakru, arrat la napsuri liruru su!*  *Mala* ‘whosoever.’ *Zakru* ‘are written;’ from זָכַר in Assyrian ‘to write,’ but in Hebrew ‘to record.’ *Nari* is substituted in 3 Mich. for  in this passage.

¶ It is uncertain how the word  was pronounced, but probably *Nadá*. For one of the values of  is *da* (see Norris p. vii and p. 268, quoting Sard. i, 25  *darish* ‘for ever.’) Moreover in tablet K 240, already mentioned, next to  *Nadá*, stands  *Nadú*; and .

378. *Nuru*.  or  a Tablet. (seemingly a variation of the last word).—Fig. vi, 15 describes how the city of Khunutsa was taken and destroyed. The whole city was burnt. The Citadel with its three great towers of brick was thrown down, burnt, and reduced to ruins and rubbish. The very site of the city was obliterated, by heaps of stones thrown over it. The account then continues as follows: *Nuru takabar ebus, kisiti mati sha in Ya bil-ya aksudu. Ir suatu ana la zabati, u Dur-su la razapi in eli althur: bit sha agamri in eli-su arzip, nuru takabar sa-atun in libbi usasib*—‘I made tablets

380. **Zitta.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Oil. (Lat. *Oleum. Oliva*). Heb. *Zit* זית Syr. *Zita*, and the same in all the Semitic languages. I have only found the word hitherto in the name of the city *Bit-Zitta*, 'the City of Olives' which is mentioned as one of those captured by Sennacherib on the seacoast of Palestine R 38, 39.

381. **Suman or Summannu.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Butter. The same with the Chald. שמן *Butyrum*; Arab. سمان and سمان (Schindler). This appears to me to be the meaning of the gloss in 2 R 7, 29 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Sumannu sha Ga*, 'butter of the Cow.' All this column consists of words beginning with SM therefore I read *sumannu* or *summannu*. סמן is a term for unctuous substances in general, as grease, fat, oil, unguent, &c. Hence for distinction's sake the Arabic expresses 'butter' by סמאן בקרי 'butyrum de vaccâ.' (*Sch.*)

382. **Bará.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *adj.* Fat. Heb. בריא 'pinguis,' *ex. gr.* decem boves pingues בריאימ 1 Kings iv, 23. But the word may equally well be read 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Mará* (which Norris prefers, p. 847) for, the Hebrew is also written מריא, which is a good example of the connexion between the letters B and M.

Phill. i, 16. *Sha tamu I ga makhî bara.* 'Every day one ox, large and fat, and one other ox (&c. &c.) I allotted to the gods of Babylon as their portion.' This has much resemblance to what we read in 1 Kings iv, 23—"Solomon's provision for one day was ten fat oxen and twenty other oxen," (&c. &c.)

383. **Pattaruna.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *adj.* Fat. Agrees well with the Heb. פדר 'fat;' the final N augmenting the meaning, as in many other words.

Esar. iii, 59. *Ga makhhi pattaruna*, 'oxen large and fat.' This was part of the tribute of Bel-basa king of Gambuli, whom Esarhaddon thereupon confirmed in his kingdom, and having made his capital city Shapi-Bel into a strong fortress, commissioned him to watch the frontier of Elam.

384. **Paklut.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *adj.* Fat.

Ga makhe pakluti, 'oxen large and fat' Phill. iii, 9. I know not whether the Greek παχυς is related.

385. **Lû.** 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 a Bull or Ox.—2 R 25, 7 explains *Lû* by 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 *Albu* ‘bull’ Heb. אֵלֶפֶס (Gloss. No. 298). Also I find on a tablet the Accadian *Ga kim* ‘like a bull’ rendered by the Assyrian *kima Lie*. Moreover the sacred images of bulls are often called 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 *Lu shaddi*. And see Norris p. 855 where they are called in one copy *Lu shaddi* and in the other 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷. This last is explained by 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 *shaedu* (good spirit or genius) in Norris p. 32. Hence I think that *lu shaddi* is but another form of *lu shaedi* divine bulls.

386. **Suru.** 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 a Bull. Agrees with the Heb. שׁוֹר *Sur* ‘a bull.’ In 2 R 25, 8 we find the explanation 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 . 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 i.e. *Suru* means *Albu* (a bull).

Another example, from Sen. T. v, 74. (Norris p. 867) *Kima suri maruti* ‘like fattened oxen’ 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 . 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 . 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 . This occurs in the account of the battle of Khaluli. The Chiefs of the Enemy, wearing collars of gold and swords with golden sheaths, appeared to Sennacherib an easy prey, and a tempting booty, just as the capture might be of a herd of fat beeves, offering no resistance.

387. **Kurutz.** 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 A piece cut off—a joint—a morsel. Exactly the Chald. קִרְצַת *kurutz* ‘frustum’: which occurs in Daniel iii, 8 and vi, 25 אֲכַלְתִּים קִרְצֵי אֲבָלִים comedit frusta (Ges.): and the same phrase is found in Syriac.

Nîbritu izbat-zunuti. Ana buri-sun seri abli-sun binti-sun ekilu, ikzutu kurutzu. A Famine seized them. For food they ate the limbs of their sons and daughters, and cut them up into morsels. Smith’s Assurbanipal* p. 163. *Ikzutu* is from the Heb. קָצַע *ampntavit, abscedit, dissecuit.*

388. **Buru.** 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 𒌷 Food. Heb. בֵּרוֹת ‘cibus,’ from בָּרָה or בָּרָא ‘comedit,’ *ex. gr.* בָּרָה לֶחֶם ‘to eat bread.’ Gesenius thinks this Hebrew word cognate with *βopa* and *vorare*. Add the Germ. *Brod*, which closely resembles בֵּרוֹת, and the Welsh *Bara* ‘bread.’ An example of the word *Buru* will be found in

* Quotations from this new work will usually be denoted by the abbreviation *Assur*.

(bird of night) and also $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *zulamu*, and $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *zalamdu*. These two words are evidently derived from *zalam* or *zalmu* darkness.

397. **Kil.** $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ Sand. See the account of the shipwreck of Tammaritu king of Elam in Assur. p. 192. "The ship of Tammaritu was caught by a terrible tempest. The steersman of the ship leaped from the ship upon the sand. Tammaritu following after him was thrown on the dangerous rocky ground, and very much injured."

The last two clauses stand thus in the original. *Sikudi abati* the steersman of the ship, *sû* leaped, *ultu kireb elip suatu* from out of that ship, *ana kili* upon the sand. *Tammaritu ana arka su* after him, *issi* was thrown. *Marustu haggar namratsi* the dangerous stony ground, *uparriru's* much wounded him.

Here we have $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ 𐎶𐎵 $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *sikudi* 'the watchman' from Heb. שָׂקֵד to watch or keep guard. I translate it however 'the steersman,' according to the lines of Æschylus (Sept. c. Theb. l. 3) *Οιακα νωμων—βλεφαρα μη κοιμων ὑπνω* 'the ever-watching or ever-wakeful steersman'— $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *abati* 'the ship.' This is a most interesting word, because it occurs once, and once only, in the Old Testament, being in all probability the נַב of Job ix, 26 where the commentators disagree exceedingly as to its meaning (except that it is a *ship* of some kind). It is therefore very satisfactory to find it in Assyrian.

𐎶𐎵 *Sû* 'he leaped' is the Ch. and Syr. סעה 'cum impetu cucurrit.'— $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *Kili* 'the sand' agrees entirely with the Chald. הל and Heb. הַרְל 'arena in litore maris.'

398. **Urku**, a Dog. Some further examples may be added to those contained in No. 369. Assur. p. 166 "I caused their flesh to be eaten by dogs, *usakil kalbi* (or *urki* $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$)—*Usakil* is the S conjugation of *akal* 'to eat' Heb. אכל . Again in the next page 'I threw their bodies as food to the dogs' *rihit kalbi* (or *urki*). *Rihit* 'food' from Heb. רעה to feed.

In 2 R 42, 67 there is a gloss which identifies the meaning of *urku* with the Heb. *kaleb*. For, $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ is there

explained by $\rightarrow\Xi\Xi\langle\mid\ \Psi\ \rightarrow\neq\ .\ \Xi\parallel\ \Xi$ *lishan kalbi* the tongue of a dog. In the preceding line the Accadian $\rightarrow\Xi\langle\mid$ voice or mouth, takes the place of *lishan*. Moreover, if we can trust these glosses, one of the synonyms of *Urku* was *Tsir* $\rightarrow\neq\ \parallel\ \parallel\ \langle$. This, if true, is curious, because I have shown in Art. No. 108 of this glossary that the Assyrian mythology possessed (no doubt in Hades) a seven-headed monster called a $\rightarrow\neq\ \parallel\ \parallel\ \langle$ *Tsir*, and therefore it was probably a seven-headed dog, a sort of Cerberus.

In 3 R 65, No. 2 reverse, *urmakh* and *urku* (lion and dog) are repeatedly mentioned together. This tablet relates dreams of some portentous births; such as (1) having the head of a lion or dog (2) altogether like a lion or dog (*kilallan* $\langle\Xi\Xi\ \parallel\ \rightarrow\Xi\ \rightarrow\neq$ altogether, $\langle\Xi\neq\ \parallel$ *kima* like, $\parallel\ \rightarrow\Xi\parallel$ *urmakh* a lion).

In tablet K 217 there is a list of *urku* 'dogs' and *ur shal* which I suppose means 'female dogs,' but this is uncertain.

399. **Kun.** $\Xi\Xi\ \Xi\parallel\parallel$ otherwise $\rightarrow\mid\ \Delta\ \rightarrow\parallel\parallel$ a Tail. 2 R 34, 21 *Kun sha kalbi*, 'tail of a dog,' $\Xi\Xi\ \Xi\parallel\parallel\ .\ \Psi\ .\ \Xi\parallel\parallel\ \Xi$.

Kunut-zun 'their tails' $\rightarrow\mid\ \Delta\ \rightarrow\parallel\parallel\ \rightarrow\Xi\parallel\ \neq$ occurs in the tablet about dogs and lions 3 R 65 No. 2 reverse line 64, which also speaks of 'their heads,' 'their faces,' &c. &c.

I have already noticed in a former article, that in the dog tablet K 236 *kunut-zun* 'their tails' occurs twice, written $\rightarrow\mid\ \Delta\ \rightarrow\parallel\parallel\ \parallel\ \leftarrow\ \parallel\ \neq$; and the passage in the hunting scene, *Urmakh as kun abat* "I seized the Lion by his tail," where the sculpture confirms the inscription.

I will add a very different example of the word, viz. the Assyrian description of a *Comet*. "Star which has before it a *corona* or glory (*tsipra* Heb. צפר 'corona caput ambiens') and behind it a *tail*." 3 R 52, 55, this curious passage has been noted by Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. G. Smith. The original words are $\Xi\Xi\ \rightarrow\neq\ \Psi\ \rightarrow\ \langle\mid\ \parallel\ \neq\ \Xi\parallel\ .\ \rightarrow\ \Xi\Xi\ \neq\ \parallel\ \rightarrow\mid\ \Delta\ \rightarrow\parallel\parallel$. *Kakkab sha as pan-su tsipra, as arka-su kun*.

¶ In 2 R 20, 41 we find *Nuzuz sha kun*, which apparently means 'wagging the tail' from Hebrew ננצ .

400. **Khuraza.** 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Gold. Heb. **חרצ**. A different spelling of the word has been given already in No. 29.

𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 (gold) is translated on a tablet *Khuraza russá*.

401. **Anak.** Lead. Agrees exactly with the Heb. **Anak** אֲנַךְ plumbum. In an "Ode to Fire" I find: "Thou, O Fire, art the melter of bronze and lead." *Sha eri u anaki mubullil-sun atta!* Written 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶 and 𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵. *Mubullil* is the participle of *bullul* to melt, Heb בלל *fudit*.

402. **Anna.** 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 Lead. This is the Accadian word which translates the Assyrian *Anak* in the preceding passage. It occurs very frequently, even in Assyrian writings, while *Anak* is seldom found.

403. **Nazir.** 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 a Royal Crown. Agrees exactly with the Heb. **נזר** which Gesenius renders *Diadema*: specialiter regis. I find on a tablet *nazir rabu* rendered in Accadian 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 *mir rabu*, which means as we know 'a great crown,' see the art. *Mir* No. 156. It is added that this *nazir* was worn 'on his head,' as *rissi-su* 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 I.


Saul wore his *nazir* on his head in battle. 2 Sam. i, 10.

404. **Amia.** 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 a Crown (*in Accadian*). In 2 R 24, 60 and also 32, 13 we have 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 rendered by the Assyrian 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 *Agú*, 'a crown.' And on the tablets *amia-kim* is frequently rendered *kima agie*, 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 being the plural of *Agú*.



405. **Karpa.** 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 a water-vessel or flaggon. Same as the Syriac *garba* **גרבא** Chald. **גרב** *uter, lagena, hydria*. Compare also the Greek *Kαλπις* used by Homer and Pindar for a water-vessel or pitcher. The Accadian word corresponding is 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 *Duk*, perhaps connected with the Greek *Τευχος* a vessel or urn.

Mie sunuti ana karpati tar-ma, return those waters into the pitcher! (*Tablet*.)

And I find among the curses, two consecutive lines: "May they pour him out like water: may they break him like the pitcher!" The Accadian words are 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 *A-kim*, and 𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎶𐎵 *Duk-kim*; the Assyrian *kima mie* and *kima karpati*.



But the word  or *karpa* is sometimes used for a very costly vessel, apparently one employed in the Mysteries, as in the following two lines, of which the first only has been published by Mr. G. Smith in his *Assurbanipal*, p. 332.




As passuri illiti, akalu illiti akul!



As karpati   *illiti, mie illiti siti!*

Eat the precious food, out of a precious dish!

Drink the precious drink, out of a precious vessel!




 An epithet  whose meaning is at present unknown, is here given to the vessel.




406. **Immiri.**    Sheep or Lambs. Chald. **אמר** *Agnus*; which makes in the plural **אמרין**. I think there can be no doubt of this word. An Accadian tablet has, in two consecutive lines,










  *Ga kim* 'like oxen': translated *kima Alpi*.

  *Lu kim* 'like sheep': translated *kima Immiri*.

Some have rendered *Immiri* by 'asses,' supposing it to be the Heb. **המר**, but this is quite unsuitable. In *Phill.* iii, 12, 'fat oxen' are sacrificed, and immediately afterwards *immir gukkallam*, probably 'fat sheep.' So also in 2 R 38, 30 *kabú alpi* 'a drove of oxen' stands next to *kabú imiri* 'a flock of sheep.'


The following is another example of the word. *Kima immiri itbukh-su*, 'it slays him like a sheep.' The verb    *itbukh* is the Heb. **טבה** 'mactavit pecudem.'


407. **Suhi.**    Lambs. Heb. **שה** *ovis*, vel *agnus*. In *Opp. Khors.* 19 l. ult. *suhi maruti* (fat lambs) are offered to the gods at a festival, along with *ga makhi bitruti* (fattened oxen).

408. **Huk.**  a Flock. 2 R 38, 26 where it is explained by   *Kabú* a drove or flock. The word is commonly written    as in my art. 304, but I now think this is a compound word,  'flock,'  'sheep,'  'many':—"Large flocks of sheep."

409. **Maruti.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 Fat. Heb. מריא pinguis, saginatus. *Suhi maruti* 'fat lambs': *Suri maruti* 'fat oxen.' Seu. T. v. 74. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 'fat sheep.' Layard's Inscriptions, 34, 1.
410. **Bitruti.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 Fat. *Ga makkhi bitruti*, fine fat oxen. xvi *pasilli bitruti*, sixteen fat (. . .) Phill. ii, 27, and Opp. Khors. 19 l. ult. These were offered in the temple every day.
411. **Dussuti.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 I 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 Fat. Probably from the Hebrew דשן to be fat. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 *dussuti* . . . *lu-akki*, fat sheep I sacrificed. Bavian 33, quoted by Norris Dict. p. 639.
412. **Bunnanni.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 Statues. A very common word, used in such phrases as "Whoever destroys my *bunnanni*, let him be accursed!" The meaning is ascertained by a tablet, which translates *bunnanni* and *zalam* by the same word. The latter is the Heb. צלם a statue.
413. **Ekal, or Hekal.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 a Palace: the Hebrew היכל. This word is very seldom found phonetically written: it is generally expressed by 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 which means 'the Great House.' In Assyrian this would sound *Bit Rab*, but in Accadian *He-kal*, from *He* 'house' and *Kal* or *Gal* 'great.' In ancient Egyptian also *He* signified 'a house.' The Turkish family of languages in general have *Hu*. Hence we see that the cuneiform texts give us a clear and simple etymology of the Hebrew היכל, respecting which there is nothing satisfactory in the lexicons.
- Example: 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 this means "at the gate of the temple"; and immediately afterwards it is phonetically written 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 . 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 as *bab Ekalli*.
414. **Bú.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 the Mouth. This word is given by Norris (Dict. p. 63) quoting 39 II where it is explained by the Accadian 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 *Ka* 'the mouth' a very common word. He adds that it is the Heb. פה the mouth. But as he adduces no example I will give one from a tablet, which says of the waters of the Euphrates *Bu illu sha Bit-a ullil sunuti*, "the grand mouth of


Neptune (or Ocean) drinks up those waters." So it does, however, every other river: but let that pass. *Ullil* is the Arab. 𐤆𐤋𐤃 to drink copiously, or in repeated draughts. Gesen. p. 769. The cuneiform is


¶ Another form is , as in 2 R 17, 32 where *bú sinu* is rendered in Accadian




415. *Anni*
- or *Anna*
- Sins: faults: crimes. *Annú-a*
- “my sins.” This is the Hebrew  peccatum, crimen, perversitas, pravitas, actio prava. Perhaps Hebrew scholars will be pleased to see this word in its old Chaldaean form. I will give some examples from an Assyrian tablet, which may be likened to a “penitential psalm.” *Billi! annú-a mahida, rabá khidatú-a*, O my Lord! my many sins, my great offences [pardon].



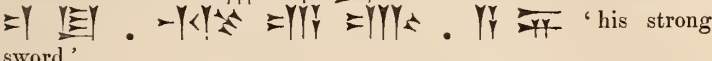
Anni ebusu val idi! the crimes I have done, know them not! (The Latins use the same idiom, *ignosce!* that is, *know not!* and the Accadian agrees, *nun zu!* i.e. know not!)










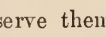



Another example, of same general meaning: *Anna ebus, sáru latbul:* (meaning of two last words uncertain). In all these cases the Accadian version of *anna*, *anni* or *annu* is *naram-tagga*, which completely identifies them, as forms of the same word. Other petitions are interspersed for pardon of sins, in which other words are used, as























Khit ‘crime’ Heb.  Norris’s Dict. p. 407, and *Killatú-a* ‘my sins’






Heb.  fraudulentus, dolosus. These have the epithet *mahadati* great or numerous. Another example. *Khit ikhtu* the sins which I have sinned, *nun zu*, know them not! The scribe has omitted to translate the latter clause, probably deeming it too easy.





416. *Kakku*, or *Kak*.
- gen. *Kakki*
- a Sword. Perhaps connected with the Heb. root  ‘to cut.’ Occurs rather frequently. Expressed in Assyrian by
- (see my No. 302). But since the sign  determinative of wooden objects, seems unsuitable, I conjecture that  is a very ancient














corruption of the Accadian  *kak* obtained by removing the vertical wedge a little towards the right hand. *Example*: "The god (. . . .) lord of the sword, will never give him his sword of strength, upon the battle field." This stands thus in Assyrian: *Bil kakkî kak dannuti-su ai ittan-su ashar gabli u takhazi*. The Accadian has  'Lord of the sword,' and  'his strong sword.'






417. *Kakkab*.    a Star. Agrees exactly with the Heb. כוכב. *Examples*:       as *kakkab shamami val utaddû* "to the stars of heaven he paid no attention" (or did not observe them). The Accadian version has  'stars'   'of heaven.' Again: *kima kakkab shamami* 'like the stars of heaven': where the Accadian renders 'heaven' by  simply.

 I have already given the adverb *kakkabish shamami* 'like the stars of heaven' see No. 246. Its spelling is                     .

418. *Kakkad*,    the Head. I find this to be a very frequent word. It seems an abbreviation of the old Hebrew *Kadkad* קדקד 'the head.' I formerly read *Hakkad* (see No. 108) but I have now adopted the pronunciation given by Oppert and others. Occasionally I find   *kaksu* written for *kakkadu*, which may be only a more rapid pronunciation.

 The three last words together with   *Kaggar* 'the Earth' (see No. 109) comprise all the substantives at present known to me which begin with the syllable  *kak*.

419. *Nin*.    a Lord. In 2 R 58, 56 the god    H \acute{e} a (or Bit \acute{a}) is called the Nin (or Lord) of the Bright Face (or Bright Eye)   *Nin* being written    in Col. 1, but   in Col. 2.

420. *Nini*.  . This is explained by    *lli* (gods) in Syllab. 688. It therefore seems to be properly the plural of the preceding word *Nin* (No. 419). I have found some

examples of its actual usage. In 2 R 60, 24 a goddess is called $\times \leftarrow \leftarrow$ *billat* (queen) $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ *nini* (of the gods). In 2 R 59, 14 we find $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ *bilat* (queen) $\rightarrow \uparrow$ $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ *ili* (of the gods). It is evident that the *nini* of the first passage are the *ili* of the second. But in the following passage $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ is singular and means *Nin* (a Lord): "The god *Yem* $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ *rabu* (great lord) of heaven and earth." 3 R 44, col. 4, 3.

421. **Nin.** $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ a Lady. Written the same as *Nin* (a Lord) but may have been pronounced somewhat differently. Occurs very frequently. It is often put in opposition to $\rightarrow \uparrow$ *Bil* (Dominns). Thus, in Art. No. 367 I have mentioned the *Bil* and *Nin* (god and goddess) of knowledge: and the *Bil* and *Nin* of $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ $\rightarrow \uparrow$ who are found on the photograph of tablet K 48. But on some of the tablets are longer lists of deities, given in pairs, the *Bil* and the *Nin* of each kind.

$\leftarrow \leftarrow$ or *Nin* also means a Wife. *Ex. gr.* Tarkn king of Egypt died. *Arkinu Urdamani tar nin-su as guza-su usib*: "afterwards Urdamani the son of his wife sat upon his throne" (Smith's Assurbanipal p. 47).

$\leftarrow \leftarrow$ or *Nin* is sometimes 'a Woman,' *ex. gr.* *Nin khisakhti hekuli-su malabasú*: all the favourite women of his palace (*ibid.* p. 200).

Nin, as I have said, means both Lord and Lady. The same ambiguity of meaning is found in the word $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ *Dam* 'conjnx' which is used both for *husband* and *wife* [see No. 423]. There may have been some original connexion between the signs $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ and $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ which only differ by a single stroke, and they are both represented by the Latin *Dominus* and *Domina*.

422. **Alti.** $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ $\rightarrow \leftarrow$ a Wife. Rendered in Accadian by $\leftarrow \leftarrow$ *Dam*. Thus the goddess (.) is the *Alti* or *wife* of the god (.). 2 R 18, 40. The same expression occurs on other tablets.

¶ Another word for 'wife' is *Ashat*, see No. 57, of which the following is a new example. \downarrow $\leftarrow \leftarrow$. $\leftarrow \leftarrow$. \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow $\rightarrow \leftarrow$. \downarrow

&c., &c. [This ornament belongs] to Hipa wife of [Sinesses].
Sha Hipa ashat-zu sha Sinesses. North British Review, No. 105,
 p. 234 (correcting an error).

423. **Dam.** 𐎠𐎵𐎠 a Consort: used (like the Latin *conjur*), for
 either husband or wife. It is an Accadian word.

2 R 10, line 2. 𐎠𐎵𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶. If a *wife* to her
husband [shall say] 𐎠𐎵𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶 my husband [thou art not]

In line 9 these words recur, but with an opposite meaning:
 "if a *husband* to his *wife* shall say 'thou art not my wife'
 &c., &c." In consequence probably of this ambiguity of meaning
 we frequently find after the name of a god, that of the goddess his
 wife thus expressed 𐎠𐎵𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎵 *dam-bi shal* 'his female
 consort.'

424. **Shal makra.** 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 a Concubine. Means
 literally, 'an additional or irregular or casual wife.' The word
makra is the Heb. מקרה *fortuitus*: thus, the second month of
 Adar, called Ve-Adar by the Hebrews, was called by the Assyrians
Arakhu makru 'the casual month' 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶.
 See Norris's Dictionary p. 50.











Oppert's Khors. Inscr. pl. 12, l. 3. "I destroyed his city.
 I carried off his wife, his sons and daughters, his wealth and
 treasures, his *concubines*, the regalia of his palace, with the people
 of his land. I left none of them." Here the word used is
 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. It occurs also in a curious passage in
 2 R 16, col. ii, 67. "*Shal makra sha bil-su imsus-su, ibbati*
khisukhta-su-ma innapiritsi: the concubine whom her lord neg-
 lects, will break to pieces her pretty trinkets that she loved." The
 verb in this sentence is a tense of the Heb. פרץ 'to break.'
Ibbati from Heb. יפה *pulcher*.







425. **Zikriti.** 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Concubines. (Some-
 times written without the 𐎶𐎶𐎶). Often mentioned as captured
 along with the family and treasures of a monarch. Assur. p. 132,
 165, 200, &c.















426. **Marhita.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶- 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 a Wife. See 2 R 36, lines 44
 and 46, where it is explained by *khirta* and *ashata*.





Related to the Arabic *Marra* or *Mara*, مَرَّة, a woman or wife.




It seems to be a diminutive, like *ummanita* from *umman* 'mother.'


















427. **Khīrat.**   a Wife : otherwise    
Khirtu: plur.     *Khirati*. Gula the great goddess, wife (*khirat*) of the meridian sun (1 Mich. iv. 6). The gods and their great wives, *khirati-sun rabati*. Botta 153, 12.

    *Khiraita* (wife) was the name of one of the goddesses, who was queen of the city called *Susinna*, otherwise *Sisanna*. 2 R 59, 18 and 60, 17: of which name the god *Sin*   forms an integral part.

428. **Amīlu.**    or   a Man. A very common word on the tablets, but little used in the historical inscriptions, except in the Persian period: gen. *Amīli*    
Amīlu Parsai, a Persian (see No. 103). Plur. *Amīlut*      *Sha amīlut iddinu*, *sha tuki ana amīlut iddinu*, who men gave, who their fortunes to men gave.

Amīlutu is likewise used in the singular, and written     ex. gr. *lú sarru*, *lú issakku*, *lú amīlutu mala suma nabu* whether he be a king, or a priest, or any man however his name is called.

429. **Imatti.**    the Right Hand: put for *imanti* from ימין 'dexter,' as *libitta* for *libinta*.

The god  or *Im* was the Jupiter Tonans of the Latins. We read that the lightnings of *Im* (        *rikhisti Im*) were held in his right hand (as *imatti Im*) where the meaning is clearly ascertained by the Accadian version         *It zida* being the Right Hand.

430. **Simta.**    a Fabric. (Heb. שׂוּמָ to make, compose or put together).

"O Fire! of every thing which can be named, the fabric thou makest! Of bronze and lead the melter art thou! Of gold and silver the purifier art thou!" The first of these lines stands thus in the original: *Nin sha suma nabu simta taskan-ma*. Here *Nin*

must mean 'everything.' It usually means 'nothing' or 'no one.' Similar changes occur in other languages: thus the French *aucun* originally meant 'some,' but now it has the meaning of 'none.'

431. **Atmu.** 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶 Food. 3 R 58, No. 5 (sometimes has a final vowel 𐎠𐎶𐎵 or 𐎠𐎶). *Atmu kienu as pi nisi ishkan*, 'there shall be abundant food in the mouths of men.'—In Oppert's Sargon, folio edition, in the description of a famine: *Atmu risiti* (the food of the poor) *edir-imma* (was entirely wanting). This verb is ערר *privatus fuit*: *diminutus fuit*: *defuit*. (Schindler).

¶ The etymology of *Atmu* is rather doubtful. We may compare the Heb. טעמ 'to eat.'

432. **Takabar.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 Copper (*Accadian*). A very frequent word. Esar. vi, 8, of a new palace: *Sikkat kaspa ibbi u takabar namri urattá kireb-sha*, 'with plates of pure silver and polished copper I lined its interior.'

433. **Kiebar.** 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 Copper. In 2 R 18, 54 the *Accadian takabar kim* is rendered in *Assyrian kima kiebar*. And so it is in other places.

Kiebar seems related to *Cuprum*: *æs Cyprium*: *Copper*; and even the *Accadian Takabar* seems referable to the same root.

434. **Pasalli.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 Sculptured images of metal. Heb. פסילי *sculptura, idolum*. 3 R 13, 29. Sennacherib placed in his new palace great beams (*timmi danni*) of cypress, cedar, and other woods which were covered with *pasalli* (images) and *kaspi* (silver). Compare Isaiah xxx, 22. פסילי כסף *pasili kaspa*, idols of silver.

435. **Padi.** 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 a Sceptre. *Nabiu nash padi tsirti tsirti*, 'Nebo bearing the sceptre lofty ... lofty' (*the rest is broken off*). The *Accadian* renders *padi* by 𐎠𐎶𐎵 'sceptre' (see No. 141 of the Glossary) and gives a complete sense, viz. *Gathula* (lifting up) 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 . 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶 (the lofty sceptre) *sidie* (governing) 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 (mankind).

Similarly, Neriglissar says that Nebo had given him his own sceptre of justice, to rule the people, and govern the land—R 67, 12, and similar mentions of the divine sceptre of Nebo are frequent.

436. **Ilāt.** 𐎶𐎠𐎺 a Goddess. Feminine of 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺 *Ilu* 'a god' (No. 1 of this Glossary). Occurs rarely. Prayer of Assurbanipal to Ishtar of Arbela [Assur. p. 121] *Umma atti bilat biliti*, O thou queen of queens; *ilat kabli*, goddess of war; *bilat takhazi*, lady of battles; *malikat ili*, queen of the gods!—In page 277 we have another example:—Beltis the great goddess, *kadirti ilati*, written 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺.












437. **Shadu.** 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 < or 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺, (often merely 𐎶𐎠) A Lord. Heb. 𐤇𐤃 dominus, 𐤇𐤃𐤁 domina. Ex. from a tablet 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 < . 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *Shadu rabu*, the great lord, 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 *abi* father [of the god . . .]. On an old transcript which I have of K 33 I find a singular passage 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 . 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 <𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 . 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 <𐎶𐎠𐎺 *Shadu linir kunusi*, "May the Lord enlighten you!" (𐎶𐎠𐎺 to enlighten, teach, instruct). This is repeated no less than nine times, but the *verb*, in the optative mood, is varied each time. The nine optatives are as follows: I am at present unable to explain them.








𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *linir.* 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *linikh.*
 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *linih.* 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *likattin.*
 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *likhitsi.* 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *libuhi.*
 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *likla.* 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *liktum.* 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *libnuka.*

¶ By the phrase 'may the Lord protect you!' is meant the Chief of the gods, Assur at Nineveh, probably Marduk at Babylon. Compare R 37, 10 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 . 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 . 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 *Ashur shadu rabu.*

438. 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 a King. The pronunciation is unknown. Mr. G. Smith, No. 330, renders it *Sar*, but this is only the *meaning*, not the *sound*.



















This is a very interesting word, being evidently identical with the Scytho-Median 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎶𐎠𐎺 'a King,' which Norris in p. 18 of his memoir on the Scythic language (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv.) renders (provisionally only) as *Ko*, and of which the true phonetic value has never been discovered.

spirits are frequently mentioned, and the epithet   'wicked' is given to them. They had sometimes the form of bulls, and were very injurious to men.        *kima galli* 'like an evil spirit.' The Accad version is   *kim*.















445. **Nara**, (*verb*) to Help or Succour. I have only found this verb, which is the root of the common word *Nirarut* 'assistance,' in the following passage 3 R 15, 9. A battle was impending during a hazardous expedition to recover his father's throne. Esarhaddon had prayed to the gods. The divine response was: *Alik! la katta! idá-ka nittallak, ninara girri-ka*: "go! fear not! we march by thy side, we assist thy expedition!" The verbs are written     *nittallak*, and    *ninara*.




Katta is a doubtful word, but may be the Heb. חת 'timor.'

¶ Perhaps the phrase *Shadu linir kunusi!* in No. 437 should be rendered "May the Lord *help* you!" from the verb *nara* of this article.

446. **Ida**, to Help. In Assur. p. 68, the king of Lydia submits to Assurbanipal saying "the King whom God assists, art Thou!"                   *Sar sha Il idu su, atta! Ida* comes from *Id* 'the side' Heb. יד. To *help* a person, to take his *side*. Hence the further use of the Heb. יד in the sense of *auxilium*.

¶ Perhaps *idu* in the above sentence is a *substantive*. We might translate "the King who God is (*by*) his side, art Thou!"

447. **Khisa**, to make haste, Heb. הוש or היש *festinavit*. In R 41, 16 it is related that Suzub the Chaldæan *returned in great haste* from the land of Elam, and seized the crown of Babylon: *ultu Nuwa-ki ikhis-amma*              . He then stripped off the gold from the temples of Bel and Zirpanita, and sent it to Umman-Minan king of Elam, as a bribe, with this urgent appeal for help:

Bukkhir umman-ka. collect thy army!

𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁
Diká karasi-ka, strike thy camp!

𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
ana Babel khis-amma, make haste to Babylon!

𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
idá-ni ziz, stand by our side!

In my version of *bukkkir* and *dika* I follow Norris Dict. 474.

¶ The use of הושׁ in Hebrew is quite similar. Ps. xxii, 19. הושׁה haste thee (to help me!). Furst says: “הושׁ to haste to, with ה of the person”—which would be *ana* in Assyrian. Thus: *Khisa ana Babel*, ‘haste to Babylon,’ would be in Hebrew הושׁה לבבל.

¶ *Ziz* frequently means ‘to stand.’ Thus in Assur. p. 124 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *makhar-sha taziz* thou didst stand before her.

448. **Etik**, to change; forsake; remove from. Heb. עתק *dimovit*, *transtulit*. In Assur. p. 41, we read that Necho and the other kings of Egypt *adie Assur etiku* 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 . 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 ‘forsook the faith of Assur.’ Hence I see that the passage quoted in No. 324 ought to have been translated “the queen of the Arabians,” *sha mamit Shamas titiku* “who has now forsaken the worship of the Sun.”

449. **Zahin**, to Adorn. Assur. p. 156. *Ikbud limut*, he devised evil, *ana ekim makhazi*, to capture the holy cities, *subat Ili*, the dwellings of the gods, *sha isriti-sun uddisu*, whose temples I had restored, *uzahinu khuraza ukaspa*, and had adorned them with gold and silver, *kireb-sun astakkanu simati*, and had placed treasures within them. (See also No. 224.)

450. **Naplits**. 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 to Bless, to regard with favour, *Bit-ka naplits! alu-ka naplits!* bless thy temple, bless thy city! *Bablu u bit Saggathu naplits!* bless Babylon and the temple of Saggathu!

Ana bit Tara khadish naplits! bless joyfully the temple of Tara! Senk. ii, 17. The verb is written 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁

in this passage, and also in Birs. N. ii, 18 and R 52, 25 without variation of spelling. In Oppert's "Inscription of Khorsabad," l. 12, *Ili rabi* (the great gods) 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 *ippalsuni* (blessed me). In same, l. 188, *Hekali satina Assur abu ili in nummur buni-su illiti kinish lippalis!* 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 *lippalis*, may he bless (those palaces!) On a tablet concerning a man afflicted with an evil spirit "*Marduk ippalützu*, Marduk will look on him with pity": written 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁. Again, in Assur. p. 290 *Anaku khadish appalis-su*, 'I inclined myself to him with favour'—written 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁. The change of 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 for 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 (see last example) is rather capricious.

¶ This verb *naplits* is a quadriliteral, unless we suppose it a *niphal* form from *palis*.

451. **Arar**, to Curse. Agrees exactly with the Hebrew ארר *maledixit*: *exsecratus est*.

𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 or 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 *Liruru*, may they curse! Michaux stone col. iv, 24 "May the gods whose names are written on this stone, curse him with a curse which cannot be removed! *arrat la napsuri liruru-su!*" And so in Tiglath Pileser's inscription *Arrati marusta liruru-su!* may they curse him with perilous curses! R. 16, 76.

452. **Gur**. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 to Scold, or Reprehend. Exactly the Heb. יגער *bo abui* increpuit, *objurgavit aliquem, ut pater filium, יגער בו אביו* 'et increpuit eum pater ejus' Gen. xxxvii, 10 (*Gesenius*).



In 2 R 10, 15 is one of the old laws of Assyria.

Apilu (if a master) *arda igur-ma* (shall scold his servant, and); *imtot ikhtalik* (shall threaten him with death) &c. &c. [he shall pay a heavy fine.]

453. **Kubie**. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 Curses. *Izarrakh-su* (he will be enraged with him) *kubie igabbu-su* (and will speak curses unto him). This is the Hebrew קבב. *Gesenius* says: קבב *maledixit*: *exsecratus est* (Numbers xxiii, 13) קבבו "Curse me them from thence!" (story of Balaam).

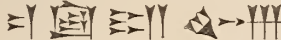

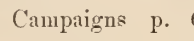
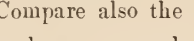

Another example: *Kubie agabbi* (I spoke curses, or sharp words) *manman val isiman-anni* (but no one heard). In these two

examples *kubie* is used in conjunction with the verb *gabba* ‘to speak,’ and seems derived from it. I believe that *kubie* meant originally ‘words.’ Gesenius states, what is very important, that the verb קבב is the same as נקב which sometimes means ‘to curse,’ but sometimes simply ‘to speak or name.’ Hence we perceive the true connexion of the Assyrian verb *gabba* ‘to speak’ so constantly used, with the Hebrew, namely that it is the verb נקב reduced to קב by the rejection of the initial N.


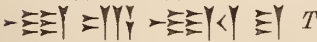
454. **Guk.**  or the monogram  to Swell : perhaps to Burst. This seems to be the Heb. גרה or גיה erupit : prorupit : effusus est.

Tarku king of Ethiopia had captured Memphis which belonged to Assurbanipal. *Allaku kxanthu* (a rapid messenger) *as kireb Ninua illik-amma* (came to Niueveh) *usanná yaati* (and told me the news). *Eli ipsiti annati* (on account of these doings) *libbi igug* (my heart swelled) *izzarukh kabatti* (and my liver was enraged). Assur. p. 17.

455. **Zarikh**, to be enraged—to burst with rage. Heb. סרה supererevit (to swell greatly): effusus est (to burst).

 *izzarrakh*, he will be enraged (phrase on a tablet).  *izzarukh kabatti*, my liver swelled with rage. Assur. p. 17, but in this passage Oppert (Egyptian Campaigns p. 64) reads  *izzarikh*. Compare also the phrase  ‘he will speak angry words;’ and that in Assur. p. 212 *Supar amati annati as tsirikhti libbi-ya*, “concerning these matters in the indignation of my heart [I took up arms, &c.]” written  *tsirikhti*.

456. **Kallam**, to Speak. כללמ A purely Arabic word, used of divine speech, ex. gr. *kalam Allah*, ‘the word of God,’ which came to Jouah. (Jonah i, 1, Wright’s edition).

 *Ukallimu* ‘they spoke’  *Tukallima* ‘thou spokest.’ In Assur. p. 235 the gods, who had uttered a prophecy in ancient times,

“now spoke it again to later people” *enuna ukallimu nisi arkati*. And in Assur. p. 250 a passage perfectly similar, except that it is in the second person, *tukallima* “thou spokest it again to later people.”

457. **Anakhut.** 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 an Injury. Chald. ענה afflictus est. In 3 R plate 4 No. 4 Suzub king of Babylon 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *irsa anakhut*, sustained an injury [by falling from his horse]. In Assur. p. 239, a grandson of Marduk-Baladan heard very bad news, and *iktum libba-su* (his heart was smitten) 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *irsa anakuttu* (he sustained great affliction): *napista-su panús-su val igir* (his life had no value in his sight): *ikhsukhu mitutu* (he wished for death). He said to his swordbearer, ‘slay me with the sword!’ Then he and his swordbearer slew each other.

The two spellings of *anakhut* differ, but the verb 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *irsa* being the same identifies the word.








Besides this use of the word *anakhut*, it occurs continually in the following phrase, “In future times, when these buildings shall grow old and decay, blessed be the king my successor who shall repair their injuries! (𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 . 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *ankhut-zun luttish*). Or, when only one palace is spoken of, 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 . 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *ankhut-sa luttish*).























458. 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 **Enakh**, (*verb*) to be Injured: to Decay Chald. ענה. This and the last No. apparently belong to the same root: they generally occur together.

Enuma sigurratu shatina usalbaru enakhu, when these towers shall grow old and decay.—Tig. viii, 52. *Enuma hekal sátu ilabbiru inakhu*, Esar. vi, 61 written 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽. The same phrase in Bellino 63, but written *innakhu* 𐎶 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽.

459. **Arba.** 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 to Catch in a Snare. Heb. ארבע insidiatus est. In 3 R 4 No. 4, Seunacherib goes in chase of four large eagles, among the mountains. He says: “Two of them *maskanati arba* I caught with (*nets?*).

460. **Bellel**, to Melt Heb. בלל fudit. *Sha eri u anaki nubullil-sun atta*, Thou, O Fire, art the melter of brass and lead. (*tablet*).

461. **Shallal**.   to Spoil: *subst.*   Spoil. Agrees exactly with the Heb.    *spoliavit*.

𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 . 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 *la iklá unninni* 'he did not utter prayers.' *Liki unnini-ya. Simikala-ya.* "Receive my prayers! Hear my voice!" This latter example I have considered in No. 379. The occurrence of *unnini* in each suggests that 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 *Kala* (voice) and 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 *ikla* (he spoke), have a common origin.

466. **Sunukh**, to Repeat. Heb. שָׁנָה *iteravit. Ikribi-ya sunukhuti*, "my repeated prayers." Written 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓.

467. **Zibu**. 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 a kind of Antelope. Heb. צְבִי *Dorcas*. A tablet mentions 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 . 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 *Zibu surrukhu* 'swift antelopes.' The word stands between *ga makhe* 'fine oxen' and *tsieni* 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 (. . .) sheep. The epithet given to the sheep I do not know. Offerings to the gods are here spoken of. Similar offerings are mentioned in Opp. Khors. l. 172, where the epithet *surrukhi* is given to another animal (called 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓) and the *Zibi* or antelopes (𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓) have the epithet *illuti* 'excellent,' while another animal has the epithet *ibbuti* 'pretty.' In both these texts, it will be observed, 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 occurs, I must leave it doubtful whether it is an animal or the epithet of one.

Mr. Norris's translation of Opp. Khors. l. 172, will be found in his dictionary p. 308. He thinks the *Zibi* were birds, because a bird of that name is mentioned in 2 R 37, 4.

¶ The Syriac form of צְבִי is *tabia* ܛܒܝܐ. The Assyrian inscriptions very seldom name any females. One exception is the princess *Tabua* 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 < 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 whom Esarhaddon (iii, 13) appointed to be queen over a Syrian or Arabian nation. I think her name meant ܛܒܝܐ *Dorcas*, as that was a favourite female name. See Acts ix, 36, "*Tabitha* which by interpretation is called *Dorcas*." Gesenius says : Hebræi pariter atque Arabes tanti faciebant dorcadis pulchritudinem ut ei compararent quidquid pulchrum est et venustum.

468. **Nimru**, a Leopard. Heb. נִמְרוֹ *Pardus*. 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 *Nimri*, leopards, together with many other wild animals, in my city Calah I collected.—B.M. 44, 19.

- ¶ The spots on this animal may be compared to Eyes. This affords a very simple etym of the Hebrew נמר, viz. from the Assyrian *Namri* in the sense of Eyes or Vision.
469. **Urbarra.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 a Tiger (?). It is frequently said in the omen tablets, "If the weather and seasons are so-and-so, *nanthur Urmakh Urbarra*, Lions and Tigers(?) will be seen. 3 R 61, col. ii, 10. The translation is conjectural.
470. **Mú.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Water. Chald. מרי which singular is not found in Hebrew, but only the plural מי or מימ. Josephus gives *Mω*, from which he derives the name of Moses. The plural *Mie* 'waters' is very common in Assyrian, but the singular is comparatively rare, and therefore I will give an example or two of it. Speaking of the Euphrates: "*Mu-sha as abzie kinish kunnú* its water in the Ocean." Sometimes it is written simply 𐎶𐎵 ex. gr. *elish isaggu mu*, from above they drank water (Ch. שקה bibit). Here the Accadian translation of 𐎶𐎵 by 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 'water' identifies its meaning.
471. **Aminna.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (Accad.) a kind of Crown. Evidently derived from *Amia* 'a crown' (see No. 404). In 2 R 30, 19 *Aminna* is explained by *Agú elú* 'lofty crown.'
472. **Izkati.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Fetters. Exactly the Hebrew אוקי catenæ, vincula, Jerem. xl, 1. *As biriti anbar, izkati anbar, utammikhu kati u shapie*, with bonds of iron and fetters of iron they held their hands and feet. Assur. p. 26 (same words in p. 44). *As zizzi izkati anbar, biriti anbar utammikh*, [two chiefs] in strong fetters of iron and bonds of iron he bound. Assur. p. 66; and same words in Assur. p. 113.
473. **Sigaru.** 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 Chains. Probably from the Hebrew root סגר to lock or close (Levit. xiii, 4, to imprison a person).
In Assur. p. 261, *Sigaru askun-su*, 'I placed chains on him' [and threw him into the great central prison of Nineveh.]
474. **Zulul.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Shade. Heb. צלל obumbrare. *Iktallubu kishti sha zulul-sin rapsu*, they passed through forests

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 explained *Kharrukhai*, which in Mr. Norris's opinion (Dictionary, p. 308) means 'bird of the desert' I suppose from Heb. חרד, Arab. حرک (Sch. p. 653) related to חרה, הרר, הרב, &c., implying desolation from extreme dryness—burnt-up land. This etym seems not improbable.

477. **Zibi.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎶 Gifts.

Natan zibi, a giving of gifts *i.e.* liberality. In Tig. vii, 52 and the Annals i, 25 the King is praised for his pious care of the temples: *Ipsit kati-su u natan-zibi-su ili rabi itibu* (or *iramu*) 'the works of his hands and his great generosity pleased the gods.'

¶ *Zibi* may come from a verb *ziba* 'to give,' which I find in 2 R 13, 37 *Siparta-su* (his money) *la shakilta* (not weighed, *i.e.* without stint) *sha ana sibruti izibu* (which he had given for). And I think it occurs also in the name of the temple of *Ziba-tila* (giver of life) an epithet of the goddess Gula at Babylon.

478. **Zariri.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 Gold(?). This appears to be the Persian *Zar* 'gold,' a word which may have become known to the Assyrians in very ancient times. In Botta pl. 18 *quater*; pl. 152; and elsewhere it is said: "I offered to the gods *katri* of pure gold and bright silver, *katri zariri russi, kasbu ibbi*." Now, *russi* is the *standing* epithet of 'gold,' insomuch that the Accadian 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 is rendered in Assyrian *khuraza russá* (see No. 400). Hence I think that the substantive joined to it in the preceding passage of Botta probably means 'gold.' In the other texts in which *zariri* occurs the meaning of 'gold' suits very well. E.I.H. iii, 10 (quoted by Norris p. 382) "I adorned the shrine of Marduk with *zariri* and *abni* (with gold and precious stones)." Also, Assur. p. 227 "I captured fine chariots of various descriptions *sha akhitzu-sin zariri zakkhalú*, whose exterior was gilt and adorned with figures." Compare E.I.H. ix, 12 "doors, &c., *ikhitz kaspa khurassu*, whose exterior was silver and gold." Heb. חיצ 'exterior.'

¶ It appears to me, that in Elam the Persian words *Zar* 'gold' and *Sim* 'silver' were current, but that they were usually employed with the Persian case-ending *ra* (making *Zar-ra* and *Sim-ra*). For, when Assurbanipal took Susa, the capital of Elam,

(Assur. p. 226) he carried off all the 'pure gold' *zarirú russú*, and 'bright silver' *ismarú ibbú*, of the Elamite kings. Here *ismarú* (or *simarú*) is written <<< 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 <.

¶ If this is correct, a further consequence is, that *Zar* and *Sim* are very ancient Persian words.

479. **Ismarú.** <<< 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 < Silver. See preceding article for one example. Another is found in E.I.H. iii, 56 in the account of the very splendid decorations of the chapel of Nebo. Not only were the cedar roofs plated with silver, but the very approaches were equally splendid. *Tallakti papakha* (the path to the chapel) *u malaku bit* (and the way to the temple) *aguri ismarú* 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿 𐏀 𐏁 𐏂 𐏃 𐏄 𐏅 𐏆 𐏇 𐏈 𐏉 𐏊 𐏋 𐏌 𐏍 𐏎 𐏏 𐏐 𐏑 𐏒 𐏓 𐏔 𐏕 𐏖 𐏗 𐏘 𐏙 𐏚 𐏛 𐏜 𐏝 𐏞 𐏟 𐏠 𐏡 𐏢 𐏣 𐏤 𐏥 𐏦 𐏧 𐏨 𐏩 𐏪 𐏫 𐏬 𐏭 𐏮 𐏯 𐏰 𐏱 𐏲 𐏳 𐏴 𐏵 𐏶 𐏷 𐏸 𐏹 𐏺 𐏻 𐏼 𐏽 𐏾 𐏿 𐐀 𐐁 𐐂 𐐃 𐐄 𐐅 𐐆 𐐇 𐐈 𐐉 𐐊 𐐋 𐐌 𐐍 𐐎 𐐏 𐐐 𐐑 𐐒 𐐓 𐐔 𐐕 𐐖 𐐗 𐐘 𐐙 𐐚 𐐛 𐐜 𐐝 𐐞 𐐟 𐐠 𐐡 𐐢 𐐣 𐐤 𐐥 𐐦 𐐧 𐐨 𐐩 𐐪 𐐫 𐐬 𐐭 𐐮 𐐯 𐐰 𐐱 𐐲 𐐳 𐐴 𐐵 𐐶 𐐷 𐐸 𐐹 𐐺 𐐻 𐐼 𐐽 𐐾 𐐿 𐑀 𐑁 𐑂 𐑃 𐑄 𐑅 𐑆 𐑇 𐑈 𐑉 𐑊 𐑋 𐑌 𐑍 𐑎 𐑏 𐑐 𐑑 𐑒 𐑓 𐑔 𐑕 𐑖 𐑗 𐑘 𐑙 𐑚 𐑛 𐑜 𐑝 𐑞 𐑟 𐑠 𐑡 𐑢 𐑣 𐑤 𐑥 𐑦 𐑧 𐑨 𐑩 𐑪 𐑫 𐑬 𐑭 𐑮 𐑯 𐑰 𐑱 𐑲 𐑳 𐑴 𐑵 𐑶 𐑷 𐑸 𐑹 𐑺 𐑻 𐑼 𐑽 𐑾 𐑿 𐒀 𐒁 𐒂 𐒃 𐒄 𐒅 𐒆 𐒇 𐒈 𐒉 𐒊 𐒋 𐒌 𐒍 𐒎 𐒏 𐒐 𐒑 𐒒 𐒓 𐒔 𐒕 𐒖 𐒗 𐒘 𐒙 𐒚 𐒛 𐒜 𐒝 𐒞 𐒟 𐒠 𐒡 𐒢 𐒣 𐒤 𐒥 𐒦 𐒧 𐒨 𐒩 𐒪 𐒫 𐒬 𐒭 𐒮 𐒯 𐒰 𐒱 𐒲 𐒳 𐒴 𐒵 𐒶 𐒷 𐒸 𐒹 𐒺 𐒻 𐒼 𐒽 𐒾 𐒿 𐓀 𐓁 𐓂 𐓃 𐓄 𐓅 𐓆 𐓇 𐓈 𐓉 𐓊 𐓋 𐓌 𐓍 𐓎 𐓏 𐓐 𐓑 𐓒 𐓓 𐓔 𐓕 𐓖 𐓗 𐓘 𐓙 𐓚 𐓛 𐓜 𐓝 𐓞 𐓟 𐓠 𐓡 𐓢 𐓣 𐓤 𐓥 𐓦 𐓧 𐓨 𐓩 𐓪 𐓫 𐓬 𐓭 𐓮 𐓯 𐓰 𐓱 𐓲 𐓳 𐓴 𐓵 𐓶 𐓷 𐓸 𐓹 𐓺 𐓻 𐓼 𐓽 𐓾 𐓿 𐔀 𐔁 𐔂 𐔃 𐔄 𐔅 𐔆 𐔇 𐔈 𐔉 𐔊 𐔋 𐔌 𐔍 𐔎 𐔏 𐔐 𐔑 𐔒 𐔓 𐔔 𐔕 𐔖 𐔗 𐔘 𐔙 𐔚 𐔛 𐔜 𐔝 𐔞 𐔟 𐔠 𐔡 𐔢 𐔣 𐔤 𐔥 𐔦 𐔧 𐔨 𐔩 𐔪 𐔫 𐔬 𐔭 𐔮 𐔯 𐔰 𐔱 𐔲 𐔳 𐔴 𐔵 𐔶 𐔷 𐔸 𐔹 𐔺 𐔻 𐔼 𐔽 𐔾 𐔿 𐕀 𐕁 𐕂 𐕃 𐕄 𐕅 𐕆 𐕇 𐕈 𐕉 𐕊 𐕋 𐕌 𐕍 𐕎 𐕏 𐕐 𐕑 𐕒 𐕓 𐕔 𐕕 𐕖 𐕗 𐕘 𐕙 𐕚 𐕛 𐕜 𐕝 𐕞 𐕟 𐕠 𐕡 𐕢 𐕣 𐕤 𐕥 𐕦 𐕧 𐕨 𐕩 𐕪 𐕫 𐕬 𐕭 𐕮 𐕯 𐕰 𐕱 𐕲 𐕳 𐕴 𐕵 𐕶 𐕷 𐕸 𐕹 𐕺 𐕻 𐕼 𐕽 𐕾 𐕿 𐖀 𐖁 𐖂 𐖃 𐖄 𐖅 𐖆 𐖇 𐖈 𐖉 𐖊 𐖋 𐖌 𐖍 𐖎 𐖏 𐖐 𐖑 𐖒 𐖓 𐖔 𐖕 𐖖 𐖗 𐖘 𐖙 𐖚 𐖛 𐖜 𐖝 𐖞 𐖟 𐖠 𐖡 𐖢 𐖣 𐖤 𐖥 𐖦 𐖧 𐖨 𐖩 𐖪 𐖫 𐖬 𐖭 𐖮 𐖯 𐖰 𐖱 𐖲 𐖳 𐖴 𐖵 𐖶 𐖷 𐖸 𐖹 𐖺 𐖻 𐖼 𐖽 𐖾 𐖿 𐗀 𐗁 𐗂 𐗃 𐗄 𐗅 𐗆 𐗇 𐗈 𐗉 𐗊 𐗋 𐗌 𐗍 𐗎 𐗏 𐗐 𐗑 𐗒 𐗓 𐗔 𐗕 𐗖 𐗗 𐗘 𐗙 𐗚 𐗛 𐗜 𐗝 𐗞 𐗟 𐗠 𐗡 𐗢 𐗣 𐗤 𐗥 𐗦 𐗧 𐗨 𐗩 𐗪 𐗫 𐗬 𐗭 𐗮 𐗯 𐗰 𐗱 𐗲 𐗳 𐗴 𐗵 𐗶 𐗷 𐗸 𐗹 𐗺 𐗻 𐗼 𐗽 𐗾 𐗿 𐘀 𐘁 𐘂 𐘃 𐘄 𐘅 𐘆 𐘇 𐘈 𐘉 𐘊 𐘋 𐘌 𐘍 𐘎 𐘏 𐘐 𐘑 𐘒 𐘓 𐘔 𐘕 𐘖 𐘗 𐘘 𐘙 𐘚 𐘛 𐘜 𐘝 𐘞 𐘟 𐘠 𐘡 𐘢 𐘣 𐘤 𐘥 𐘦 𐘧 𐘨 𐘩 𐘪 𐘫 𐘬 𐘭 𐘮 𐘯 𐘰 𐘱 𐘲 𐘳 𐘴 𐘵 𐘶 𐘷 𐘸 𐘹 𐘺 𐘻 𐘼 𐘽 𐘾 𐘿 𐙀 𐙁 𐙂 𐙃 𐙄 𐙅 𐙆 𐙇 𐙈 𐙉 𐙊 𐙋 𐙌 𐙍 𐙎 𐙏 𐙐 𐙑 𐙒 𐙓 𐙔 𐙕 𐙖 𐙗 𐙘 𐙙 𐙚 𐙛 𐙜 𐙝 𐙞 𐙟 𐙠 𐙡 𐙢 𐙣 𐙤 𐙥 𐙦 𐙧 𐙨 𐙩 𐙪 𐙫 𐙬 𐙭 𐙮 𐙯 𐙰 𐙱 𐙲 𐙳 𐙴 𐙵 𐙶 𐙷 𐙸 𐙹 𐙺 𐙻 𐙼 𐙽 𐙾 𐙿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐛀 𐛁 𐛂 𐛃 𐛄 𐛅 𐛆 𐛇 𐛈 𐛉 𐛊 𐛋 𐛌 𐛍 𐛎 𐛏 𐛐 𐛑 𐛒 𐛓 𐛔 𐛕 𐛖 𐛗 𐛘 𐛙 𐛚 𐛛 𐛜 𐛝 𐛞 𐛟 𐛠 𐛡 𐛢 𐛣 𐛤 𐛥 𐛦 𐛧 𐛨 𐛩 𐛪 𐛫 𐛬 𐛭 𐛮 𐛯 𐛰 𐛱 𐛲 𐛳 𐛴 𐛵 𐛶 𐛷 𐛸 𐛹 𐛺 𐛻 𐛼 𐛽 𐛾 𐛿 𐜀 𐜁 𐜂 𐜃 𐜄 𐜅 𐜆 𐜇 𐜈 𐜉 𐜊 𐜋 𐜌 𐜍 𐜎 𐜏 𐜐 𐜑 𐜒 𐜓 𐜔 𐜕 𐜖 𐜗 𐜘 𐜙 𐜚 𐜛 𐜜 𐜝 𐜞 𐜟 𐜠 𐜡 𐜢 𐜣 𐜤 𐜥 𐜦 𐜧 𐜨 𐜩 𐜪 𐜫 𐜬 𐜭 𐜮 𐜯 𐜰 𐜱 𐜲 𐜳 𐜴 𐜵 𐜶 𐜷 𐜸 𐜹 𐜺 𐜻 𐜼 𐜽 𐜾 𐜿 𐝀 𐝁 𐝂 𐝃 𐝄 𐝅 𐝆 𐝇 𐝈 𐝉 𐝊 𐝋 𐝌 𐝍 𐝎 𐝏 𐝐 𐝑 𐝒 𐝓 𐝔 𐝕 𐝖 𐝗 𐝘 𐝙 𐝚 𐝛 𐝜 𐝝 𐝞 𐝟 𐝠 𐝡 𐝢 𐝣 𐝤 𐝥 𐝦 𐝧 𐝨 𐝩 𐝪 𐝫 𐝬 𐝭 𐝮 𐝯 𐝰 𐝱 𐝲 𐝳 𐝴 𐝵 𐝶 𐝷 𐝸 𐝹 𐝺 𐝻 𐝼 𐝽 𐝾 𐝿 𐞀 𐞁 𐞂 𐞃 𐞄 𐞅 𐞆 𐞇 𐞈 𐞉 𐞊 𐞋 𐞌 𐞍 𐞎 𐞏 𐞐 𐞑 𐞒 𐞓 𐞔 𐞕 𐞖 𐞗 𐞘 𐞙 𐞚 𐞛 𐞜 𐞝 𐞞 𐞟 𐞠 𐞡 𐞢 𐞣 𐞤 𐞥 𐞦 𐞧 𐞨 𐞩 𐞪 𐞫 𐞬 𐞭 𐞮 𐞯 𐞰 𐞱 𐞲 𐞳 𐞴 𐞵 𐞶 𐞷 𐞸 𐞹 𐞺 𐞻 𐞼 𐞽 𐞾 𐞿 𐟀 𐟁 𐟂 𐟃 𐟄 𐟅 𐟆 𐟇 𐟈 𐟉 𐟊 𐟋 𐟌 𐟍 𐟎 𐟏 𐟐 𐟑 𐟒 𐟓 𐟔 𐟕 𐟖 𐟗 𐟘 𐟙 𐟚 𐟛 𐟜 𐟝 𐟞 𐟟 𐟠 𐟡 𐟢 𐟣 𐟤 𐟥 𐟦 𐟧 𐟨 𐟩 𐟪 𐟫 𐟬 𐟭 𐟮 𐟯 𐟰 𐟱 𐟲 𐟳 𐟴 𐟵 𐟶 𐟷 𐟸 𐟹 𐟺 𐟻 𐟼 𐟽 𐟾 𐟿 𐠀 𐠁 𐠂 𐠃 𐠄 𐠅 𐠆 𐠇 𐠈 𐠉 𐠊 𐠋 𐠌 𐠍 𐠎 𐠏 𐠐 𐠑 𐠒 𐠓 𐠔 𐠕 𐠖 𐠗 𐠘 𐠙 𐠚 𐠛 𐠜 𐠝 𐠞 𐠟 𐠠 𐠡 𐠢 𐠣 𐠤 𐠥 𐠦 𐠧 𐠨 𐠩 𐠪 𐠫 𐠬 𐠭 𐠮 𐠯 𐠰 𐠱 𐠲 𐠳 𐠴 𐠵 𐠶 𐠷 𐠸 𐠹 𐠺 𐠻 𐠼 𐠽 𐠾 𐠿 𐡀 𐡁 𐡂 𐡃 𐡄 𐡅 𐡆 𐡇 𐡈 𐡉 𐡊 𐡋 𐡌 𐡍 𐡎 𐡏 𐡐 𐡑 𐡒 𐡓 𐡔 𐡕 𐡖 𐡗 𐡘 𐡙 𐡚 𐡛 𐡜 𐡝 𐡞 𐡟 𐡠 𐡡 𐡢 𐡣 𐡤 𐡥 𐡦 𐡧 𐡨 𐡩 𐡪 𐡫 𐡬 𐡭 𐡮 𐡯 𐡰 𐡱 𐡲 𐡳 𐡴 𐡵 𐡶 𐡷 𐡸 𐡹 𐡺 𐡻 𐡼 𐡽 𐡾 𐡿 𐢀 𐢁 𐢂 𐢃 𐢄 𐢅 𐢆 𐢇 𐢈 𐢉 𐢊 𐢋 𐢌 𐢍 𐢎 𐢏 𐢐 𐢑 𐢒 𐢓 𐢔 𐢕 𐢖 𐢗 𐢘 𐢙 𐢚 𐢛 𐢜 𐢝 𐢞 𐢟 𐢠 𐢡 𐢢 𐢣 𐢤 𐢥 𐢦 𐢧 𐢨 𐢩 𐢪 𐢫 𐢬 𐢭 𐢮 𐢯 𐢰 𐢱 𐢲 𐢳 𐢴 𐢵 𐢶 𐢷 𐢸 𐢹 𐢺 𐢻 𐢼 𐢽 𐢾 𐢿 𐣀 𐣁 𐣂 𐣃 𐣄 𐣅 𐣆 𐣇 𐣈 𐣉 𐣊 𐣋 𐣌 𐣍 𐣎 𐣏 𐣐 𐣑 𐣒 𐣓 𐣔 𐣕 𐣖 𐣗 𐣘 𐣙 𐣚 𐣛 𐣜 𐣝 𐣞 𐣟 𐣠 𐣡 𐣢 𐣣 𐣤 𐣥 𐣦 𐣧 𐣨 𐣩 𐣪 𐣫 𐣬 𐣭 𐣮 𐣯 𐣰 𐣱 𐣲 𐣳 𐣴 𐣵 𐣶 𐣷 𐣸 𐣹 𐣺 𐣻 𐣼 𐣽 𐣾 𐣿 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙 𐤚 𐤛 𐤜 𐤝 𐤞 𐤟 𐤠 𐤡 𐤢 𐤣 𐤤 𐤥 𐤦 𐤧 𐤨 𐤩 𐤪 𐤫 𐤬 𐤭 𐤮 𐤯 𐤰 𐤱 𐤲 𐤳 𐤴 𐤵 𐤶 𐤷 𐤸 𐤹 𐤺 𐤻 𐤼 𐤽 𐤾 𐤿 𐥀 𐥁 𐥂 𐥃 𐥄 𐥅 𐥆 𐥇 𐥈 𐥉 𐥊 𐥋 𐥌 𐥍 𐥎 𐥏 𐥐 𐥑 𐥒 𐥓 𐥔 𐥕 𐥖 𐥗 𐥘 𐥙 𐥚 𐥛 𐥜 𐥝 𐥞 𐥟 𐥠 𐥡 𐥢 𐥣 𐥤 𐥥 𐥦 𐥧 𐥨 𐥩 𐥪 𐥫 𐥬 𐥭 𐥮 𐥯 𐥰 𐥱 𐥲 𐥳 𐥴 𐥵 𐥶 𐥷 𐥸 𐥹 𐥺 𐥻 𐥼 𐥽 𐥾 𐥿 𐦀 𐦁 𐦂 𐦃 𐦄 𐦅 𐦆 𐦇 𐦈 𐦉 𐦊 𐦋 𐦌 𐦍 𐦎 𐦏 𐦐 𐦑 𐦒 𐦓 𐦔 𐦕 𐦖 𐦗 𐦘 𐦙 𐦚 𐦛 𐦜 𐦝 𐦞 𐦟 𐦠 𐦡 𐦢 𐦣 𐦤 𐦥 𐦦 𐦧 𐦨 𐦩 𐦪 𐦫 𐦬 𐦭 𐦮 𐦯 𐦰 𐦱 𐦲 𐦳 𐦴 𐦵 𐦶 𐦷 𐦸 𐦹 𐦺 𐦻 𐦼 𐦽 𐦾 𐦿 𐧀 𐧁 𐧂 𐧃 𐧄 𐧅 𐧆 𐧇 𐧈 𐧉 𐧊 𐧋 𐧌 𐧍 𐧎 𐧏 𐧐 𐧑 𐧒 𐧓 𐧔 𐧕 𐧖 𐧗 𐧘 𐧙 𐧚 𐧛 𐧜 𐧝 𐧞 𐧟 𐧠 𐧡 𐧢 𐧣 𐧤 𐧥 𐧦 𐧧 𐧨 𐧩 𐧪 𐧫 𐧬 𐧭 𐧮 𐧯 𐧰 𐧱 𐧲 𐧳 𐧴 𐧵 𐧶 𐧷 𐧸 𐧹 𐧺 𐧻 𐧼 𐧽 𐧾 𐧿 𐨀 𐨁 𐨂 𐨃 𐨄 𐨅 𐨆 𐨇 𐨈 𐨉 𐨊 𐨋 𐨌 𐨍 𐨎 𐨏 𐨐 𐨑 𐨒 𐨓 𐨔 𐨕 𐨖 𐨗 𐨘 𐨙 𐨚 𐨛 𐨜 𐨝 𐨞 𐨟 𐨠 𐨡 𐨢 𐨣 𐨤 𐨥 𐨦 𐨧 𐨨 𐨩 𐨪 𐨫 𐨬 𐨭 𐨮 𐨯 𐨰 𐨱 𐨲 𐨳 𐨴 𐨵 𐨶 𐨷 𐨸 𐨹 𐨺 𐨻 𐨼 𐨽 𐨾 𐨿 𐩀 𐩁 𐩂 𐩃 𐩄 𐩅 𐩆 𐩇 𐩈 𐩉 𐩊 𐩋 𐩌 𐩍 𐩎 𐩏 𐩐 𐩑 𐩒 𐩓 𐩔 𐩕 𐩖 𐩗 𐩘 𐩙 𐩚 𐩛 𐩜 𐩝 𐩞 𐩟 𐩠 𐩡 𐩢 𐩣 𐩤 𐩥 𐩦 𐩧 𐩨 𐩩 𐩪 𐩫 𐩬 𐩭 𐩮 𐩯 𐩰 𐩱 𐩲 𐩳 𐩴 𐩵 𐩶 𐩷 𐩸 𐩹 𐩺 𐩻 𐩼 𐩽 𐩾 𐩿 𐪀 𐪁 𐪂 𐪃 𐪄 𐪅 𐪆 𐪇 𐪈 𐪉 𐪊 𐪋 𐪌 𐪍 𐪎 𐪏 𐪐 𐪑 𐪒 𐪓 𐪔 𐪕 𐪖 𐪗 𐪘 𐪙 𐪚 𐪛 𐪜 𐪝 𐪞 𐪟 𐪠 𐪡 𐪢 𐪣 𐪤 𐪥 𐪦 𐪧 𐪨 𐪩 𐪪 𐪫 𐪬 𐪭 𐪮 𐪯 𐪰 𐪱 𐪲 𐪳 𐪴 𐪵 𐪶 𐪷 𐪸 𐪹 𐪺 𐪻 𐪼 𐪽 𐪾 𐪿 𐫀 𐫁 𐫂 𐫃 𐫄 𐫅 𐫆 𐫇 𐫈 𐫉 𐫊 𐫋 𐫌 𐫍 𐫎 𐫏 𐫐 𐫑 𐫒 𐫓 𐫔 𐫕 𐫖 𐫗 𐫘 𐫙 𐫚 𐫛 𐫜 𐫝 𐫞 𐫟 𐫠 𐫡 𐫢 𐫣 𐫤 𐫥 𐫦 𐫧 𐫨 𐫩 𐫪 𐫫 𐫬 𐫭 𐫮 𐫯 𐫰 𐫱 𐫲 𐫳 𐫴 𐫵 𐫶 𐫷 𐫸 𐫹 𐫺 𐫻 𐫼 𐫽 𐫾 𐫿 𐬀 𐬁 𐬂 𐬃 𐬄 𐬅 𐬆 𐬇 𐬈 𐬉 𐬊 𐬋 𐬌 𐬍 𐬎 𐬏 𐬐 𐬑 𐬒 𐬓 𐬔 𐬕 𐬖 𐬗 𐬘 𐬙 𐬚 𐬛 𐬜 𐬝 𐬞 𐬟 𐬠 𐬡 𐬢 𐬣 𐬤 𐬥 𐬦 𐬧 𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 𐬫 𐬬 𐬭 𐬮 𐬯 𐬰 𐬱 𐬲 𐬳 𐬴 𐬵 𐬶 𐬷 𐬸 𐬹 𐬺 𐬻 𐬼 𐬽 𐬾 𐬿 𐭀 𐭁 𐭂 𐭃 𐭄 𐭅 𐭆 𐭇 𐭈 𐭉 𐭊 𐭋 𐭌 𐭍 𐭎 𐭏 𐭐 𐭑 𐭒 𐭓 𐭔 𐭕 𐭖 𐭗 𐭘 𐭙 𐭚 𐭛 𐭜 𐭝 𐭞 𐭟 𐭠 𐭡 𐭢 𐭣 𐭤 𐭥 𐭦 𐭧 𐭨 𐭩 𐭪 𐭫 𐭬 𐭭 𐭮 𐭯 𐭰 𐭱 𐭲 𐭳 𐭴 𐭵 𐭶 𐭷 𐭸 𐭹 𐭺 𐭻 𐭼 𐭽 𐭾 𐭿 𐮀 𐮁 𐮂 𐮃 𐮄 𐮅 𐮆 𐮇 𐮈 𐮉 𐮊 𐮋 𐮌 𐮍 𐮎 𐮏 𐮐 𐮑 𐮒 𐮓 𐮔 𐮕 𐮖 𐮗 𐮘 𐮙 𐮚 𐮛 𐮜 𐮝 𐮞 𐮟 𐮠 𐮡 𐮢 𐮣 𐮤 𐮥 𐮦 𐮧 𐮨 𐮩 𐮪 𐮫 𐮬 𐮭 𐮮 𐮯 𐮰 𐮱 𐮲 𐮳 𐮴 𐮵 𐮶 𐮷 𐮸 𐮹 𐮺 𐮻 𐮼 𐮽 𐮾 𐮿 𐯀 𐯁 𐯂 𐯃 𐯄 𐯅 𐯆 𐯇 𐯈 𐯉 𐯊 𐯋 𐯌 𐯍 𐯎 𐯏 𐯐 𐯑 𐯒 𐯓 𐯔 𐯕 𐯖 𐯗 𐯘 𐯙 𐯚 𐯛 𐯜 𐯝 𐯞 𐯟 𐯠 𐯡 𐯢 𐯣 𐯤 𐯥 𐯦 𐯧 𐯨 𐯩 𐯪 𐯫 𐯬 𐯭 𐯮 𐯯 𐯰 𐯱 𐯲 𐯳 𐯴 𐯵 𐯶 𐯷 𐯸 𐯹 𐯺 𐯻 𐯼 𐯽 𐯾 𐯿 𐰀 𐰁 𐰂 𐰃 𐰄 𐰅 𐰆 𐰇 𐰈 𐰉 𐰊 𐰋 𐰌 𐰍 𐰎 𐰏 𐰐 𐰑 𐰒 𐰓 𐰔 𐰕 𐰖 𐰗 𐰘 𐰙 𐰚 𐰛 𐰜 𐰝 𐰞 𐰟 𐰠 𐰡 𐰢 𐰣 𐰤 𐰥 𐰦 𐰧 𐰨 𐰩 𐰪 𐰫 𐰬 𐰭 𐰮 𐰯 𐰰 𐰱 𐰲 𐰳 𐰴 𐰵 𐰶 𐰷 𐰸 𐰹 𐰺 𐰻 𐰼 𐰽 𐰾 𐰿 𐱀 𐱁 𐱂 𐱃 𐱄 𐱅 𐱆 𐱇 𐱈 𐱉 𐱊 𐱋 𐱌 𐱍 𐱎 𐱏 𐱐 𐱑 𐱒 𐱓 𐱔 𐱕 𐱖 𐱗 𐱘 𐱙 𐱚 𐱛 𐱜 𐱝 𐱞 𐱟 𐱠 𐱡 𐱢 𐱣 𐱤 𐱥 𐱦 𐱧 𐱨 𐱩 𐱪 𐱫 𐱬 𐱭 𐱮 𐱯 𐱰 𐱱 𐱲 𐱳 𐱴 𐱵 𐱶 𐱷 𐱸 𐱹 𐱺 𐱻 𐱼 𐱽 𐱾 𐱿 𐲀 𐲁 𐲂 𐲃 𐲄 𐲅 𐲆 𐲇 𐲈 𐲉 𐲊 𐲋 𐲌 𐲍 𐲎 𐲏 𐲐 𐲑 𐲒 𐲓 𐲔 𐲕 𐲖 𐲗 𐲘 𐲙 𐲚 𐲛 𐲜 𐲝 𐲞 𐲟 𐲠 𐲡 𐲢 𐲣 𐲤 𐲥 𐲦 𐲧 𐲨 𐲩 𐲪 𐲫 𐲬 𐲭 𐲮 𐲯 𐲰 𐲱 𐲲 𐲳 𐲴 𐲵 𐲶 𐲷 𐲸 𐲹 𐲺 𐲻 𐲼 𐲽 𐲾 𐲿 𐳀 𐳁 𐳂 𐳃 𐳄 𐳅 𐳆 𐳇 𐳈 𐳉 𐳊 𐳋 𐳌 𐳍 𐳎 𐳏 𐳐 𐳑 𐳒 𐳓 𐳔 𐳕 𐳖 𐳗 𐳘 𐳙 𐳚 𐳛 𐳜 𐳝 𐳞 𐳟 𐳠 𐳡 𐳢 𐳣 𐳤 𐳥 𐳦 𐳧 𐳨 𐳩 𐳪 𐳫 𐳬 𐳭

[I carried off his gold and silver] *garsu hekali-su sha niba la isú*, 'the treasures of his palace which had no number' [were innumerable]. This word is very common. It may be the Persian *Gaza*, Ch. and Syr. *Ganza*.

482. **Risiti.** >||<| 𐎠 𐎡| the First, or Best. From *Ris* or *Rish* 'the first.' Heb. ראש.

Bellino l. 20 and Seu. B. l. 9 (see 3 R 12) "I sacrificed one bull, ten sheep, ten 𐎠|< *Kuruni* (some horned animal(?), probably deer): twenty 𐎠|𐎡 (animals) *kalima risiti-su* "the best of every kind." I think these twenty comprise the preceding ten sheep and ten deer, and it is merely added that they were victims of especial beauty. *Kalima* 'of every kind' is a very common word.

483. **Khallul.** >> 𐎠|𐎡 to Clothe.

Zabi sunuti sha naru suatu ikhrú, "those soldiers who had dug that canal" [with yellow cloth and scarlet dresses] *ukhallul sunuti* "I clothed them." Written 𐎠|||𐎡 >> 𐎠|𐎡 Bavian 33. In R 19, 93 the king executes a Rebel Chief. *Akutz tzu-su* (or *masak-su*), *Dur sha ali Ninua ukhallul*. "I flayed off his skin, and with it clothed the wall of the palace of Nineveh." This is repeated two or three times in the same page, with some variations. Dr. Hincks first explained the meaning. In this second example *ukhallul* is written exactly as in the Bavian inscription.

"The Cedar roof of the chapel of Nebo with gold I covered," *ukhallilu* 𐎠|||𐎡 𐎠|< 𐎠|<| 𐎠|<|𐎡. Porter's transcript of E. I. H. iii, 45. The India House slab has *usalbish* "I clothed," the S conjugation of לבש 'to clothe.'

484. **Zalukh,** to Pour. Chald. זלה *fluxit*; whence זלהן *Imbres*.

In Opp. Khors. l. 131 the king destroys the enemy: *Azlish unakkis* "I cut them off like *azli*;" *imat múti azlukha*, "and I poured upon them the storm of death." Written 𐎠|𐎡|𐎡 𐎠|<| 𐎠|<| *azlukha*. Sargon l. 29 is very similar. *Gimir bakhulati-sun azlish udabikhu* "all their people he slaughtered like *azli*;" *as mati nakhiri izlukhu imat múti* "and upon the hostile lands he poured a storm of death." Here Oppert reads *naphish* instead of *azlish*, and the correction *as mati* is due to him. *Izlukhu* is written 𐎠| 𐎠|𐎡| >|<|.

The meaning is fixed by the somewhat similar passage of Nerigl. i, 27 quoted by Norris, p. 482, which substitutes for *izlukhu* the verb $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *izannu* 'they pour down' which almost always denotes Rain and Storms.

485. **Dabakh**, to Slaughter. Chald. 𐎠𐎢𐎫 , but in Hebrew זבח 'mactavit pecudem.'

$\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *udabikhu* 'he slaughtered;' see the preceding article. The letter $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ is omitted in some copies.

486. **Shur**, to set Free, to Liberate. Chald. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 solvit (*ex. gr. de vineulis. Ges.*). Dan. iii, 25 "Lo! I see four men loose" (𐎶𐎵𐎶 soluti). In R 39, 7. *Sittuti-sun* (the rest of them) who had committed no crime, *usshur-sun akbi* (I commanded them to be set at liberty). Written $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *usshur*. This seems to be a Hiphil form of the verb.


487. **Tillukh**. $\langle \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rangle$ $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ to Meditate. Schindler's Lexicon gives us the verb תלה meaning in Chald. and Syr. 'to doubt' and in Arabic 'to think' or 'meditate.'

Old proverb: *As tami ussus, as musi tillukh*; "Work by day: think by night." Schindler's example of תלה "meditatus sum nocte" is very apposite. Psalm 77. The word *ussus* is doubtful; the Accadian renders it by the verb *gu* (reduplicated). But in another passage $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *ussa* is rendered $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ or by the verb *du* 'to go' (reduplicated). 'Activity' seems to be meant.



488. **Naziq**, to Hurt or Injure. Chald. 𐎠𐎢𐎫 (*Aphel* in Ezra הנזק *inaziq*) *Læsit, nocuit, damno affectit, (Schindler)*. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Asakku sha mat inazzakhu* (or *inaziq*) "Dæmons who hurt mankind." For which reason the later Chaldeans called them *Maziqi* (or *Hurters*) see Schindler p. 1101. 𐎠𐎢𐎫 *Maziq*. *Dæmon nocens hominibus*: and more about them in Buxtorf p. 1325.

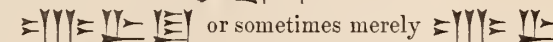

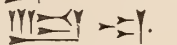

$\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Mat*, sometimes $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Matu* is very often used for *people—men—mankind, &c.* It is rendered in Accadian by $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, sometimes by $\equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$.

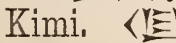
Other examples: $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \equiv \equiv \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$


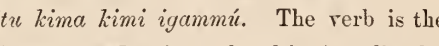
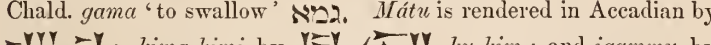

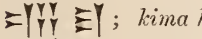




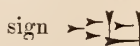
Libba-su nazkhu 'his heart is hurt.' In 2 R 38, 34 the king gives to the gods a great number of precious stones. He names nine or ten kinds, and then says: *u abni il, sha mu-su nazqu*, written . This, I think, may mean "and other stones whose names are injured"—viz., in the record which the scribe was copying. I prefer this to the translation given in No. 60.

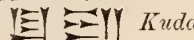
 The Accadian has  *Ziga* "to hurt."


489. **Asakku.**  a Dæmon or Goblin. Probably from *nazik* 'to hurt,' because they harmed men (see last article). They were called in Accadian  *Itpa*.














490. **Udukku.**  or sometimes merely  an Evil Spirit: in Accadian . The old Babylonians were firm believers in demoniacal possession, and practised exorcism or the casting out of unclean spirits. A tablet published some years ago by the British Museum (2 R 18) has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. It says, of a sick man, "May the goddess wife of the god *pani-su ana ashri shanuma likun*, turn his face in another direction, *udukku sinu litzi-ma, as akhati lizbat*, that the evil spirit may come out of him, and be thrust aside: *sidi tuki, lamassi tuki, as zumri-su lu-kayan*, that good spirits and good powers may dwell in his body. 2 R 18, 41. Written  *lu-kayan*.

491. **Kimi.**  some small animals good for food.

It is said of certain malignant dæmons, that they devour men as if they were *Kimi*. . .  *Mātu kima kimi igammú*. The verb is the Chald. *gama* 'to swallow' . *Mātu* is rendered in Accadian by ; *kima kimi* by  *ku kim*; and *igammu* by  written twice, with  added. This probably means 'eating,' being composed of  placed within the sign  *Ka*, or mouth.









But what are *Kimi*? I find them in a list (apparently) of small birds in 2 R 5, 38 with the Accadian version  *Kuda*

which is probably a mere variant of  *Ku*. I think therefore that we may translate "they devour men as if they were sparrows."


















492. **Im**,  a Storm. Bavian 44   .  .    .       *Kima Im bari askhup-su*, 'like a wild wind I swept over it' viz. the land of Babylonia. And, on a tablet, *Sha kima Im bari kabta, alakta-su manma val idi*, which like a great tempest, no one knows its course.

493. **Imat**.   or    a Storm. Appears to be the same as the preceding, grammatically written.











Among the figures set up to guard Neriglissar's palace were *eight uzbir eri sezuzuti sha limnu u cibi izannu imat mûti*, eight beasts of bronze very fierce looking, which upon criminals and enemies poured down a storm of death. Nerig. i, 27. See two other examples of the word *Imat* in the article *Zalukh* 'to pour,' No. 484.

494. **Nubattu**.    a Festival. 2 R 32, 13.    .   the day of the festival of the god *Im*. And Norris p. 971 quotes from Assur. *Nubattu sha sar ili Marduk*, "the festival of the king of the gods Marduk." The word occurs thrice in Mr. Smith's calendar p. 326-327.




495. **Alu**.    a City.   *Ali* 'of a city.'   *Ali* 'my city.' *Alûssu* 'his city.'






















Ninib mûkin timin ali-su, ana labar tami rukuti salhû-su! May Ninib, who laid the foundation of his City, preserve it also into far distant times! Botta 23, 16. Norris p. 31. For *Ali-su*    other texts read    , and Syll. 393 has    .   *Alussu utzi*, he fled from his city       Opp. Khors. l. 41, and l. 114.

























496. **Ziggurrat**.     a Tower.

Assur. 227. *Ziggurrat Susan sha as akhiri zamat subulat, ubbit*, the tower of Shushan which was built of slabs of zamat stone I destroyed. And in Tig. viii, 53 *enuma sigurratu shatina usalbaru*, 'when these towers shall grow old.' Written      . The spelling      *Zikurat* also occurs, but only in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar,

see Norris p. 343. In 2 R 50 lines 1—23 is a long list of the principal *Ziggurratu* of Babylonia, commencing with those of Suanna (a name of Babylon) and Borsippa.

497. **Shalkhú.**    a Fortress. Perhaps from the verb *shalkhu* to preserve; keep safe; in the same way as the chief tower of a Norman castle was called the Keep. This word occurs frequently. In 2 R 50, 25 we read that *Imgur Bel* was the *Dur* of *Suanna-ki* (Babylon); and *Nibit-Bel* was its *Shalkhú*. The exact distinction between the two has not been ascertained: both were fortresses.

498. **Rish.**    the Head. gen.    *Risi*. (Of a sick man) *Musi u urra as risi-su lu-kayan*, 'day and night may it stand at his head!' (some charm). Written    . This is varied in 2 R 18, 49 to *as risi-su lizbat*. Elsewhere to the same effect, *as rish amilu* 'at the man's head'      . The symbol  is written for *Rish*, and the Accadian often has   'for the head' *ex. gr.* 2 R 18, 49. But the most usual form is  .

499. **Tsir.**    the Back. plur.    *Tsiri*.
Obelisk, 1st Epigraph,          .
        *Aabba sha sunai tsiri-sin*, Camels with two backs, *i.e.* two humps on the back. 3 R 4, 49 *Irsa anakhut*, he met with an accident: *valtu tsir kurri kakkarish imkut*, from his horse's back he fell to the earth.

500. **Kabat.** The Liver (hence metaphorically Anger, Indignation). Also frequently the Heart.

Both the heart and the liver were supposed by the ancients to be the seat of the wrathful passions. *Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.* (*Hor.*) *quantâ jecur ardeat irâ.* (*Juv.*) *rabie jecur incendente feruntur* (*Juv.*).

Heb. כבד *kabad* jecur (same in Arabic). כבד also means 'animus' Thren. ii. 11. *Ad terram effusum est jecur meum* (כבדי). Hyperbolicè dictum de gravissimo vulnere jecoris, *i.e.* *animi.* *Gesen.*—Figuratively for 'my heart is wounded.' *Furst.*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *usapsikh kabatti bil bili*. *Usapsikh* ‘cessare feci’ from 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *cessavit: quievit: (Schindler)*. *Usapsikh kabatti* ‘cessare feci iram.’

The two next examples should be compared together, because they illustrate one another. In Assur. 105 Urtaki king of Elam and his chief counsellor come to an evil end. “*Libbi Assur aggu* (the heart of Assur vengeful) *val inukh sunuti* (did not let them rest) *val ipsukh sunuti* (gave them no repose). *Kabatti Ishtar* (the wrath of Ishtar) the years of his reign ended. The throne of Elam passed to another.” Here 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *ipsukh* is from the same verb 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 just mentioned. In Assur. p. 108 there is another account of the same event. “*Libbi* (the hearts) *ili rabi bili-ya* (of the great gods my lords) *val inukh, val ipsukh* (did not let him rest) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Sezuzu kabatti bilti-sun*, the fiery anger of their divinities [destroyed his reign and ended his years. The throne of Elam passed to another”].

The adjective 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Sezuzu* ‘fiery’ (usually written 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) from the verb 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *combussit* in the S conjugation, is elsewhere an epithet of lightning, thunderbolts, &c.

The next example is very different. It seems to be some advice to the students. I take it from the photograph of tablet 143 (or 112 a). *Aggu libba-kun linukha!* may it calm the anger of your minds! *lippashra kabatta-kun*, may it reconcile your hearts! Written 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Lippashra* is the optative mood of the Rabbinic verb 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 to pacify or reconcile, see Sch. 1498. Observe how constantly the words *Lib* (the mind) and *Kabat* (the heart) accompany each other. So also in the Vocabulary (2 R 36, 53) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Libbu*, and 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Kabattu* stand next but one to each other.

III. *Kabat* often means the Heart, viewed as the seat of Intelligence. Bellino l. 42 “Then I Sennacherib king of Assyria, by command of the Gods, to complete this great work *in uzni-ya*

I do not think it has been observed by students, that adverbs are formed in the Accadian language by adding 𒀭 . Of this I have collected numerous examples.

504. **Bilut.** $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ Lordship, Sovereignty. *Sha bilut Sumir u Akkad ramanu's utirru*, who the government of Sumir and Akkad had turned to himself. Sen. T. iv, 36. I give this example on account of the unusual spelling. Norris (dict., p. 147 l. 5) first pointed out that $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ has *lut* for one of its values. See another proof of the same in the next article *Ilut*.

505. **Ilut.** $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ Divinity. The word is very common but I have only once met with it thus written. *Ilut-ka* 'thy divinity.' The Accadian version agrees.

506. **Padi.** $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ Sceptre (see No. 435). As this is an important word I will give another example, taken from one of the tablets. "O Father, creator of gods and men Proclaimer of my Sovereignty! Giver of my sceptre!"

The original has *Nabú sarruti, natan padi* ($\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$). The final *i* is the pronoun, for the Accadian version adds *mu* (my) in both instances.

The spelling $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ *Pada* is also found, *ex. gr.* "The gods of heaven and earth exalted his sceptre over the races of men," *shursudi pada-su il kissat nisi*. (Observe the preposition *Il*, written $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$).

507. **Kakku.** A Sword (see No. 416). I will add some more examples of this word. It is written $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ in the Babylonian inscriptions.


1. Nerglissar l. 13 "Nebo gave him the sceptre of justice, and the god (. . . .) *gaburu ili* (greatest of the gods) *iddinu-su kakku-su* (gave him his sword)."

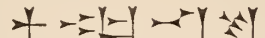
2. E. I. H. iv, 50. I built a temple to the god (. . . .) who is the breaker of the sword of my enemies *musabbir kakku nakiri-ya*.


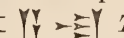
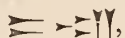


But it is written $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ in Assyrian inscriptions.

1. 2 R 19, *Kakku sha bulukhti milammi-su* 'his sword of awful brightness' rendered in Accadian by $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ *immini ani*.



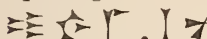

2. Same plate l. 63, the Accadian $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$. 𒀭 . $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$ $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$


is translated  *Kakku kabtu sha Anu* 'the great sword of Anu.' There is another example in same plate l. 61.

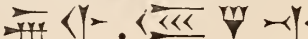
508. **Maskanati.**  Nets. *Bulthu II in libbi-su maskanati arba*, 'two of them (*eagles*) I caught alive in Nets.' 3 R 4 No. 4 l. 40. I think this may be the same as the Heb. *maskat* מַסְכַּת a Web, from נָסַךְ *plexuit, texuit*: 'to weave a web, or net.' The word is found in Judges xvi, 13 (story of Samson).


509.  a City. This is the most usual sign for 'City.' It was sometimes pronounced *Ar* (Heb. עִיר *urbs, oppidum*), but more often *Alu*: a word peculiar to the Assyrians (*see* No. 495). In consequence of this, it has a double value when used as a mere phonetic syllable. It generally sounds *Ar*, of which many examples occur, but sometimes, though much more rarely, it sounds *Ala*. Compare Assur. p. 61 with p. 69. The land of Tabal is written in one  *Tapala*, in the other , showing that  was familiarly pronounced  *Ala*.

Alussu (his city). *Ituru alussun*, (the gods) returned to their cities. Opp. Khors.

 Norris p. 554 and p. 577 thinks the plural is *alan*, in which I agree with him, for I find *alani* in the photograph of tablet 133. Speaking of fine marbles, alabaster, &c.   *Alani isallal sunuti* "he will plunder them from the cities." Here *alani* is rendered  which proves the meaning. For *isallal*, spelt in the same manner, see the art. *shallal*, No. 461. The barbarous custom of pulling down fine buildings in order to build new ones is here alluded to.

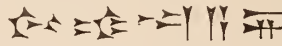
 *Alan* (Cities) in E. I. H. vii, 31 *Aramu bana alan-sun* "I raised high the building of their cities."

510. **Salim.** Peace. A remarkable spelling of this word is found on the Omen tablet 3 R 59, 47. "If the Sun and Moon, &c. &c. there will be Peace among nations"  *Salim kissati*.


511. **Sadirati.**  Hunter's Nets. From the Heb. צַוּד to hunt (wild animals): to lay nets for (birds and

fishes) whence **נִיד** venatio: venator. "Great numbers of wild animals he caught in nets, or hunter's toils," *as sadirati utimmikh.* R 28, 20.




512. **Urbarra.** (*See* No. 469). That this was some great wild beast is evident from R 28, 25 where a very early monarch, Ashurakbal, pursues it in the chase. If not a tiger I think it is a panther or great leopard. In 2 R 49, 41 the constellations *Urmakh* and *Urbarra* stand next each other.

513. **Gubbani.**  Lakes, Pools, or Ponds. Heb. **גַּבַּנָּא** palus, piscina, cisterna.

As eli gubbani sha mie attadi usmanni, "over against pools of water I pitched my camp." (This was preparatory to crossing an arid desert). Assur. p. 269.

514. **Isirtu.**  Straight. Hebrew **יֵשֶׁר** rectus. Assur. 235 *Kharran isirtu ullus libbi tazbata ana Bit-Anna,* "she took the straight road to the temple of Anna, with a joyful heart."

515. **Makhiri.**  Commerce. Agrees exactly with the Hebrew **מָכַר** to buy or sell.

Assur. 275 "They sold a camel for half a *shekel* of silver in the street of Commerce (or of the Merchants)" . . *kaspi isammu as bab makhiri.* And a few lines after, *imdanakharu gammali u amilutu* 'they bartered camels and men' [prisoners of war]. *Imdanakharu*  is the *Tan* conjugation of the verb *Makhar* to barter.

But the verb *Makhar* to receive, or store up, has also the same tense, of which the following is an example. Bellino l. 39. "Former kings built a treasure-house at Nineveh, and every year without fail their tributes, received from the four regions, they stored up within it," *imdanakharu kiréb-su.*

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE FORTY-NINTH

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 3rd of June, 1872,

SIR T. EDWARD COLEBROOKE, BART., M.P.,

PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Report of the Council was read by the Secretary :

The Council have reason to be satisfied with the general condition of the Society's affairs during the past twelvemonth, though they have to report a somewhat less favourable proportion than they were able to record at the last Anniversary, between the numbers of newly-elected members and such as have been lost through death and retirement.¹

It is with feelings of the deepest regret, which will be shared by every one of its members, that they have to record the deaths of some of the most useful and distinguished members of the Society.

¹ ELECTIONS.—*Resident* : Sir A. Phayre, K.S.I. ; Rev. T. Foulkes. *Non-Resident* : B. Mitford, Esq. ; H. Rivett Carnac, Esq. ; Dr. F. Kielhorn ; J. S. Knight, Esq. ; Kazi Shahábudin Khan Bahadoor ; Moulvi Syed Ameer Ali ; Rao Sahib Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik ; Krishnarao Gopal Deshmukh, Esq. ; and Laohagiri Shastri.

DEATHS.—*Resident* : Prof. T. Goldstücker ; C. Horne, Esq. ; F. W. Prideaux, Esq. ; W. De Salis, Esq. *Non-Resident* : C. Alison, Esq. *Honorary* : Mirza Alexander Kasem Beg.

RETIREMENTS.—*Resident* : A. B. Mackintosh, Esq. ; W. Macpherson, Esq. ; R. S. Mair, Esq. ; Sir H. Ricketts. *Non-Resident* : Dr. F. J. Mouat.

Two of these, Professor *Goldstücker* and Mr. *C. Horne*, were taken away suddenly, within the last few months, from the very midst of the Council, in whose proceedings they had, to the last, taken a very active and prominent part.

Theodor Goldstücker was born on the 18th of January, 1821, at Königsberg, the native town of Kant, where he received his school education, and at an early age commenced the study of Sanskrit under Professor Peter von Bohlen, the editor of *Bhartṛihari*, *Ritusamhâra*, and other works. The philosophical lectures of Rosenkranz, the pupil of Hegel, seem to have been equally attractive to him, and to have laid in him that sound foundation in philosophical knowledge which enabled him in later years to approach with so much success the study of the philosophical systems of the Hindus. He at the same time must have paid much attention to classical and modern languages, and to a great extent acquired that thorough proficiency in general philology from which of late years the Philological Society of London has derived so much advantage.

Having quitted his native town, he for some years continued his Sanskrit studies at Bonn, where at that time the lectures of Schlegel and Lassen attracted many students from all parts of Europe. Westergaard and the late Prince Consort were among *Goldstücker's* contemporaries. In 1842 he published a German translation of the Sanskrit philosophical drama *Prabodha-chandrodaya*, with an introduction by Professor Rosenkranz. So great, however, was the modesty of the young scholar, that he insisted on his name being omitted from the title-page.

From Bonn he proceeded to Paris, and soon became greatly attached to that distinguished scholar, Eugène Burnouf, who was then writing his celebrated Introduction to the Study of Buddhism, and, as appears from the notes to this work, derived much information from *Goldstücker's* comprehensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature.

It was during this time that Goldstücker, attracted by the manuscript treasures of the London and Oxford Libraries, paid a short visit to England, and made the acquaintance of the late Professor Wilson, then Librarian at the East India House Library.

Furnished with copies of the most important Sanskrit MSS. of the Paris Library, and a mass of materials, collected with indefatigable industry, on the principal branches of Hindu literature, Goldstücker at last returned to Germany, and proceeded to qualify for the professorial career at Berlin. It was not likely that so deep a knowledge of Hindu philosophy could have escaped a Humboldt whilst engaged in similar inquiries. Hence the frequent occurrence of Dr. Goldstücker's name in the "Kosmos." The strong liberal interest however evinced by the latter in the political events of 1848-9 rendered his prospects, after the reaction had set in, more and more precarious, and he readily accepted an opportune invitation of Professor Wilson to assist him in the preparation of a new edition of his Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Dr. Goldstücker came over to England in 1850, and though no materials existed for this work save the previous edition of the Dictionary in its printed form, he undertook its revision single-handed. The course which his studies took from the moment he reached England is faithfully reflected in the progress of this lexicographic publication. The necessity of verifying and determining the various meanings of the words, and an irresistible desire for completeness, led him to work through an ever-increasing mass of Sanskrit works; to compile indices, and make extracts from texts and commentaries. Where printed books failed, the vast MS. treasures of the India House and collections in India were laid under contribution; until at last the mass of materials to be embodied in his grand thesaurus had reached such gigantic proportions, that the completion of the work by one man in one generation became impossible. Six parts, con-

sisting of together 480 pages, and not reaching the end of the first letter, is all that was published. He had, however, through this vast amount of reading—aided by those very materials and a memory which seemed never to fail him—acquired that ready and extensive command of Sanskrit literature, which but few can ever hope to obtain, and from which the most splendid fruits might yet have been expected. Dr. Goldstücker's knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar, especially the system of Pâṇini, was and will probably ever remain unrivalled. His introduction to a facsimile edition of the *Mânava-Kalpa-Sûtra*, entitled *Pâṇini and his Place in Sanskrit Literature*, and published in 1861, will, no doubt, "always mark an epoch in modern Sanskrit scholarship."

Dr. Goldstücker had been engaged for the last two years in carrying through the press, for the Indian Government, a splendid photo-lithographic facsimile of a MS. of *Patanjali's* great commentary on Pâṇini, the *Mahâbhâshya*, together with Kaiyaṭa's and Nâgojîbhatta's glosses. This publication is nearly complete, only about 300 pages out of 4000 remaining to be carried through the press. It was to be followed by a critical edition of the *Mahâbhâshya*, together with another important gloss, the *Kâṣikâvṛitti* of Vâmana Jayâditya. His latest complete publication was a very able paper "On the Deficiencies in the present Administration of Hindu Law," read before the East India Association in June, 1870, which showed his thorough familiarity with that important branch of Sanskrit literature, so closely connected with the religious belief of the Hindus.

In 1866 a Society was established, with Prof. Goldstücker as editorial secretary, for the publication of Sanskrit Texts. His nearly complete edition of the *Jaiminîya-nyâya-mâlâ-ristara*, a work of great importance for the study of the Mîmâṃsâ philosophy, is the first and as yet only result of this association; but it is to be hoped that even after Prof. Goldstücker's death, it will not be allowed to cease at this early stage of its useful existence.

A few years after his arrival in this country, Dr. Goldstücker was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at University College, an honorary post which he held to his death. He became a member of our Society in 1852, and since that time was frequently elected to occupy a seat in its Council.

Papers on various subjects were read by him from time to time at the Society's meetings, but an excess of modesty on his part unfortunately prevented their ever appearing in our Journal. The reason he was wont to assign for this was, that as they were mere offshoots from his own particular method of Sanskritic and Comparative inquiry, as opposed to that of other scholars, they could not possibly be rightly understood before he had dealt with the science of Comparative Philology as a whole, and stated fully and clearly the grounds on which his own method was based. That he has been working for many years at a systematic exposition of this kind is well known to scholars, and it is to be hoped that, along with other important materials, such portions of this work as may seem fairly finished may yet see the light.

However severe he may have been as a critic, and intolerant of anything which to him had the appearance of mere scientific speculation, his was the true kindness of heart, and a disinterestedness of purpose such as is rarely met with.

It is well known how anxiously he watched every step in the development, and every change in the established social aspects of India, aspects which he had learned to love during the long course of his literary acquaintance with them; so much so, indeed, that some of his failings as a Sanskrit philologist—if failings they were—may have been due in some degree to an excess of affection for the classical land of his studies.

Dr. Goldstücker died on the 6th of March, 1872.

Charles Horne was born on June 6th, 1823. His parents belonged to the Society of Friends, but he himself became

a member of the Church of England. Even in his early years he showed a rare gift of observation and a great interest in scientific matters. He had all the instincts of a naturalist, and before going out to India had acquired no mean knowledge of English Entomology. When studying at Haileybury it was his favourite occupation to bury himself in the thick undergrowth of the pleasant summer woods, watching and listening to the movements and sounds of the woodland tribes. He went out to India in 1843; but shortly after was compelled by ill-health to take a leave of some months, which he devoted to a journey over one of the highest passes of the Snowy Range into Thibet and round by Kashmere. During this trip his pencil was never idle; he drew all objects connected with the mountain tribes and their daily life and habits, and made an interesting series of sketches of scenery which still exists. His early habits of patient observation were continued during his residence in India; and a tropical sun did not hinder him from following, during his leisure hours, his naturalist pursuits. Some of the results of his observations in this respect are embodied in papers communicated from time to time to various societies and periodicals.

Mr. Horne had in the course of years accumulated a large mass of varied materials upon almost all the branches of Natural Sciences as well as on Ethnological and Archæological subjects, which unfortunately were all destroyed during the Mutiny; and increased official work and other causes prevented them from being replaced. It was not however till his return to India, in 1860, after a twelve-month's leave of absence passed in England, that he began to pay more especial attention to Archæological subjects, and, as much as his duties would permit him, examined the Buddhist remains in and around Benares and Jaunpur with great assiduity and success.

His final return to England in 1869 enabled him to devote

the best part of his time to his favourite pursuits, and to the working out of his materials. Mr. Horne became a member of our Society and the Council in the same year, and has since shown himself, by his constant attendance at our meetings, and his frequent communications on Archæological subjects, most of which were printed in our Journal, to have been a most useful member. His kind and genial disposition made him many friends among the members he met at our meetings, where the discussions were frequently enlivened and benefited by the spirited and enthusiastic manner with which he entered upon all matters of Oriental Archæological inquiry.

In proceeding to report on the amount of work done by the Society in Oriental research during the past twelvemonth, the Council regret that so long a delay should have occurred before the publication of the Second Part of Vol. V. of the Society's *Journal*, a delay which has been occasioned by their not receiving some papers which were promised at the last Anniversary. They have, however, more than sufficient material in hand to make up another number; and the Council are in hopes that they may be able to bring out two more parts during the present year, and, with the assistance of the members of the Society, be able in future to issue the numbers of the *Journal* at shorter and more regular intervals.

Of the papers read and discussed at meetings during the past year several have already been printed, and are now in the hands of the members—viz. Mr. *E. Thomas's* "Comments on Recent Pehlvi Decipherments, with an Incidental Sketch of the Derivation of Aryan Alphabets, and Contributions to the Early History and Geography of Tabaristán,"—an Account, by the late Mr. *C. Horne*, of an Ancient Engraved Hindu Vase,—and papers, by the Rev. *M. A. Sherring*, of Benares, on the Bhâr Tribe, and by Mr. *N. B. E. Baillie*, on *Jihád*, or Religious Warfare in the Mohammedan Law, and its application to British India.

Dr. *A. Sprenger*, the well-known Semitic scholar, has kindly offered to contribute to our *Journal* a series of Essays on the early History, Geography, and Commerce of Arabia. In his first paper, which was read at a recent meeting, he contested the views of those scholars who consider the Ishmaelites as the ancestors of the Northern Arabians. He maintains that the indigenous traditions of the Arabians, which assign such an origin to the Ma'addites, can be distinctly traced to the Jews, and are without value; and that Mohammed also had different notions regarding Ishmael after his flight from Madina from those he had held whilst residing at Mecca. The principal point Dr. Sprenger endeavoured to establish was, that the Ishmaelites were extinct in the fifth century of our era, and that, therefore, long previous to the Moslim conquest, they had ceased to form a distinct race.

On the Pre-Islamitic History and Geography of Southern Arabia, Captain *S. B. Miles* has also contributed some valuable information. In a paper recently sent home from Mekran, he has analyzed some hitherto unknown Arabic works, of which MSS. have actually been discovered, and which he thinks well deserve the attention of students of Arabic history and literature—viz. the *Kitáb el Jexíreh* of Hassan Ahmed el Hamdání,—the *Tárikh el Mostabsir* of Ibn Mojawir,—and the *Kurrat el Oyún* of El Dubbi. Captain Miles's analyses and description of these works are likely to contribute, in some degree, to the elucidation of an obscure chapter of Eastern history. Of another work of Hamdání, the *Ihlíl fi Ansab*, which consists of ten volumes, the eighth was presented to the Society by Captain Miles two years ago. It contains an account of the palaces of the Himyars, their cities and courts—their poetry, alphabet, and sepulchral inscriptions. That industrious officer has since discovered the tenth volume of the same work, which gives the origin and genealogy of the Háshid and Bakail tribes,—accounts of that province and of Hamdan,—and a treatise on the mines of gems and metals in

Yemen. Captain Miles thinks there is good reason to believe that various other historical MSS., unknown in Europe, still exist in Arabia, which, together with the inscriptions in bronze and stone in which the ruined cities of S.W. Arabia are known to abound, will yet yield an abundant harvest; and he expresses a hope that before long an exploration of the country may be undertaken, and its hidden treasures drawn forth and made available.

The Council desire to express their satisfaction at a resolution recently taken by the Government of India in making a grant of £1000, to be expended in a search for, and the purchase of, Persian and Arabic MSS.

To Colonel *H. Yule* we are indebted for "Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of the Principalities of Tokháristán," in which he proposes several new identifications of names of places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, on his journey from Samarkand to Kapiça, and the return route from Hupíán to Yarkand. The Buddhist Traveller's estimates in *li* are, in his opinion, not to be taken as anything like scientifically measured distances (as has been assumed by former scholars), but as a practical travelling measure, varying according to circumstances,—the expression of "one hundred *li*" merely meaning "one day's journey."

Among the papers of the late Sir *H. M. Elliot* was found, by Professor *Dowson*, a translation of an interesting account of Jerusalem, taken from a Persian book of travel, by Násir ibn Khusrú, and was read at a recent meeting of the Society. The author was a native of Merv, who visited the Holy Land and Egypt in the 11th century of the Christian era. He states that he entered Jerusalem on the 5th of Ramazán, 438 A.H. There occurs in his narrative a brief description of the Holy Temple. Of the original text of this work two MSS. exist in England, one of which is in the British Museum, the other belonging to the Nawab Ziaud-dín Khán.

Two papers by the late Mr. *C. Horne*, besides the one

already mentioned, were read at meetings of the Society. In one of them he endeavoured to show that the Ruins at Bakharya Kund, and of the Atalah and Jumna mosques at Benares and Jaunpur respectively, which Mr. *Fergusson* has assigned wholly to the Mahomedan period, are of Buddhistic or Hindu origin, though greatly added to in Moslim times. The other paper treated of the methods of disposal of the dead at Llassa in Thibet, and was based chiefly on a narrative supplied by a Llama of that place to Major *Hay*. Finally, an account of Baku, on the Caspian sea, was furnished by Mr. *Shippard*, in which the history of that important place was traced from its legendary origin to our own days, and a detailed account of its commerce and products was given.

The forthcoming number of the *Journal* will contain the continuation of Dr. *H. Kern's* translation of Varáha-mihira's *Bṛhat-Saṅhitâ*, an astrological work, which incidentally supplies some valuable geographical information. It will also give the concluding portion of Lord *Stanley of Alderley's* edition of the Morisco poet Mohamed Rabadan's *History of the Prophets*.

The Council have latterly paid much attention to the state of the Society's Library. A Committee of five members of Council has been appointed, to consider the best means of increasing, as much as possible, its usefulness to members. On their recommendation, the existing written Catalogue of Books is now being thoroughly revised, and descriptive lists of the Society's Manuscripts are being prepared, with a view to their being printed and distributed among the members. Up to this time additions to the Library have been exclusively obtained either through the liberality of members and other donors, or through exchange for the Society's publications: some departments of the Library, especially those of Oriental texts and modern books, are consequently far from complete; whilst in ancient books of travel and works on India; it is probably one of the best collections in existence. On these

grounds the Council have deemed it advisable to set apart annually a certain, though necessarily moderate, sum of money by which they hope to supply, in the course of a few years, the most apparent deficiencies on the Society's shelves.

It may perhaps also be expected that, when the actual contents and wants of our Library become better known than they are at present, books which may have been hitherto supposed to be already in the Society's possession, may now and then find their way to its shelves; and that both writers and publishers may think it desirable to place their publications on the Society's table, and have the attention of the public drawn to them in the annual Review of Oriental literature contained in the Society's *Journal*.

The parent Society in Calcutta has, as usual, contributed through the medium of its *Journal* much valuable literary and antiquarian matter, and has added to the publication of Oriental Texts in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, under the editorial supervision of Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra and Mr. H. Blochmann, as may be seen from the following list of fasciculi which have been received since our last Anniversary Meeting :

Tânḍya-Brâhmaṇa with *Sâyana's* comment, fascs. 15 and 16. Edited by Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra.

Taittirîya-Āraṇyaka ditto, fasc. 10. Edited by Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra.

Taittirîya-Prâtiṣâkhya, with the *Tribhâshyaratna*, fasc. 1. Edited by Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra.

Mîmâṃsâ-Darṣana, with *Ṣabaravâmin's* comment, fasc. 11. Edited by Pratâpadrandra Nyâyaratna,

Sâmaveda-Saṃhitâ, with *Sâyana's* comment, fascs. 2 and 3. Edited by Satyavrata Tarkaratna.

Nṛisimha-Tâpanî, with *Ṣankarâchârya's* comment, fascs. 2 and 3. Edited by Râmamaya Tarkaratna.

Hemâdri's Chaturvarga Chintâmaṇi, fascs. 1-3. Edited by Paṇḍita Bharatachandra Ṣiromaṇi.

Pingala's Chandahsûtra, with *Halâyudha's* comment, fasc.

1. Edited by Paṇḍita Viṣvanâtha Śāstrî.

Gobhîla's Grihyasûtra, with a comment, fascs. 1 and 2.

Edited by Chandrakânta Tarkâlankâra.

Ibn Hajar's Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv., fasc. 10.

Edited by Maulavî Abd-ul-Hai.

Âin i Akbarî, fasc. 13. Edited by H. Blochmann.

Translation of the same by the same, fasc. 5.

'*Abdur Rashîd's Farhang i Rashîdî*, fascs. 2-5. Edited by

Maulavî Zulfaqâr 'Alî.

Muhammad Sâqî Musta'idd Khân's Maâsir i 'Âlamgirî,

fascs. 4 and 5. Edited by Maulavî Âghâ Ahmad 'Alî.

It has lately been suggested by a distinguished Sanskrit scholar in England, that the annual grant with which the Government of India has so long supported the Bengal Asiatic Society in the publication of Sanskrit and Persian texts, should in future be divided between Calcutta and Bombay. The Council would regret to see any diminution of the grant in aid of the publications in Calcutta, as they cannot but acknowledge that the Asiatic Society has hitherto rendered good service to Oriental studies by their *Bibliotheca Indica*. They would, on the contrary, recommend that an equally liberal support be given to the valuable and critical editions of Sanskrit texts issued by the Bombay scholars.

The *Bombay Branch* of our Society has recently issued a number of their *Journal* which, besides some valuable Archæological contributions by *Râo Saheb Vishvanâth Nârâyan Mandlik* and *Mr. J. F. Fleet*, contains an interesting account, by *Dr. Bhâu Dâjî*, of fifty-seven inscriptions, mostly Canarese, contained in a photographic work published by the Committee of the Architectural Antiquities of Western India.

In their Report to the Society read on the 30th of May, 1870, the Council expressed some disappointment at the result of the expeditions sent at the expense of the Government of India to procure representations of objects of anti-

quarian interest in Orissa and at Bombay. They are now, however, happy to report that a second expedition, under the sole control of Mr. *H. H. Locke*, the Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, was sent to Orissa in the spring of the present year, and has been attended with complete success. Mr. *Locke* has made and safely brought back to Calcutta casts of all the principal sculptures in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, and photographs from these casts, made in January last, have already reached this country, and exhibit a series of sculptures as full of interest as any that have yet been brought to this country or are known to exist in India.

In general character, some of these sculptures very much resemble those from the gateways of the Sanchi Tope, and may be as old, if not older. The principal subject, lithographed by Prinsep in 1838 from a drawing by *Kittoe*,¹ is now found to be repeated twice over. The bas-relief of it in the Raj Rani Cave is ruder than the Sanchi sculptures, and the first impression consequently is that it may be more ancient. That in Ganesa Cave—the one drawn by *Kittoe*—bears much more resemblance to Greek art. A curious question thus arises, whether we are to consider the latter as the direct production of Yavana or Bactrian artists, which afterwards degenerated into the ruder art of the Raj Rani sculptures, or whether the ruder were afterwards improved into the more perfect forms under foreign influence. At present the materials do not seem to exist for answering these questions, though they are of extreme interest to the history of ancient Indian art, and as bearing on the influence more or less direct which foreigners exerted on its first formation.

It is also understood that Mr. *Locke's* party has brought away fresh impressions of the celebrated "Aira" inscription in the so-called Hasti cave, first noticed by *Stirling*, and afterwards so successfully deciphered by *Prinsep*.² As it seems

¹ J.A.S.B., vol. vii., part 2, pl. xlv.

² J.A.S., B. vi., 1080 et seqq.

to be the oldest of the inscriptions in the Lât character, if any additional information can be obtained regarding its contents, it will be a most interesting addition to our scanty stores of authentic documents for the elucidation of early Indian History.

In the Spring of the year 1871, a set of the casts obtained by the party sent down to Orissa in 1868-9 reached this country, and, owing to the delay of a month in opening the Indian Annexe, they were in time to be exhibited in the International Exhibition of that year. As, however, no description and no lists accompanied them, there existed no means of ascertaining from what Temples they were taken, nor what parts of any Temples they represented. All that could therefore be done was to build them up into what was called a trophy, mixed up with Mr. *Terry's* casts from Bombay, and some from Dr. *Hunter* at Madras. When any descriptive lists or any further information reaches us with regard to these casts, we may be able to form an estimate of their value; at present the materials do not exist in this country for any such appreciation. In like manner a set of drawings of details of architectural ornaments made by the pupils of the School of Art were sent home and exhibited in 1871; but as only the name of the pupil who made it was inscribed on each drawing, we are still in ignorance of what these drawings are intended to represent.

One set of the photographs made by the party who were sent down in 1868-9 reached this country about six weeks ago, and are in private hands. So far as can be ascertained, they are the only copies which have yet reached this country; but, as only the names of the temples are attached to them, though they are very admirable as photographs, the information they convey is limited to those who were previously acquainted with the objects they represent.

Mr. *Terry's* casts from Bombay, as mentioned above, arrived simultaneously with those from Bengal, just in time

for exhibition in June, 1871. As they were accompanied by plans and sections of the building from which they were taken, as well as the photographs, there was no difficulty in understanding their position or appreciating their value. The result of this expedition does not, however, we are sorry to observe, seem to have encouraged the Government of Bombay to make any further attempts in that direction, and no further expenditure seems to have been made by them for Archæological purposes.

Meanwhile, however, we are happy to be able to report that Mr. *James Burgess* continues successfully his archæological labours. In addition to the splendid work on Palitana, noticed in our report of 1870, he has since published a similar work on the Temples of Somnath, Girnar, and Junagar, illustrated by 41 photographs by Sykes, and accompanied by descriptive letterpress; and another work, of almost equal interest, on the Cave Temples of the Elephanta, with elaborate descriptive texts and photographs of all the principal sculptures. He has also visited and procured photographs of the Caves of Nassick, Karlee, Baja, and Bedsa; the last being the oldest yet known to exist on the western side of India, dating probably from early in the second century B.C. These and other researches were undertaken with reference to a large and comprehensive work he has undertaken on the Cave Temples of Western India, which will be published, when complete, by the India Office—the Home Government of India having, with their accustomed liberality, undertaken to defray the cost of the work.

In Madras, Dr. *Hunter* continues his career of usefulness. During the past year he, with his pupils, has made a complete and much more perfect set of photographs of all the Rock-cut Temples and Rock Sculptures of Mahavellipore, or the Seven Pagodas, and, having turned up some fragments broken off from the great rock-cut bas-relief, has proved incontestably that it was dedicated to Serpent-worship, and

that only ; though probably of a comparatively later date to other examples known. He has, besides, procured numerous photographs and casts of other interesting temples and sculptures throughout Southern India.

From private sources it is understood that General *Cunningham* is pursuing assiduously, and with considerable success, the researches he was appointed to undertake ; as however no report has yet been issued, the Council are unable to communicate to the Society any information regarding the results hitherto attained by him.

The operations of the *Trigonometrical, Geological, and other Surveys of India*, are carried on more vigorously than ever, and their results are made public from time to time through reports and maps. To those unable to follow the details of official accounts, Mr. *C. R. Markham's* Memoir on the India Surveys affords a highly interesting and instructive historical sketch of the progress of operations of the various survey establishments.

While so much is done by the Government towards a scientific exploration of India, it is a matter of regret that the Archæological operations in Ceylon, the promising aspect of which we were able to point out in our last report, have since come to a stop.

Two works recently published by Indian officers of more than ordinary experience have added greatly to our knowledge of the history, manners, and institutions of the people in some parts of India, viz. Dr. *W. W. Hunter's* "Orissa," being the continuation of the same author's "Annals of Rural Bengal;" and Mr. *E. Bowring's* "Eastern Experiences." Of the latter work, which treats chiefly of Mysore and Coorg, a second edition has already appeared. In Mr. *J. Fergusson's* "Rude Stone Monuments" some light is also incidentally thrown on the ancient architectural remains of Eastern countries.

Of the Durgâ Pûjâ, or chief national festival of the Hindus of Bengal, Mr. *Pratâpachandra Ghosha* has given a full and

interesting account; and Mr. *J. Garrett* has published a Classical Dictionary, which is intended to embody the information we possess regarding the Mythology, Literature, and Manners of Ancient India. This manual, though necessarily imperfect as a first attempt, will no doubt prove a useful book of reference to the general reader.

The Council have observed with satisfaction the appearance of Mr. *Burgess's Indian Antiquary*, a monthly magazine, which may prove a useful medium of communication on matters of Indian research, and is calculated to awaken in English civilians, no less than in intelligent natives, a sense of moral obligation, which will urge them to take each his share in the elucidation of the manifold problems of Indian history. It is a matter for congratulation to our Society that the number of native gentlemen desirous of joining us has been steadily increasing for some years past, and the Council rejoice to see them appear among the contributors to Mr. Burgess's periodical, side by side with the names of some of our best scholars in India.

The *Pandit*, a monthly periodical issued by the *Benares* scholars, is continuing its course of usefulness in furnishing hitherto unpublished Sanskrit texts and English translations of Sanskrit works, as well as notices of Benares Manuscripts.

The Council have observed with regret the recent announcement of the abolition of the Professorship of Hindu Law in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. This Chair dates from the foundation of that College, nearly 50 years ago, and has the only State provision for instruction in the *Smṛiti* or Original Law Texts, which, as the late Professor *Goldstücker* has so ably set forth in his recent paper on the Administration of Hindu Law in India, are necessarily inaccessible to judges and counsel who are unacquainted with Sanskrit.

In reverting to the state of Oriental research in Europe, the Council desire, in the first place, to express their appreciation of the measures which are now under consideration

in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, more especially in the latter, for encouraging a more general study of Oriental languages. In December last a Syndicate was appointed at Cambridge, to consider the most effectual means by which this desirable object might be obtained ; and it is now recommended to the Senate to found two Triposes, one for the Semitic, the other for the Indian languages. The competition for the former is to take place by means of papers on selected books of the Koran, the Hebrew Scriptures, the Syriac versions of the Old and New Testaments, and other selected works in the several languages ; as also composition papers, passages for translation from unspecified works and papers on the Comparative Grammar and the History of Literature of the Semitic languages. The examination for the Indian Languages Tripos is to consist of papers of a similar description, in Sanskrit, Persian, and Hindustani, in Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages in general, and the History of Indian Languages, Literature, and Philosophy. The Council sincerely hope that this liberal and well-timed scheme will create among students in our Universities a new and active interest in Oriental, and especially Indian, languages and literature ; and they feel confident that the members of our Society will fully appreciate the active part taken in this movement by their distinguished associates in that University.

Our kindred Societies on the Continent, the *German Oriental Society* and the *Société Asiatique*, have, as usual, taken their full share in the furtherance of the common objects of inquiry. In the *Journal Asiatique*, the Council have noticed with especial satisfaction the excellent edition and translation, by *M. E. Senart*, of *Kachchâyana's* Pâli grammar, a work a critical edition of which had long been among the chief *desiderata* of Pâli students.

It will also be gratifying to the meeting to learn that the printing of Mr. *Childers's* Pâli Dictionary has already made considerable progress, the first part being announced to

appear at the beginning of July. Mr. *Fausböll*, the Danish scholar, whose name has become familiar to our members through several papers contributed by him to former volumes of our *Journal*, has just brought out twelve Buddhist Jâtakas in the original Pâli, with an English translation and critical notes. The catalogue of Pâli manuscripts which is now being published by Mr. *J. d'Alwis*, and of which the first part has already appeared, will convey to Pâli scholars full information regarding the abundant material still available for their studies in Ceylon.

To Sanskrit students the publication, after ten years' intermission, of a new volume, the fifth, of Professor *Max Müller's* edition of the Rigveda, with Sâyaṇa's comment, will prove an inestimable boon; the more so as this volume also contains the greater part of a complete *index verborum*, which, for reference as well as for lexicographic purposes, will no doubt be a very useful supplement to the work. There is now a fair prospect that this grand work, which was begun as far back as 1849,—and each successive volume of which imparted new vigour to Vaidic studies,—will be complete within another year. Professor *Müller* is at the same time printing an edition, likewise in Devanâgarî, of the Rigveda hymns, which is to contain, in a convenient form, the Saṅhitâ side by side with the Pada text.

Professor *A. Weber*, in his *Indische Studien*, is now bringing out a Romanized edition of the *Taittirîya-Saṅhitâ*, of which a portion only had been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Professor *Weber's* edition is to consist of two volumes, the first of which has already appeared. The concluding volume, which is expected to follow shortly, will also contain the text of the *Kāṇḍânukrâma* on the ritualistic employment of the several chapters, and complete alphabetical lists of the beginnings of these chapters (*anuvâkas*), and of the Rigveda verses which occur in the Saṅhitâ, Brâhmaṇa, and Âraṇyaka.

Professors *Böhtlingk* and *Roth* have completed the sixth

volume of their great Sanskrit Dictionary, which has now reached the end of the letter V, and is rapidly approaching its completion. The former scholar has likewise published Vol. II. of the second edition of his interesting and useful collection of Sanskrit proverbial stanzas, together with a German translation.

Mr. *P. Boyd*, of Cambridge, has lately brought out an English translation of the *Nāgānanda*, a Buddhist Sanskrit drama by *Śrī Harsha Deva*. Professor *Cowell*, in an interesting and instructive preface, proposes to identify this author with the poet *Dhāvaka*, mentioned in the *Kāvya prakāśa*.

Of the late *M. H. Fauche's* French translation of the *Mahābhārata* a posthumous volume, the tenth, has been issued, containing the *Karṇaparva*, thus carrying the version on to about the middle of the whole poem. The work will not, however, remain incomplete, another French scholar, *M. Destailleur*, having undertaken to translate the remaining portion of the Sanskrit epic.

Finally may be mentioned a French translation of the *Panchatantra* by *M. E. Lancereau*; and critical editions of *Bhattachārāyaṇa's* Sanskrit drama, *Veṅīsaṃhāra*, by *Dr. J. Grill*; and of *Jagannātha's Bhāminīvilāsa*, a collection of moral and erotic stanzas, by *M. A. Bergaigne*.

The search for Sanskrit MSS. and examination of libraries in India has been carried on with signal success during the past twelvemonth. Of *Rājendralāla Mitra's* Notices of Sanskrit MSS., three fasciculi have hitherto been received, describing for the most part sectarial and Tantrical works. *Dr. G. Bühler* has just issued, for the Bombay Government, the first part of a Catalogue, or rather classified list, containing 1433 entries of some very important works, chiefly Vaidic. This list, when complete, is to include upwards of 12,000 MSS., and will be very useful to Sanskrit scholars, giving, as it will do, a pretty complete survey of the MSS. contained in the Brahmanical libraries of the Northern Division of the

Bombay Presidency. This, however, is merely intended to serve as a kind of index to a fuller notice of the various MSS., which is now being prepared on the model of the Calcutta Catalogue. Meanwhile, the survey is carried on as briskly as ever; and Dr. Bühler already mentions that, since the compilation of the catalogue now printing, he has received further lists containing about 5000 entries. The Brahmanical MSS. in the larger libraries of his division are estimated by him at upwards of 30,000. This, however, does not include the Jaina books, which are much more numerous, and may probably amount to four or five times that number. As this branch of Hindu literature is as yet very imperfectly known, Dr. Bühler proposes to give, in the first place, a list of the oldest works, the Sûtras, with a brief analysis of each and a general survey of the whole literature according to Jaina writers, and afterwards the contents of the principal libraries.

The Sanskrit collection at Tanjore has now been thoroughly examined by Mr. *A. Burnell*, who is about to communicate the result of his labour in a *Catalogue raisonné*, to be printed in England.

The process of cataloguing Oriental MSS. has been carried on not less vigorously in this country.

The catalogue of Arabic MSS. at the India Office Library—including the hitherto entirely unknown Bijapur collection—which is in course of compilation by Dr. *O. Loth*, is all but complete. The catalogue of the magnificent collection of Sanskrit MSS., from both Northern and Southern India, is also progressing rapidly, though, on account of the large number of works to be examined and described, several years must elapse before it will become accessible to students.

Of Professor *W. Wright's* Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum, the second volume, containing the Theological works, has been issued; as has also been the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in that institution. It will be remembered that two parts had already been published of the

latter undertaking; the first, compiled by the late Mr. Cureton in 1846; the second, partly by that scholar and partly by Dr. C. Rieu, in 1852. The remaining, and by far the greater, portion has now been completed by the latter, whose Catalogue of Persian MSS. may also soon be expected.

In proceeding to enumerate the more important works recently issued by Semitic scholars, the Council have to notice with satisfaction the publication of the last volume of M. De Slane's English translation of *Ibn Khallikan's* important Biographical Dictionary, which had been somewhat delayed by recent political events. The third volume of M. Zotenberg's French translation of *Tabari*, published at the expense of our own *Oriental Translation Fund*, has also been issued; one more volume will complete the work.

We may here remark that the *Oriental Translation Fund*, has also in preparation two works of exceptional value—the *Athâr ul Bâkia* and the *Târîkh-i Hind* of *Abû Rihan Al Birûni*. The first of these is in an advanced stage towards completion, under the able treatment of Dr. E. Sachau, Professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Vienna; and to the same competent scholar has been confided the translation of the second and more important compilation, which treats upon India. Some of our readers may remember the lively interest excited many years ago by the publication of some extracts from this work in M. Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans, relatifs à l'Inde*, since which time the single available MS. has remained in the hands successively of the late M. Woepke and M. De Slane, who had designed to publish both the Arabic text and an accompanying French translation. M. Jules Mohl, the President of the Société Asiatique, has now arranged that the MS., and the already-prepared materials of his predecessors, shall be made over to Dr. Sachau, who has the further advantage of a new and independent MS. of the work, obligingly entrusted to him by M. Schaeffer, who had lately acquired

this *treasure* in Egypt. The translation will now be made into English, which, without any derogation of a French version, offers so many advantages to our fellow-subjects in India, to whom the Latin and French renderings of previous numbers of the *Oriental Translation Fund's* publications had been hopelessly unintelligible.

The fourth volume of Sir *H. M. Elliot's Historians of India* has recently been completed under the careful editorship of Professor *Dowson*, who in the later volumes has had to take a larger share in the original composition of the work. The present volume brings down the annals of the Muhammadan rule to the extinction of the Afgháns, and opens the way for the first chapters of the more interesting details of Akbar's reign. It is gratifying to have to announce that Her Majesty's Government have extended to the present continuation the material aid accorded by the Court of Directors to the opening three volumes of the series.

That indefatigable scholar, Professor *C. J. Tornberg*, of Upsala, has at last finished his excellent edition, in twelve volumes, of *Ibn-El-Athiri's* important chronicle—the volume last published, being the sixth, comprising the years A.H. 155—227.

Another important Arabic work, to which attention was drawn in last year's Report—*An-Nadim's Kitáb-al-Fihrist*—has since been published, from the MS. of our late distinguished Foreign Associate, Professor *G. Flügel*, by Dr. *J. Rödiger*. An indispensable supplement to this edition, which will contain the various readings of the MSS., is still to follow.

To *M. C. Schiaparelli* scholars are indebted for an edition of a very useful ancient Morisco-Arabic and Latin Vocabulary—both Arabic-Latin and Latin-Arabic—from a MS. in the *Bibliotheca Riccardiana* at Florence; to Professor *F. W. Newman* for a Dictionary of modern Arabic; and to Mr. *G. W. Leitner* for a sketch of Arabic grammar.

To Syriac students Professor *W. Wright's Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, containing religious tracts collected from various MSS., in the original Syriac, with an English translation, must have been highly welcome. They will also find the *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, published by Dr. *P. Zingerle*, a very useful selection.

Finally, editions may be mentioned of *Alcharizi's Machberoth Ithiel*, a Hebrew imitation of *Al-Hariri's Makámát*, by Professor *T. Chenery*; of *Al-Hariri's Durrat-al-Gawnás*, or collection of phrases from the vulgar Arabic, by Dr. *H. Thorbecke*; and of the historical fragments of the *Tadjarib-ol-Omami*, by Professor *De Goeje*.

The recent publications in the Vernaculars of Northern India have, as usual, been ably reported upon by *M. Garcin de Tassy*, who has also completed the second edition of his *History of Hindi and Hindustani Literatures*. Suffice it to add, an excellent Hindustani Grammar lately published by Professor *J. Dowson*; a very useful Kashmiri Vocabulary by the Rev. *W. J. Elmslie*; and English Translations, by Major *H. Court*, of two Urdu Texts, the *Araish-i-Mahfil*, and *Meer Hasan's Nusr-i-Benazeer*. On the relation of these Vernaculars with the ancient Prâkrits, Pâli and Sanskrit, much valuable fresh matter is furnished in the second edition of Vol. II. of Mr. *J. Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts*.

The more important results of the study of the languages and literatures of N.E. Asia continue to find their chief repository in Professor *J. Summers'* monthly magazine, the *Phoenix*. A few valuable contributions to this branch of inquiry are also contained in the Memoirs of some of the German Academies, especially those of Munich and Vienna. Dr. *J. Anderson's* recently published Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan *via Bhamô*, undertaken, in 1868, by an exploration party, consisting of Major Sladen, Captain Williams, and Dr. Anderson, with some representatives of the commercial community of Rangoon, contains a lucid

account of the history, manners and institutions of the as yet little known part the party traversed. A second volume is promised, which is to contain the observations of Dr. Anderson, more especially connected with his appointment as Naturalist to the Expedition.

The Council cannot close their Report on the progress of Oriental knowledge during the past year, without briefly alluding to the study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, which the Royal Asiatic Society was mainly instrumental in first introducing to public notice. This study, beset as it is with difficulties, and only leading to very limited results, owing to the fragmentary nature of the materials at our command, is nevertheless gradually working its way into favour among scholars who are interested in the antiquities of the East.

In the first number of the *Journal of Biblical Archæology* which has been recently published, there are several papers on Cuneiform subjects of great merit and importance. A Review by Mr. G. Smith, of the British Museum, of all the extant evidence regarding the history of the Babylonian Empire from the earliest times to its final absorption in Assyria, deserves to be especially noticed. Data are still wanting for an exact classification of the various dynasties that have reigned in Babylonia and Chaldæa, but Mr. Smith has succeeded in identifying above sixty royal names, and he has further shown that at a very remote period the power of Babylon extended to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The historical materials however in the British Museum are now exhausted, and it is only by a resumption of the excavations on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, of which there does not seem to be any immediate prospect, that we can ever hope to be enabled to solve the many difficulties of early Chronology and Ethnology which attach to this interesting region.

A very elaborate work has been recently published by *Mons. François Lenormant* on the Cosmogonic fragments of

Berosus, in which he has collected the principal results of Cuneiform decipherment up to the present time, and has thereby greatly stimulated inquiry. That inquiry too will be largely benefited by the approaching publication of Sir *H. Rawlinson's* fourth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, for which 35 sheets of most important bilingual legends are already completed.

The third volume of *Mr. Norris's* Assyrian Dictionary is also understood to be on the eve of publication.

Three vacancies having occurred in the body of the Council during the past year, through the resignation of Dr. A. Campbell and the deaths of Professor Goldstücker and Mr. C. Horne, only two more members, viz. The Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley and Sir C. Nicholson, Bart., will go out, according to Art. XXI. of the Society's Regulations. To fill up these vacancies the following five names are recommended to the meeting: E. B. Eastwick, Esq.; Kazi Shahabudin Khan Bahadoor; R. N. Cust, Esq.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; and Major-General Sir A. Phayre. Sir *Edward Colebrooke* having intimated to the Council his being unable, on account of his Parliamentary avocations, to undertake the office of President for another year, they are pleased to be able to state that Sir *H. Bartle E. Frere* has kindly allowed himself to be put in nomination for the Society's chair.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

Your Auditors beg leave to report that they, having examined the accounts for the past year, and compared them with the vouchers, find them perfectly correct. They are pleased to observe an increase of about £50 in the balance at the bankers' since last year. They have also formed a careful estimate of the income and expenditure for the ensuing year, and find that, even with the proposed expenditure for the purchase, binding, and accommodation of

books, and the printing of two more numbers of the Journal, there will still remain a sufficiently large balance in the bankers' hands at the end of the present year.

The Secretary having concluded the reading of the Reports, Sir *John Bowring* said : The Resolution which I am about to move is a very natural and appropriate sequence to the most satisfactory statement of our affairs which we have just heard. It is the only, however insufficient, recompense to the gentlemen who have given so much time and attention, and have brought such a vast amount of knowledge into the field of inquiry. We all know that to their knowledge, experience and devotion, the results obtained are mainly due. Certainly in that ever extending field of inquiry which we desire to explore in the East, there are harvests enough to reward any labourers, however diligent, and however efficient. I happen to live in a remote part of the world, where I look with great interest on what passes in these more busy scenes ; and naturally, from a long residence in the East, I am specially charmed when I witness what has been accomplished. I come to town from year to year, and constantly see the East more eagerly stretching out her hands towards the West, and sending her sons here. Amongst them are many Japanese, of whom I hear very good accounts, and many Siamese and others, who are studying in our Universities, and preparing themselves for the high positions they may be called to occupy. I see in the newspapers that the Chinese, who thought in the times gone by that they had to learn nothing from foreign nations, have sent a large body of natives to the United States, in order to gain knowledge there. When I was Minister in China, I met one of the most intelligent men with whom I came into contact, and tried to induce him to send his sons to this country, telling him they would reap many and great

advantages from it. But it was idle to talk to men who revered Confucius as the greatest of human beings, greater than any that had ever been born, or would be born. I now beg to move, "That the Report of the Council, with that of the Auditors, be adopted, printed and distributed; and that the best thanks of the meeting be given to the President and to the Director, for their constant attention to the affairs of the Society, and their unwearied exertions to promote its interests; and to the Vice-President, Council, and other officers of the Society, for the able and satisfactory manner in which they have discharged the duties of their several offices."

This motion having been carried unanimously, Sir *Edward Colebrooke* rose and said :

It is my pleasing duty, on the part of my colleagues, to return our thanks for your acknowledgment of our labours during the past year. I feel myself a very unworthy member of the Council; I owe everything to the assistance I have received from the members, and especially from the learned and active Director. I may say, too, with regard to this report, that your acknowledgments are largely due to the industry and ability exhibited by your Secretary. He has given a very comprehensive review of the progress of Asiatic science and literature during the past year, showing how numerous have been the labourers in this field, and how important have been the results of their common efforts. Others have contributed in a smaller degree to portions of the report, and they will probably be recognized by the subjects with which they deal, especially in the last paragraph, which relates to a subject, of which your learned Director is so fully qualified to give us a full account,—I mean the progress of the Cuneiform discovery. But while expressing our satisfaction with the past, we have an apology to make for our shortcomings, which, in one respect, are briefly referred to in the report—I mean the scantiness of our own

contributions to literature in our Journal. Owing to causes which are explained in the report, we have fallen somewhat behind. The contributions received since the last publication were not sufficiently early in hand to appear so soon as might have been desired. I think we may express more sanguine hope for the future, and that we shall not be unworthy of our colleagues in other parts of the world in taking our part in the work of Oriental Research. When Sir William Jones laid before a small circle of English residents in India his views of the aims of the new Society, he endeavoured to found it on the widest and most comprehensive basis. The professed object of the Society was to inquire into the history and antiquities, the natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia; all of which he summed up in the words, "MAN AND NATURE; whatever is performed by the one or produced by the other." The progress of science, and the division of labour resulting from it, and which has led to the foundation of separate and distinct societies, has diverted from our own much which concerns the latter head of inquiry, more especially in Botany, Geology, and Geographical Discovery; but the former branch, that which deals with the literature and antiquities of India, forms the subject of unabated interest, and of this we have evidence before us, in the signs of activity in all parts of the world, how deeply men are interested in tracing, as far as they can, the history and antiquities connected with that vast Continent.

I would here express a hope that the quiet unobtrusive labours of the Library Committee may add much to the sphere of the Society's usefulness. It has been frequently remarked by my predecessor in the Chair, that the reputation of the Society, and its claims on the public for support, must depend mainly on the labours of its members and the contributors to its Journal. It appeared to the Council that further steps should be taken to facilitate studies, and render that valuable collection of books and manuscripts more directly

accessible to students. Our change of premises, while it has thrown on your staff a heavy task in re-arranging the contents of the library, has naturally led to a careful survey of the stock, enabling the Committee to take notice of its stores and deficiencies, revise the catalogue, and prepare a list of *desiderata*. One of the first effects of this labour I am happy to recognize in the very handsome offer we have received this day of a donation on the part of the Home Government of India, to be added to our collection. This addition will make our collection more widely useful to scholars, members of our Society, and others who may choose to have recourse to it.

With regard to the future, it is satisfactory to find the claims of Oriental literature recognized by the Home Government of India in liberal grants of money for the purpose of making searches for manuscripts, for the promotion of archæological research, and the publication of valuable works connected with Indian literature. Again, we see the English Universities giving a helping hand in the endeavour to promote that critical scholarship by which these different materials may be utilised, and made to bring forth valuable fruit. It is pleasing to recognize at the same time a recent attempt alluded to in the report, to render the labours of scientific and learned men more generally available in a popular form, by a periodical publication, which proposes to bring together the results of labours in different fields, and to present them in a shape which will make them accessible not merely to the learned, but also to everybody desirous of knowing what is going on in those different fields. I would add a confident hope that the progress of education in India will awaken a desire on the part of its natives to cultivate the antiquities of their own country, and its aid in the work of elucidating them.

Gentlemen,—there is one subject referred to in the Report I cannot allow to pass over; and I allude to it with a feeling of the deepest regret, which will be shared by every member of the Society,—namely, the loss we have sustained by the

death of one of the most learned members, and one of the most zealous, industrious, and enthusiastic students of Indian literature—Dr. Goldstücker (hear, hear). Probably few persons have collected such vast stores of information on some of the most obscure chapters in Indian literature. It must be added with regret that his contributions to our Journal, and his other publications, have not been in proportion to the vast materials he had collected. This is attributed by some of his friends to a fastidiousness of temperament, which, as we are informed by a friend of Dr. Goldstücker in a letter recently published, assumed, towards the close of his life, almost a morbid character. Some of his views we know were opposed to a school of criticism applied to the ancient literature of India, which is now prevalent in Germany, and this would seem to have influenced him in the direction given before his death as to the disposal of his papers. I trust some means may be found of reconciling the wishes of our departed friend with the demands of Oriental literature (hear, hear); and that the materials he has left behind may be yet available for the purposes of Oriental research.

In the last conversation I had with our colleague shortly before his death, I referred to a series of papers published by him a few years ago in a popular encyclopædia—embracing almost every department of archæological interest connected with Sanskrit literature—and I expressed a hope that these different essays might appear in a collected form, and might thus become a very valuable cyclopædia of Indian antiquities. Dr. Goldstücker replied that the papers which were published formed only portions of those originally laid before the editors, and that the exigencies of space led them to be cut down in a manner which he himself regretted. I trust that the original manuscripts still remain, and I am quite sure that if they are published in their original and completed shape, they will form a most durable monument to Dr. Goldstücker's great industry, ability, and learning.

I have now, in conclusion, to apologize for my own shortcomings during the time I have occupied the Chair of this Society. I know how much I owe that position to the inheritance of an honoured name; I had no other claims upon you beyond that of a zealous desire to promote the Society's interests. Unfortunately, my public avocations have prevented my taking that full part in your proceedings which you have a right to claim from your President; but I have the satisfaction, in retiring from the Chair, of knowing that the Council have received the consent of Sir Bartle Frere to be elected (if it please the members of the Society) to occupy this honourable post. In placing him in the chair, you will do honour to a gentleman of great abilities, of literary tastes, possessing a thorough knowledge of the wants of India, and of the manners of its people, and who will give you far more effective help in contributing to the objects for which the Society was founded, than it has been my fortune to do. My last official duty is to request that you will proceed at once with the ballot, and make your own selection of the officers (cheers).

Scrutineers were then appointed, and while they were examining the voting papers, Sir T. E. Colebrooke suggested that the Anniversary of the Society should be celebrated in the good old English way, by the members dining together, as was the custom with other societies.

This was agreed to, and it was left to the Council to make the necessary arrangements.

On the return of the scrutineers, they reported that the list proposed by the Council had been unanimously adopted as follows :—

President : Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.

Director : Major-Gen. Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents : The Right Hon. Sir Edward Ryan; M. E.

Grant Duff, Esq., M.P.; Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.; James Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S., D.C.L.

Treasurer: Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S.

Honorary Secretary: Professor Thomas Chenery.

Honorary Librarian: Edwin Norris, Esq.

Secretary: J. Eggeling, Esq.

Council: N. B. E. Baillie, Esq.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; C. P. Brown, Esq.; R. N. Cust, Esq.; John Dickinson, Esq.; E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., M.P.; M. P. Edgeworth, Esq.; Claude J. Erskine, Esq.; W. E. Frere, Esq.; Arthur Grote, Esq.; The Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie; Sir Donald F. McLeod, K.C.S.I., C.B.; Major-Gen. Sir A. P. Phayre, K.S.I.; Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx, Esq.; Kazi Shahábudin, Khan Bahadoor.

Sir T. E. Colebrooke, in vacating the Chair, said, he only regretted Sir Bartle Frere was not present to take his place.

The proceedings then terminated.

List of Books, Pamphlets, etc., presented to the Society since the last Anniversary.

A. Presented by the Authors.

Anderson, Dr. J., Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan *via* Bhamô Calcutta, 1871.

Bell, Major E., The Bengal Reversion. London, 1871.

Blore, Mr. W. L., Statistics of the Cape Colony. Capetown, 1871.

Bowring, Mr. L., Eastern Experiences. Second edition. London, 1872.

Bühler, Dr. G., Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. Fasc. I. Bombay, 1871.

Bretschneider, Dr., of Peking, On the Study and Value of Chinese Botanical Works.

Chenery, Professor T., Machberoth Ithiel by Yehudah Ben Shelomoh Alcharizi. London, 1872.

Court, Major H., English Translations of Nusr-i-Benazeer, or, the Incomparable Prose, of Meer Hasan. Simla, 1871.

Araish-i-Mahfil, or, Ornament of the Assembly. Allahabad, 1871.

Courteille, M. Pavet de, Mémoires de Baber (Zahir-ed-din-Mohammed) traduits sur le texte djagataï. 2 vols. Paris, 1871.

D' Avezac, M., Atlas Hydrographique de 1511 du Génois Vesconte De Maggiolo. Paris, 1871.

Finn, Mr. J., The Orphan Colony of Jews in China. London, 1872.

Fug, Professor M., Brahma und die Brahmanen (from the *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy). Munich, 1871.

- Hodgson, Mr. W. B.*, of Savannah, On the Gospels written in the Negro-patois of English with Arabic characters.
- Jacob, Major-Gen. Sir G. Le Grand*, Western India before and during the Mutinies. London, 1871.
- Kielhorn, Dr. F.*, of Poona, Nâgojîbhattacha's Paribhâshendusekhara. Part II. Bombay, 1871.
- Lancereau, M. E.*, Pantchatantra ou les cinq Livres. Paris, 1871.
- Lane, Mr. E. W.*, An Account of the Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians. Fifth edition. Edited by *E. S. Poole*. 2 vols. London, 1871.
- Leitner, Mr. G. W.*, Introduction to a Philosophical Grammar of Arabic. Lahore, 1871.
- Muir, Dr. J.*, Original Sanskrit Texts. Second edition. Vol. II. London, 1871.
- Murdoeh, Mr. J.*, Review of Christian Literature in India during 1870. Madras, 1871.
- Newman, Professor F. W.*, A Dictionary of Modern Arabic. 2 vols. London, 1871.
- Pauthier, M. G.*, Vindiciae Sinicae Novae. No. 1. J. P. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1872.
- Pratâpachandra Ghosha*, Pandit, Durgâ Pûjâ. Calcutta, 1871.
- Râjendralâlu Mitra*, Bâbû, The Bengal Atlas. A series of Original and Authentic Maps of most of the Districts included in the Lt.-Governorship of Bengal. Calcutta, Saka 1781 (A.D. 1859).
- Rumsey, Mr. A.*, Chart of Family Inheritance according to orthodox Moohammedan Law. Second edition. London, 1871.
- Schiaparelli, M. C.*, Vocabulista in Arabico. Firenze, 1871.
- Tassy, M. Garein de*, Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie. Second edition. Vol. III. Paris, 1871.
- La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies. Rapport Annuel. 1871.
- Thomas, Mr. E.*, Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire. London, 1871.
- Weber, Professor A.*, 1. Hâla's Saptasatakam. Leipzig, 1871.
2. Über ein zum Weissen Yagus gehöriges phonetisches Compendium, das Pratijnâsûtram. [From the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy.] 1872.
3. Einige Daten über das Schachspiel nach indischen Quellen. [From the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy.] 1872.
- Whitney, Professor W. D.*, The Taittiriya-Prâtiṣâkhya with its Commentary, the Tribhâshyaratna, Text, Translation, and Notes. New Haven, 1871.
- Wright, Professor W.*, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. The Syriac Texts and English Translation. 2 vols. London, 1871.

B. Presented by other Donors, Publishers, Institutions, etc.

- H. H. *The Nawâ's Koorshed Jah Bahadoor* at Hyderabad, Tarikhi Khûrshîd Jâhi. Hyderabad.
- Sir *D. F. McLeod*, Vocabulary of the Kâshmîri Language, by W. J. Elmslie. London, 1872.
- The Publishers, *Le Mahâ-Bhârata*. Traduit par H. Fauche. Vol. X. Paris, 1870.
- Anonymous, Overland Communication with Western China. By R. G. Liverpool. The Editors, through Mr. R. T. H. Griffith, at Benares, The Pandit. Vols. 1-4, and monthly issues for 1871.
- Native Opinion, Bombay; Hindu Praâksh, Bombay; the Academy; the Athenæum—the current issues for the year.
- The Editor, Prof. *J. Summers*, The Phoenix for 1871. Monthly issues.

The Indian Government.

Memoir on the Indian Surveys, by *C. R. Markham*. London, 1871.

Account of the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India.

Vol. I. By Colonel *J. T. Walker*. Dehra Doon, 1870.

Observations on the Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia. By *W. J. Blandford*. London, 1870.

Periodical Catalogues of Books printed in India, and Parliamentary Returns. 240 Duplicates of the India Office Library.

The Government of the U.S. of America, Report of the Geological Survey in 1870.

The Trustees of the British Museum.

Catalogue of Syriac MSS. Edited by Dr. *W. Wright*. Vol. II. London, 1871.

Catalogue of Arabic MSS. Edited by Dr. *C. Rieu*. London, 1871.

The Trustees of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund, A Grammar of the Pehlvi Language, by *Peshotun Dustoor Behramjee Sunjana*, and various other Publications.

The Senate of the Calcutta University, Tagore Law Lectures, by *H. Cowell*. 2 vols. Calcutta, 1870 and 1871.

C. Publications have been exchanged with the following Societies and Institutions.

Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.

Imperial Academy of Vienna.

Royal Academy of Berlin.

„ „ Munich.

„ „ Lisbon.

„ „ Turin.

Royal Hungarian Academy.

„ Danish „

„ Belgian „

„ Dutch Institute.

„ Lombard Institute.

Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

Smithsonian Institution.

Connecticut Academy.

Royal Society of Victoria.

American Philosophical Society.

Berlin Geographical Society.

Société de Géographie of Paris.

German Oriental Society of Leipzig.

Société Asiatique of Paris.

American Oriental Society.

Bataviaash Genootschap.

Bengal Asiatic Society.

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.

Anthropological and Ethnological Society of Florence.

Canadian Institute.

East India Association.

British Association.

Royal Geographical Society.

„ Society.

„ Dublin Society.

„ Agricultural Society.

„ United Service Institution

„ Institution of Great Britain and Ireland.

„ Society of Antiquaries.

„ Society of Literature.

„ Society of Edinburgh.

Zoological Society.

Linnean „

Geological „

Statistical „

Numismatic „

Society of Arts.

Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.

Anthropological Institute.

Wesleyan Missionary Society.

British and Foreign Bible Society.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1871.

1871.	RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
129 Resident Members, at 3 guineas each	406 7 0	House Rent for the Year ... ..	...	300 0 0
59 Non-Resident Members, at 1 guinea each	61 19 0	Fire Insurance ditto ... ..	...	7 10 0
2 Original Members, at 2 guineas each	4 4 0	Water Rate ditto ... ..	...	9 0 0
Arrears paid up	16 2 0			316 10 0
Compositions:—		£ s. d.		Salaries ... ..	...	200 0 0
E. L. Brandreth, Esq.,	21 0 0	Porter's Pension ... ..	...	25 0 0
K. G. Deshmukh, Esq.,	10 10 0			225 0 0
Moutvi Syed Imadad Ally,	10 10 0	House Expenses ... ..	...	90 6 9
			42 0 0	Allowances: Housekeeper £12; Coals £12; Gas £6 ... ..	...	30 0 0
				Sundries ... ..	...	16 15 4
Donation of India Council	530 12 0			137 2 1
Rent from British Association	210 0 0	Printing of Journal, Vol. V., Part 1 ... ..	...	89 18 6
Dividend on Consols, £700	100 0 0	Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing ... ..	...	13 6 4
Sale of Publications	20 11 3	Bookbinding ... ..	...	15 7 10
			1 15 0	Postage, Carriage of Books, Receipt Stamps ... ..	...	10 11 0
			22 6 3			129 3 8
Total Receipts	862 18 3	Total Expenditure ... ..	...	807 15 9
Balance at Banker's, 1st of January, 1871	221 0 8	Balance at Bankers', 31st of December, 1871 ... ..	...	277 4 7
Ditto in Treasurer's hands, ditto	2 9 11	Ditto in Treasurer's hands, ditto ... ..	...	1 8 6
			223 10 7			278 13 1
						£1086 8 10

31st May, 1872.

Amount of Society's Funds,
Three per cent. Consols...£700

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NEIL R. E. BAILLIE, Auditor for the Council.
H. W. FREELAND, }
HENRY LEWIS, } Auditors for the Society.

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* Non-resident Members.

† Members who have compounded for their Subscriptions.

†† Members who, having compounded, have again renewed their Subscriptions, or given Donations.

|| Members whose Subscriptions are in abeyance during absence.

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